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THE JOURNAL OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES





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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

---

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all



publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of three years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates :—

- (a) Undergraduates.
- (b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.
- (c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6*d*. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

*December, 1932.*

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 Price, Miss M., *School of S. Mary and S. Anne, Abbots Bromley, Stafford*.  
 Purdon, W. T., *Huntingdon, Killucan, Irish Free State*.  
 Ramsey, Miss D. W., 43, *Ladbroke Square, W. 11*.  
 Rawnsley, Mrs. Walter, *Well Vale, Alford, Lincs*.  
 Renwick, E. D., *Leigh Hill Cottage, Cobham, Surrey*.  
 Rickett, D. H. F., *Hawthorns, Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey*.  
 Rule, R., 9, *Coolhurst Avenue, Crouch End, N. 8*.  
 Scutt, Prof. C. A., *The University, Melbourne, Australia*.  
 Sinkinson, A. P. Le M., 163, *Marlborough Road, Gillingham, Kent*.  
 Skinner, W. G., *Cornwall Park, Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire*.  
 Somerset, E. J., 20, *Dulwich Common, S.E. 21*.  
 Somerville, R., 50, *Norfolk Square, W. 2*.  
 Stainer, R. S., 8, *Station Road, Topsham, Devon*.  
 Stanley, L. Stuart, 16, *Cole Park Road, Twickenham*.  
 Stratton, H., 3, *Rue Saint-Dominique, Paris*.  
 Swallow, Rev. J. E., *Gordon House, Hessle, Yorks*.  
 Sykes, A. G., 7, *Petersfield, Cambridge*.  
 Taylor, Miss S. May, *Medomsley, Sidcup, Kent*.  
 Till, W. P., *Calday Grange Grammar School, West Kirby*.  
 Tudcer, L., *Helsinki, Oksaenk 4A, Finland*.  
 Tustin, E. B., Jr., 963, *Anderson Avenue, New York, U.S.A.*  
 Wallace, A. R., *Blundell's School, Twerton*.  
 Wharton, Leonard C., 31, *Greville Road, Kilburn Priory, N.W. 6*.  
 White, K. D., *Cowan House, George Square, Edinburgh*.  
 Wilkins, Miss Mary, *Talma, Stanwell Road, Ashford, Middlesex*.  
 Wilkins, R. F., C.B., 24, *Aubrey Walk, W. 8*.  
 Wingate Saul, J. S., *Packwood Haugh, Hockley Heath, Warwickshire*.

#### STUDENT ASSOCIATES.

##### Elected during the year 1931 only.

- Arnhold, P. R. E., *Balliol College, Oxford* (5, *Percival Avenue, Hampstead, N.W. 3*).  
 Bettenson, H. S., *University of Bristol* (8, *Wolverton Avenue, Kingston Hill, Kingston-on-Thames*).  
 Bourke, J. W. P., 8, *Moreton Gardens, South Kensington, S.W. 5*.  
 Brock, J. K., *Trinity College, Cambridge* (160, *Holland Road, W. 14*).  
 Burrow, T., *Christ's College, Cambridge* (Garghyll Dyke, *Cowan Bridge, Carnforth*).  
 Chapman, C. H., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (35, *Lawrie Park Road, Sydenham, S.E. 26*).  
 Cluer, Gerald D., *St. Edmund Hall, Oxford* (12, *Elm Walk, Wimbledon, S.W. 20*).  
 Curtis, E. C., *Clare College, Cambridge* (42, *Caldervale Road, Clapham Park, S.W. 4*).  
 Deed, B. L., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (12, *Fitzwilliam Street, Cambridge*, and 21, *London Road, Maldon, Essex*).  
 Dickson, M. G., *New College, Oxford* (Struan, *Wimbledon Park, S.W. 19*).  
 Eagleston, J. N., *Pembroke College, Oxford* (6, *Reynold's Close, N.W. 11*).  
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- Franklin, E. L., *Alleyns School, Dulwich, S.E. The Farm House, Richmond Hill, Edgware*.
- Gardner, J. W., *Oriel College, Oxford* (198, *St. Paul's Road, Canonbury, N. 1*).
- Gore, Hon. A. K. S. D. A., *Balliol College, Oxford*.
- Green, L. D., *Clare College, Cambridge*.
- Greene, W. D., *Trinity College, Dublin* (89, *Belmont Avenue, Donnybrook, Co. Dublin*).
- Hackett, J. W., *New College, Oxford*.
- Haden, W. D., *Wadham College, Oxford* (85, *Loughborough Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham*).
- Hannabuss, Miss E. M., *Westfield College*.
- Harris, L. R., *King's College, London* (18, *Amherst Road, Reading*).
- Holt, A. F., *St. John's College, Oxford* (38, *Umberslade Road, Selly Park, Birmingham*).
- Johnson, H. W., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (Eversley, *Uphall Road, Mill Hill, N.W. 7*).
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- Kilpatrick, G. D., *University College, London* (Durham House, *Tynchitt Road, S.E. 4*).
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- Reilly, D'A. P., *New College, Oxford* (c/o Messrs. Grindley & Co., 54, *Parliament Street, S.W. 1*).
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- Rouse, A. F., *St. John's College, Oxford* (21, *Castle Crescent, Reading*).
- Sée, P. H., *New College, Oxford* (4, *Orme Street, W. 2*).
- Sherwin-White, A. N., *St. John's College, Oxford* (29, *Grove Park Gardens, Chiswick*).
- Smith, F. J. G., *Oriel College, Oxford* (54, *Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W. 8*).
- Talbot, J. G., *Brasenose College, Oxford* (St. Lawrence's Vicarage, *Brentford, Middlesex*).
- Thomas, Miss M. Wynn, *St. Hilda's College, Oxford* (3, *Temple Gardens, E.C. 4*).
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- Wood, Miss C. E., *Ashdown Hall, Reading*.
- Wycheley, R. E., *Queens' College, Cambridge* (12, *Union Street, Hadley, Shropshire*).
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- Virginia, University of Virginia, *Virginia, U.S.A.*



## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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 Battiscombe, E. M., *Ronceval, 27, Montpellier, Weston-super-Mare*.  
 Bevan, E. J., *The Croft, Stonehouse, Glos.*  
 Bosanquet, Mrs. E. S., *Rock Moor, Alnwick, Northumberland*.  
 De Peyer, E. C. Esq., 61, *Queen's Gate, S.W.* 7.  
 Eccles, Miss E., *Romney, Leyfield Road, West Derby, Liverpool*.  
 Elsworth, W. L., 8, *Walthew Avenue, Holyhead, Anglesey*.  
 Fischer, Miss D. M., 46, *The Drive, Golders Green, N.W.* 11.  
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 Long, A. H., *Rhôs-on-Sea School, Colwyn Bay*.  
 Longford, The Countess of, *Pakenham Hall, Castlepollard, Co. Westmeath*.  
 McIver, A. J., *Cotton College, N. Staffs.*  
 Mellor, Captain F. H., *White Lodge, Chislehurst*.  
 Mitford, T. B., *University of St. Andrews, Scotland*.  
 Palmer, Mrs. C. M. A., 69<sup>a</sup>, *Courtfield Gardens, S.W.* 5.  
 Parke, H. W., 9, *Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland*.  
 Pearson, L. I., *Dept. of Classics, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S.*  
 Peril, R., 10, *Ambrose Street, Rosehill, Mauritius*.  
 Pitt, G. J., *c/o Government Monopolies Dept., Penang, Straits Settlements*.  
 Rikatson-Hart, B., 39, *Orchard Court, Portman Square, W.* 1.  
 Ruddock, C. L., 35, *Hall Plain, Great Yarmouth*.  
 Scullard, H. H., 52, *Foscote Road, Hendon, N.W.* 4.  
 Sheddon, Edom., *The Common Room, Grays Inn, W.C.*  
 Spriggs, L. W., 29, *Dunstan Road, N.W.* 11.  
 Stevenson, James, *University College, Singleton Park, Swansea*.  
 Warr-Cornish, F. H., 45, *Addison Avenue, Kensington, W.* 11.  
 Westlake, H. D., *Welton Grange, Brough, E. Yorks.*  
 Wigram, Rev. W. A., D.D., *Green Acres, Wells, Somerset*.  
 Wood, Miss C. Eleanor, *St. Margaret's, Bushey, Herts.*  
 Wood, Miss Mary R., 44, *Kent Gardens, Ealing, W.* 13.

## STUDENT ASSOCIATES.

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 Bailey, Miss B. L., *Westfield College, Hampstead (23, Southwood Avenue, Highgate, N.* 6).  
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 Braodfield, A., *New College, Oxford (Fenwick, Park Avenue, Ilkeston, Derbyshire)*.  
 Bruce, W. E., *Brasenose College, Oxford (11, Mayfield Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex)*.  
 Cattell, F. M., *Peterhouse, Cambridge (3, Carew Road, Wallington, Surrey)*.  
 Chidell, J. W. P., *Trinity College, Cambridge (7, St. Matthew's Avenue, Surbiton)*.  
 Chilver, R. C., *New College, Oxford (28, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.* 2).

- Clarke, Maurice F. L., *Clare College, Cambridge* (Armley Vicarage, Leeds).
- Corley, Miss E. P., *Woodside, Witney, Oxon.*
- Craig, W. J., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (14, Bath Terrace, Tynemouth, Northumberland).
- Cross, G. J., *New College, Oxford* (Aston Twold Manor, Wallingford, Berks).
- Dunbabin, T. J., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
- Eggleshaw, J. H., 61, *Auckland Road, Doncaster.*
- Etty-Leal, J. W., *St. John's College, Oxford* (77, Park Mansions, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1).
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- Gardner, Miss R. H., *Westfield College, London.*
- Garnsey, D. A., *New College, Oxford* (St. Paul's College, Newtown, N. S. Wales).
- Gillingham, A. G., *New College, Oxford.*
- Greenwood, A. M., *Clare College, Cambridge.*
- Hall, Miss F. C., *Westfield College, London* (1, Vicar's Court, Minster Yard, Lincoln).
- Harrison, Cecil M., *Trinity College, Cambridge* (Sumising, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks).
- Hawthorn, J. R., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
- Hendtlass, C. M. C., *St. John's College, Oxford* (West View, Friem Lane, Whetstone, N. 20).
- Icely, B., *Brasenose College, Oxford* (8A, Lancaster Place, N.W. 3).
- Jackson, Miss E. M., *Westfield College, London* (Mistley Place, Manningtree).
- Johnston, C. H., *Balliol College, Oxford* (Cockshut, Reigate, Surrey).
- Jones, E. Mander-, *University College, Oxford* (12, Nevem Road, Earl's Court, S.W. 1).
- Kearsey, Miss Sylvia, *University College, London* (53, St. Peter's Avenue, Caversham, Reading).
- Kenny, E. J. A., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- Kidd, J. C., *Oriel College, Oxford* (17, Argyle St., Dundee).
- King, A. S., *King's College, Cambridge* (5, Trinity Rise, Tulse Hill, S.W. 2).
- Knight, G. G. V., *Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Fu Trees, Leigham Avenue, Streatham, S.W. 16).
- Lipson, L. M., *Balliol College, Oxford* (15, Alverstone Road, Brondesbury Park, N.W. 2).
- Lucas, P. B., *Magdalen College, Oxford* (20, Stanhope Gardens, N. 6).
- Marriott, M. C., *Clare College, Cambridge* (12, Grenville Place, S.W. 7).
- Morgan, J. C., *Brasenose College, Oxford* (23, Elphinstone Road, Hastings).
- Nelson, K. E., *St. John's College, Cambridge* (Allendale, Manor Drive, Harrogate, York).
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- Perry, R. A., *Queen's College, Oxford* (135, Devonshire Road, S.E. 23).
- Procter, W. A., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
- Roberts, Griffydd Madoc, *Clare College, Cambridge* (Bryn Hyfyd, Cwm-y-Glo, Carnarvon, N. Wales).
- Robson, T. G. H., *Jesus College, Oxford* (22, Champion Grove, Denmark Hill, S.E. 5).
- Rutherford, H. C., *Balliol College, Oxford* (Little Haugh, Banstead, Surrey).
- Sanders, C. W., *Queen's College, Oxford* (30, Ennerdale Road, Richmond).
- Seaman, C. M. E., *St. John's College, Oxford* (60 Merchant Taylors' School, E.C. 1).
- Stopford, E. K., *New College, Oxford.*
- Thompson, G. G., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (174, Cromwell Road, S.W. 5).
- Trendall, A. D., *Trinity College, Cambridge* (60 New Zealand House, 415, Strand, London).
- Tucker, N. W. G., *New College, Oxford* (9, Mount Park Crescent, W. 5).
- Wallace, W. P., *New College, Oxford.*
- Williams, Miss W. J., *St. Hilda's College, Oxford* (Redcliffe, Frodsham, Cheshire).
- Wright, P. R. T., *Trinity College, Oxford* (Fu Toll, Mayfield, Sussex).
- Yates, G. A., 44, *Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11.*

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# PROCEEDINGS

## SESSION 1931-32

THE following meetings were held during the past session:—

- (1) November 10th, 1931. Mr. A. J. B. Wace: *The Study of Greek Sculpture*. See below, p. xxii.
- (2) February 2nd, 1932. Professor F. Chappoutier: *The Palace at Mallia*. See below, p. xxiii.
- (3) May 3rd, 1932. Professor J. L. Myres: *The Twenty-fourth Book of the Iliad: its Place in the Structure of the Poem*. See below, p. xxiv.

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- (4) The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 28th, 1932, the retiring President (Professor Ernest Gardner) occupying the chair.

On the motion of Professor Baynes, seconded by Dr. Grafton Milne, Professor R. M. Dawkins was unanimously elected President of the Society for the term of three years.

On the motion of H.E. the Greek Minister, seconded by Professor Dodds, the following elections and re-elections were made unanimously:—

As members of the Council:—

*Elected:—*

Mr. A. A. Blakeway, Mr. C. W. M. Cox, Mr. W. L. Cuttle, the Rev. H. H. Symonds, and Mr. E. H. Warmington.

*Re-elected:—*

The Vice-Presidents of the Society,

The following Members of Council, retiring by rotation:—Prof. B. Ashmole, Mr. S. Casson, Miss Winifred Lamb, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, Prof. J. A. K. Thomson, and Prof. P. Ure.

On the motion of Professor Ure, seconded by Mr. W. T. Purdon, the thanks of the Society were tendered to the auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan.

The Secretary then presented the following Report of the Council on the Session 1931-32.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded:—

### The Financial Situation.

The financial position of the Society has become a source of considerable anxiety to the Council.

The accounts presented with this report cover the calendar year of 1931, the first six months of which were unusually good. The second half of the year, however, showed a marked falling off, and since the accounts have been closed the position, owing to the general economic situation, has become rapidly worse. Not less than seventy members, including some of the Society's most faithful supporters, have resigned, and in addition to resignations there is a long list of subscriptions in arrears. Few lectures are being given and the revenue received from the hire of slides has diminished.

On the other hand, it is gratifying to note that the *Journal* in its new format has proved to be an economy rather than the reverse, and that the number of student associates, on whom the future of the Society must largely depend, still continues to increase. The number of books borrowed is a further proof that the Society's work is more than ever appreciated.

The Council, while they see no hope of any immediate improvement, feel confident that, with careful and economical management, the Society will be able to balance its accounts. They make a special appeal to all members to help them by prompt payment of their subscriptions, and by saving the Society in every way from unnecessary expense.

### Artemis Orthia.

In the year under review only six copies were sold of the Society's important publication of the excavations on the site of the Temple of Artemis Orthia, at Sparta. These produced £17 11s. 5d. and the adverse balance of the Orthia account (which will in future have a

separate place in the annual financial statement now stands at £934.

On the authority of the late Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, the book is a monument of archaeological accuracy and careful presentment, and it is a great pity that its sale should be thus hampered by the prevailing financial conditions.

Members will greatly benefit both the Society and themselves by the purchase of copies.

### Obituary.

Members will have seen in the last part of the *Journal* an obituary notice of the Society's Honorary Secretary, Miss Caroline Amy Hutton. Time has not lessened the sense of loss among those who worked with her.

Two distinguished Honorary Members have passed away during the Session:—Professor Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Professor Ferdinand Noack.

The Society has also lost by death the following members: Mr. F. Brabant, Mr. L. Buncher, Professor H. Wildon Carr, Mr. P. W. Dodd, Mr. Alban Head, Mr. G. B. Innes-Hopkins, Mr. H. R. James, the Rev. Dr. H. A. James (President of St. John's College, Oxford), the Rev. A. C. Knight, Professor W. R. Lethaby, Mr. T. MacVey, Mr. A. E. Palmer and Sir Charles Thomas-Stanford.

### Administrative Changes.

The Council desire to express their most cordial thanks to Professor Ernest Gardner for his services to the Society during his term of office which expires at the Annual Meeting.

They have great pleasure in unanimously nominating Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Professor of Byzantine Greek in the University of Oxford, as his successor. They take this opportunity of congratulating Professor Dawkins on the recent publication of his important work on the Cypriote Chronicle of Makhairas.

The Council desire to nominate the following to vacancies on their body:—Mr. A. A. Blake-way, Mr. C. W. M. Cox, Mr. W. L. Cuttle, the Rev. H. H. Symonds and Mr. E. H. Warmington.

The following members retire by rotation and, being eligible for re-election, are nominated by the Council: Prof. B. Ashmole, Mr. S. Casson, Miss Winifred Lamb, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, Prof. J. A. K. Thomson and Prof. P. Ure.

The Society has had during the Session three successive Second Librarians: Mr. B. S. Page, who, after doing good work for the literary side of the Library, has passed on to the University Library of Birmingham; Mr. V. H. S. Sutherland, who, in his brief tenure of office before

taking a post at the Ashmolean Museum, could hardly have done more than he did for the Society; and the present holder of the office, Mr. W. T. Purdon of Clare College, Cambridge.

Members will learn with regret of the grave illness of their assistant librarian, Mr. F. Wise.

### Meetings.

The first General Meeting of the Session was held on November 10th, 1931. At this meeting Mr. A. J. B. Wace delivered a communication on 'The Study of Greek Sculpture.'

Mr. Wace said that down to the middle of the sixth century the artists whose names were recorded worked in marble: thenceforward to the time of Praxiteles in bronze. Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippos, was said to have introduced in the fourth century the art of making piece moulds in plaster both from living models and from bronze statues, and Pliny said that the practice reached such a pitch that no statue of bronze or marble was made without a clay model. The Greeks appeared to have been so much influenced by the use of clay models for bronzestatues that they employed them for marble statues as well. Thus they lost in their later marbles the fresh sculptural vigour of archaic Greek statues. The practice of modelling in clay and then leaving the stone-cutter to work the finished marble from it had been the universal practice of sculptors to the present day.

It was probable that Praxiteles, the first sculptor after the sixth century renowned for work in marble, anticipated Rodin's practice of leaving the carving to others. His well-known works, such as the Satyr or the Aphrodite of Cnidos, were designed with the support necessary to marble as an integral part of their composition. The same was true of the Hermes, but recently suggestions had been made that this was not an original but a marble copy of a bronze. Though there was no good reason to doubt the fourth-century date, there were serious reasons for regarding it as a copy, a marble version made in Praxiteles's studio by his pupils or stone-cutters after his original clay model. The original would have been modelled by Praxiteles in clay, so that it could either be cast in bronze or carved in marble.

In the subsequent discussion Mr. Stanley Casson, Mr. Eric Maclagan and the President (Professor Ernest Gardner) took part.

H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Wace for his paper. This, having been seconded by H.E. the Greek Minister, was carried by acclamation.

The second General Meeting was held on February 3rd, 1932, when M. Fernand Chapouthier, Professor at the University of Bordeaux, entrusted by the French School of Athens, for six successive expeditions, with the supervision of the excavations in connexion with the Cretan Palace at Mallia, described the results of the completed work.

It is known that the 'palatial' civilisation, revealed to the scholastic world by the discoveries at Knossos and Phaestos, dated back to about 2,100 B.C.

#### *The Plan of the Palace.*

M. Chapouthier presented the plan of the edifice: a collection of buildings, four-square round a central court. He specially insisted on its native characteristics.

The magazines in the east of the Palace contained a large number of jars and vessels, filled with carbonised beans, which can be identified. Here was also found an ingenious device providing for avoidance of waste in case of breakage of an oil-jar. A bench placed in the entrance corridor was the post for the official supervising the entry and despatch of provisions. The seal used by this official has been recovered. He is represented seated before the oil-jars, on which he is setting his seal.

An enormous jar, 5 feet 6 inches high, contained the provision of oil: near it an oil-separator served for the olive-working. Elsewhere, the armoury workshop contained the moulds in which bronze for dipping the tools was smelted.

In the workshop of the vase-drillers was an enormous stone jar, unfinished.

These magazines may be compared with those of Asia Minor or Cyprus, but the plan and arrangement are more varied. The Cretan detests symmetry. Thus, by adapting a hypostyle hall to their palace, they have intentionally given it a non-symmetrical plan.

Elsewhere they seem to have made an innovation. A little chapel with *diomos* and *prodomos* seems the 'ancestor' of the Mycenaean *megaron* and of the Hellenic Temple, considered until now as of Continental origin.

#### *The Terraces consecrated to Religious Rites.*

The King, in Crete as in the East, was also High-Priest. Several terraces above the central court were used for the celebration of religious rites. One of these, a real *loggia*, the ceiling of which was supported by round columns, contained an altar, and communicated by a small staircase with a sort of sacristy, in which were kept the ceremonial weapons.

The Insignia of Royalty were the sceptre, an

axe in schist, representing a leopard (such as were trained for hunting), and an immense bronze sword, with hilt and knob of rock-crystal, decorated with gold-plate. These weapons, of such exceptional importance for the history of metal-work in the primitive Mediterranean, were carried by the Royal High-Priest at such ceremonies as took place in the *loggia*. Sir Arthur Evans had already pointed out the interest of these weapons in *The Times* of Dec. 24th, 1925.

We have here a truly Oriental custom, and we may compare the train of our Minoan Pontiff with the representation of the King of Persia, which the soldiers of the garrison of Dura, on the shore of the Euphrates, sketched on the walls of the fortress. Another terrace, on the contrary, draws us from the East and reminds us of Greece. There we see a round slab, deeply sunk into the earth, the surface of which is dug out into thirty-four slight depressions, arranged in a circle, round a deeper central cavity. This disposition recalls that of the *kernos*, a portable vase of similar shape, used in Greek mysteries for agrarian offerings to the Divinities of the Soil.

It certainly appears as if the idea of this form of vase or slab, permitting the placing of the gifts of different products of the earth before the great Goddess, originated in Crete.

#### *The Inscriptions.*

One room, in the north of the Palace, contains the princely archives. These consist of a collection of pastilles, medallions, bars and tablets in clay, covered with hieroglyphic and early linear signs. A similar collection was formerly found at Knossos: that of Mallia contains about twenty new signs.

The human head or profile, under a branch, the galloping bull, the bird, the bow with its arrow, the three-footed pot, are amongst the most original. Besides these symbolical figures, linear signs are marked on other tablets. If we cannot yet seize the phonetic value, we can study the form. We notice how figures of everyday life have gradually become transformed into more geometrical shapes, till finally they have developed into the letters of our alphabet.

Here again Crete has played an important rôle in that period of history in which the old Oriental imagery has given place to more convenient and more rapid forms of writing.

In conveying the warm thanks of the Society to Professor Chapouthier, Sir Arthur Evans, as a worker in a neighbouring field, laid stress on the singular importance of the discoveries made by the lecturer and his colleagues at Mallia, on behalf of the French School, and the excellence of the work of the excavation itself. While at

Knossos the earliest Palace remains were largely destroyed or concealed by the later building, Mallia, where the earliest palatial stage was largely left untouched, supplied the best evidence of the high civilisation attained by Minoan Crete at the beginning of the Age of Palaces. It afforded a valuable link of connexion with the East Mediterranean lands in the days of Abraham and Hammurabi.

	(a)	(b)	(c)
	1912-13	1930-31	1931-32
Books added .....	489	891	844
Books borrowed...	938	3,506	3,863
<hr/>			
Slides added .....	363	547	293
Slides borrowed...	3,578	9,648	8,591
Slides sold .....	506	1,934	933
Photographs sold	345	193	140

The third General Meeting was held on May 3rd, 1932, when Professor J. L. Myres (V.P.) delivered an address on 'The twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*: its place in the structure of the poem.'

It had been the fashion to regard the last book of the *Iliad*, which dealt with the ransom of the body of Hector, as a late supplement, and to consider that the poem really ended with book xxii, which gives the story of Hector's death. Book ix, containing the story of the embassy to Achilles, had also been treated as an expansion. Professor Myres, however, set out to show that book xxiv was necessary as the moral counterpart of book i containing the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon. Book ix he regarded as essential to the poem. It was, he claimed, its central point, on either side of which the events of the story were ranged with remarkable balance and symmetry. This symmetry would be hopelessly marred by the omission of book xxiv. Professor Myres considered that the bilateral panel-patterns of geometric vases (which roughly synchronised with the composition of the *Iliad*) provided a powerful analogy to this schematisation of the poem, and illustrated his point with a series of remarkable diagrams.

The last book of the *Odyssey*, which had likewise been depreciated, was the necessary counterpart of the first and solved the legal issue there raised and otherwise left open.

Book xxiii of the *Iliad* exhibited Achilles restored to peace with the world; in book xxiv he is restored to peace with himself and the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled.

After observations from Dr. Nairn and the President the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to Professor Myres for his interesting paper.

#### The Joint Library and Slide Collection.

To illustrate the work of the past Session, figures are given showing the activities of the Library during (a) a pre-war Session, (b) the last Session, and (c) the Session just concluded.

The year has been a memorable one for the Library owing to its receiving the Farside bequest—the most substantial accession that has accrued to it for many years. Under the will of Mrs. William Farside, the classical books of her late husband were left to the Society. Mr. Farside was a great lover of Hellas and an old and valued friend to many of us. The books were about 600 in number, many of them finely bound. All which the Library did not possess were added to it, and a quantity of worn library copies were removed and replaced by new copies from the bequest. Duplicate copies from the same source were added where the possession by the Library of a duplicate copy was desirable. A suitable inscription has been placed in all the books. Other duplicate copies were sold for the benefit of the Library to members and student associates.

The generous grant of £500 from the Trustees of the Carnegie Fund has now been nearly expended. The money has been used entirely for the purchase of outstanding needs, and not for binding or administrative purposes. Among recent purchases are the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*; Stählin's edition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; Krumbacher's *Byzantinische Litteratur* in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*; Kromayer-Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder*; Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*: the completion of Brunn-Bruckmann's *Denkmäler*; Langlotz, *Früh-griechische Bildhauerschulen*; Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine*; Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit*; the *Festschrift* to Karl Schumacher, and the *Catalogue of the Library of the German Institute in Rome*.

The following have been added to the periodicals taken by the Library:—

*Antike und Christentum*, the Italian *Athenaeum*, the *Bulletin of the Museum of Valletta, Greece and Rome* (published by the Classical Association), *Hesperia* (the new publication of the American School at Athens), *Magna Graecia*, *Morgenland* and the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine*.

The Library now possesses up to date both the German and the Austrian publications of the *Limes*. It continues to receive the excellent

translations published by the Association Guillaume Budé.

Two monumental works have now been completed: the New Palaeographical Society's *Facsimiles of Ancient MSS.* and Furtwängler-Reichhold's *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. These works are now bound, the former in the chronological sequence recommended by the editors.

The arrangement for interchange of books with the National Central Library works satisfactorily. During the past session 44 books have been lent to the Central Library, and 8 borrowed from it.

The two Councils wish to express their sincere thanks for gifts of books to the following:—

*Authors:* Mr. P. Ammann, Mr. S. E. Bassett, Prof. E. Bignami, Dr. E. Breccia, Mr. F. B. Brown, Mr. G. M. Calhoun, Mr. E. Cesareo, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Sister M. D. Diederich, Dr. E. Diehl, Mr. G. C. Dunning, Mr. N. P. Eleutheriades, Dr. E. Gerland, Dr. W. S. Ferguson, Mr. E. H. Freshfield, Mr. O. Guéraud, Principal W. R. Halliday, Mr. M. Hammerstrom, Mr. C. Hawkes, Mr. G. Jeffery, Mr. W. H. Knowles, Mr. C. J. Kraemer, Jr., Père L. Laurand, Mr. E. Löwy, Dr. A. Maiuri, Mr. C. Maltézos, Mr. H. Mattingly, Prof. M. Van der Mijnsbrugge, Dr. J. G. Milne, Dr. A. N. Modona, Dr. F. Oswald, Mr. L. Philippou, Sir W. M. Ramsay, Professor S. Reinach, Dr. Walter Schmid, Mr. H. R. W. Smith, Mr. J. Staquet, Prof. F. J. de Waele, Mr. G. A. Wainwright, Mr. J. G. Wetzel, Mr. L. Whibley, Prof. A. Wilhelm, Prof. P. Wolters, M. L. Zancan.

*Donors of Miscellaneous Works:* Miss M. Alford, Miss A. E. F. Barlow, Prof. N. H. Baynes, Mr. H. I. Bell, Mr. S. M. Boyce, Miss E. L. Bruce-Clarke, Dr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, Prof. F. R. Earp, The Executors of the late Mrs. L. W. Farside, Lady Graves-Sawle, Principal W. R. Halliday, Mr. Hiley, Miss Jex-Blake, Mrs. A. F. Liddell, Mr. G. A. Macmillan, Mr. W. Miller, Dr. J. G. Milne, Dr. F. Oswald, Mr. J. Penoyre, Mr. F. R. Pryor, Mme. Psichari, Mr. A. Reid, Canon G. C. Richards, Dr. W. W. Tarn, Miss M. E. J. Taylor, Marqués de la Vega, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Mr. H. B. Walters, Mr. L. Whibley.

*The Presses of the following Universities:* California, Cambridge, Catholic University of America, Graz, Manchester, Michigan, Oxford, Les Presses Universitaires de France.

*Institutions and Associations:* American Academy in Rome, The American Philological Association (Middletown, Conn.), American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Association Guillaume Budé, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, British Museum, Chicago Oriental Institute,

The Historical Association, L'Institut pontifical d'Archéologie chrétienne (Rome), Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale Italiana, Northumberland and Durham Classical Association, Oliver Wendell Holmes Library (Phillips Academy), Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam, Romisch-Germanisches Zentral-Museum (Mainz), Royal Society of Letters (Lund), Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, Société polonaise de philologie (Lwów University), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, The Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birth-place.

*The Following Publishing Houses:* F. Alcan, Allen and Unwin, Almquist and Wiksells, Angus and Robertson, E. Arnold & Co., 'L'Artisan du Livre,' Bark and Schroter, Basil Blackwell, B. T. Batsford, C. H. Beck, G. Bell, Biblioteca d'arte editrice (Rome), E. de Boccard, Bowes and Bowes, A. W. Brögger, Jonathan Cape, H. Champion, Chatto and Windus, G. Chiantore, A. Colin, Constable & Co., The Courier Press, C. W. Daniel, Dieterich, Faber and Faber, G. Fock, P. Geuthner, Gräfe und Unzer, Walter de Gruyter, G. G. Harrap, O. Harrassowitz, D. C. Heath, W. Heinemann, O. Hofels, U. Hoepli, Hubert & Co., H. Keller, P. S. King & Co., W. Kohlhammer, M. Lamertin, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., Methuen & Co., H. Milford, J. C. B. Mohr, John Murray, Nash and Grayson, M. Niemeyer, R. Noske, G. Van Oest, H. Ohlssons, R. Oldenbourg, E. Partridge, Payot, 'Popolo d'Italia' (Milan), G. Routledge, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., F. Schöningh, B. Schwabe, Taussig and Taussig, B. G. Teubner, A. Topelmann, D. N. Tzaka, A. Vallecchi, J. Vrin, G. Westermann, H. D. Tjeenk Willink and Zoon, Weidmann, Williams and Norgate, J. B. Wolters, M. S. Zekaki.

#### The Photographic Collections.

The situation of the slide collection is as follows. The new Catalogue is a great asset and hardly less important is the new Index. This last is a particularly good piece of work, mainly carried out by Mr. Purdon and Miss A. F. Thompson. But, as the cost of printing them would not be less than £400, the use of this apparatus is confined to those members who can visit the Library. In consequence the main collection of something like 10,000 slides is used less than when the catalogue was on sale.

The remedy is to go on increasing the number of sets of slides with texts. Members of the Council and others who would undertake to add to these would be doing the collections and the Society real service. Cnossos, Constantinople,



Roman Africa, Trajan's Column, Painting and Mosaic, Ancient Handicrafts, Byzantine Art, and the Cults of Roman Britain are among the subjects needed. Of all these the Society possesses excellent slides. It is not always necessary to write a continuous lecture. Experience proves that detailed documented descriptions of the slides, each on a separate sheet, serve the purpose very well. Sets so constituted give the lecturer a freer hand, and, above all, are more easily altered and brought up to date.

The collection is being greatly improved at the moment by the addition of over 100 picked negatives and slides from the collection of the late Mr. W. H. Banks, kindly lent for reproduction by Mrs. Banks. Outside the Italian professional photographers' collections this series, which covers Magna Graecia, Italy and Provence, is probably one of the largest and best. For various reasons the negatives from amateur sources covering the W. Mediterranean have never approached in quality or quantity those which have been presented to the Society from Greece and Greek lands. For the first time the Society will now possess excellent renderings of the subjects most in demand from the W. Mediterranean area. The Council have recently expressed their appreciation to Mrs. Banks, and her sister Miss Alford, for their kind help.

As before, the Societies are greatly beholden to work generously undertaken by members in the Library. Mrs. Culley continues her work on the Authors Catalogue. Miss Alford on the periodicals, while Mrs. Barge has nearly completed the copying of the first volume of the register of negatives which was perishing from long use. The work entailed the copying of 10,000 entries, involving much verification. Miss A. F. Thompson, Miss Gladys Nash and Lady Webster have also given appreciated help.

It is hoped that the Roman section of the *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, the work of Lady (Dorothy) Brooke, will appear in the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

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The President moved the adoption of the Report, which was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The President then delivered his valedictory

address, which gave a retrospect of archaeological progress during the last fifty years. The opening years of this period, he said, made a distinct epoch in the history of classical studies. They saw the discoveries of Schliemann at Mycenae, rich in gold, which were so astonishing as to cause some suspicions at first. There were also the systematic excavations of Olympia; and since then numerous discoveries have added to our knowledge of Greek civilisation and art.

Not altogether by coincidence, the beginning of this half-century of progress in Hellenic Studies was also the age of aesthetic movement in England. The latter is pictured in the pages of the contemporary *Punch*. A striking instance of the former was Charles Newton's teaching on Greek Art. When, as Yates Professor at University College, London, he delivered a course of lectures, the rooms were crowded to the doors with an audience who presumably wished to know something about this art which they affected to admire.

About this time, too, the academic recognition of the study of classical archaeology was established at Cambridge and later at Oxford, and ever since, a succession of trained students has contributed to our knowledge. Galleries of casts were formed at Cambridge and Oxford and later at other universities; but London, with its finest collection of original sculpture in the world, still awaits any such means of comparative study of an adequate character.

Further facilities for study have been provided, especially in recent years by the magnificent series of photographs that are now available, both in illustrated books and in separate series.

For study abroad, a great advantage is offered by the British Schools at Athens and at Rome, founded in 1886 and 1902 respectively. Students from these two schools are now scattered among various British Universities, and so are spreading that direct knowledge of the ancient world which they have themselves enjoyed.

The Master of Emmanuel, Dr. P. Giles, proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his administration of the affairs of the Society during his term of office and for the address which he had delivered.

This was seconded by Professor Conway and carried by acclamation.

# BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1931.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Debts Payable.....	2359 6 0	By Cash in Hand—Bank .....	188 12 10½
„ Subscriptions paid in advance .....	59 6 6	Assistant Treasurer .....	112 11 2½
„ Endowment Fund .....	1309 12 0	Petty Cash .....	301 7 1
(includes legacy of £200 from the late		Debts Receivable .....	205 11 0
Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from		„ Investments .....	2725 0 0
the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)		„ Library Premises Account—	
„ Life Compositions and Donations—		Balance brought forward, Jan. 1, 1931 ...	405 12 0
Total at Jan. 1, 1931 .....	2398 9 0	Less Donations received during year .....	4 11 6
Received during year .....	31 10 0		401 0 6
	2329 19 0	Less proportion carried to Income and	
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Ac-		Expenditure Account .....	21 0 0
count—Members deceased.....	31 10 0	„ Valuation of Stocks of Publications .....	380 0 6
„ Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.—Balance	2298 9 0	„ „ Library.....	450 0 0
of Grant carried forward .....	138 13 2	„ „ Photographic Department ..	1500 0 0
		„ Paper in hand for printing Journal .....	200 0 0
		Balance, Deficiency at January 1, 1931 ...	22 0 0
		Add Balance from Income and Ex-	171 16 5
		penditure Account .....	206 11 8
		Balance, Deficiency at December 31, 1931	381 8 1

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£6165 6 8	£6165 6 8
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Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.  
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.



Dr.

## 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1931, TO DECEMBER 31, 1931. Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper, Vol. I.1 ..	654	10	0			
" Plates .....	50	17	0			
" Drawing and Engraving .....	88	12	0			
" Editing and Reviews .....	97	4	6			
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members .....	169	3	5			
	<u>£1060 7 5</u>					
By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd. ....				185	3	4
" Hellenic Society .....				1	11	6
						186 14 10
" Receipts from Advertisements .....						27 9 0
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ...						846 3 7
						<u>£1060 7 5</u>

## LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1931, TO DECEMBER 31, 1931.

	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	78	18	2
" Slides for Hire .....	19	3	8
" Photographs for Reference Collection .....	10	6	
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	74	2	5½
	<u>£172 14 0½</u>		

	£	s.	d.
By Receipts from Sales and Hire.....	171	7	3½
" " Sale of Catalogues, &c.....	1	7	6
	<u>£172 14 9½</u>		

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## LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1931, TO DECEMBER 31, 1931.

	£	s.	d.
To Purchases .....	34	10	0
" Binding .....	66	7	0
	<u>£101 3 9</u>		

	£	s.	d.
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c. ....	37	9	3
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	63	14	6
	<u>£101 3 9</u>		

## CARNEGIE UNITED KINGDOM TRUST

*Grant to the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies*

	£	s.	d.
To Expenditure on Books purchased during year.....	361	6	10
Balance forward .....	138	13	2
	<u>£500 0 0</u>		

	£	s.	d.
By Cash Received .....	500	0	0
	<u>£500 0 0</u>		

## SUPPLEMENT NO. IX.

TO THE

## SUBJECT CATALOGUE\* OF THE JOINT LIBRARY

## APPARATUS, HISTORY OF STUDIES, ETC.

*Periodicals.*

- Athenaeum.** Nuova Serie, from vol. i (1923).  
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$  in. Pavia. *In Progress.*
- Classical Association, Oxford Branch.** Proceedings, i-viii.  
 $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. Oxford. 1926-28.
- Greece and Rome.** From vol. i (1931).  
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. *In Progress.*
- Hesperia,** Journal of the American School of classical studies at Athens. From vol. i (1931).  
 $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$  in. Cambridge, Mass. *In Progress.*
- Palestine.** The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine. From vol. i (1931).  
 $11 \times 8$  in. Oxford. *In Progress.*
- Philologus.** Supplementband xxiii, Heft 3.  
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$  in. pp. vi + 190. Leipsic. 1932.

*Essays, etc.*

- Birrell (A.)** Res judicatae.  $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. 280. 1892.
- Macdonald (G.)** Bibliography of published writings. [J.R.S. 1932.]  
 $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$  in. pp. 6. 1932.
- Platt (A.)** Nine Essays.  
 $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. xviii + 220. Cambridge. 1927.

*In honorem Works.*

- Rolfe (J. C.)** Classical studies in honor of. Ed. G. D. Hadzsits.  
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. pp. x + 352. Philadelphia. 1931.
- Schumacher (K.)** Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag.  
 $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$  in. pp. vi + 371. Mainz. 1930.
- Wackernagel (J.)** ANTIDWON. Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel.  
 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$  in. pp. viii + 364. Göttingen. 1923.

*Sundry Works of Reference.*

- Neuman (H.)** A new dictionary of the Spanish and English languages. 2 vols.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in. 1802.
- Rome.** Katalog der Bibliothek des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom. 2 vols. By A. Mau and E. von Mercklin.  
 $10 \times 6$  in. pp. xviii + 1451. Rome. 1913-14.
- Neue Bearbeitung von E. v. Mercklin und F. Matz. 1. Supplement. Ergänzungen zu Bd. I für die Jahre 1911-25. By F. Matz.  
 $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$  in. pp. xxix + 516. Berlin. 1930.

\* The Catalogue (published 1924) is sold to members at the reduced price of 7s. 6d. (by post 8s. 6d.).  
 This and other supplements are sold at 6d. each.  
 Address: The Assistant Librarian, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 50 Bedford Square, W.C.1.

*Studies.*

- Petrie (W. M. Flinders-)** Seventy years in archaeology.  
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. pp. vi + 284. 1931.  
**Irwin (C. H.)** The Bible, the scholar and the spade.  
 $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. 251. 1932.  
**Ramsay (W. M.)** The bearing of recent research on the trustworthiness of the New Testament.  
 $9 \times 6$  in. pp. xiv + 427. 1915.  
**Cook (A. B.)** The rise and progress of classical archaeology with special reference to the University of Cambridge.  
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  in. pp. 61. 1931.  
**Vahlen (J.)** Opuscula academica. 2 vols.  
 $9 \times 6$  in. pp. xi + iv + 575 (av. per vol.). Leipsic. 1907-8.

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**Union académique internationale.** Emploi des signes critiques: disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins. Conseils et recommandations.

$9 \times 6$  in. pp. 46. Paris. 1932.

- Rorimer (J. J.)** Ultra-violet rays and their use in the examination of works of art.  
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. xii + 61. New York. 1931.

*Biographies.*

- Ashby (Thomas)** 1874-1931. By A. H. Smith. [Proc. Brit. Acad., xvii.]  
 $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$  in. pp. 29. 1932.  
**Gray (H. B.)** of Bradfield. A memoir.  
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  in. pp. 174. 1931.  
**Hasluck (F. W.)** DAWKINS (R. M.) Le grand ouvrage de F. W. Hasluck. [Byzantion, vi, fasc. 2.]  
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. pp. 9. Brussels. 1931.  
**Leaf (W.)** 1852-1927. Some chapters of autobiography with a memoir by Charlotte M. Leaf.  
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. x + 338. 1932.  
**Schliemann (H.)** LUDWIG (E.) Schliemann of Troy.  
 $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. 336. 1931.

**CLASSICAL AUTHORS***Greek Collected Works.*

**Elegy and Iambus**, being the remains of all the Greek elegiac and iambic poets from Callinus to Crates, with the Anacreontea. With an English translation by J. M. Edmonds.  
 2 vols. [Loeb Class. Lib.]

$6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. pp. xiii + 500 (av. per vol.). 1931.

**Corpus medicorum graecorum.**

- I, 1. Hippocrates. Indices librorum. Iusiurandum lex. De arte. De medico. De decente habitu praeceptiones. De prisca medicina. De aere locis aquis. De alimento. De liquororum usu. De flatibus. *Ed.* J. L. Heiberg.

pp. xii + 146. 1927.

- II. Aretaeus. *Ed.* C. Hude.

pp. xxv + 183. 1923.

- IV. Soranus. Gynaeciorum libri iv. De signis fracturarum. De fasciis. Vita Hippocratis. *Ed.* J. Ilberg.

pp. xxi + 282. 1927.

- V, 4, 2. Galenus. De sanitate tuenda. De alimentorum facultatibus. De bonis malisque sucis. De victu attenuante. De ptisana. *Edd.* K. Koch, G. Helmreich, C. Kalbfleisch, O. Hartlich.

pp. lxiii + 522. 1923.

**Corpus medicorum graecorum.**

- V, 9, 1. Galenus. In Hippocratis de natura hominis. In Hippocratis de victu acutorum. De diaeta Hippocratis in morbis acutis. *Edd.* J. Mewaldt, G. Helmreich, J. Westenberger. pp. xlv + 487. 1914.
- V, 9, 2. Galenus. In Hippocratis prorrheticum, I. De comate secundum Hippocratem. In Hippocratis prognosticum. *Edd.* H. Diels, J. Mewaldt, J. Heeg. pp. xxxiii + 490. 1915.
- VI, 1, 1. Oribasius. Collectionum medicarum reliquiae I. libri i-viii. *Ed.* J. Raeder. pp. viii + 300. 1928.
- VI, 1, 2. Oribasius. Collectionum medicarum reliquiae II. libri ix-xvi. *Ed.* J. Raeder. pp. vi + 297. 1929.
- VI, 2, 1. Oribasius. Collectionum medicarum reliquiae III, libri xxiv-xxv, xliii-xlvi. *Ed.* J. Raeder. pp. viii + 291. 1931.
- VI, 3. Oribasius. Synopsis ad Eustathium. Libri ad Eunapium. *Ed.* J. Raeder. pp. x + 498. 1926.
- IX, 1. Paulus Aegineta. Pars Prior, libri i-iv. *Ed.* J. L. Heiberg. pp. ix + 388. 1921.
- IX, 2. Paulus Aegineta. Pars altera, libri v-vii. *Ed.* J. L. Heiberg. pp. vi + 414. 1924.
- X, 1, 1. Philumenus. De venenatis animalibus eorumque remediis. Ex cod. Vatic. primum ed. M. Wellmann. pp. vii + 70. 1908.
- XI, 2, 1. Pseudogalenus. In Hippocratis de septimanis commentarium ab Hunaino Q.F. arabice versum. *Ed.* G. Bergstraesser. pp. xxii + 201. 1914.
- The volumes are published in Berlin and Leipsic and measure  $ca. 9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in.

*Greek Authors.*

- Aeschines.** In Ctesiphonta. *Ed.* T. Gwatkin.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  in. pp. vii + 282. 1890.
- Aeschylus.** Agamemnon. *Ed.* A. Sidgwick.  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. xxiv + 88. Oxford. 1905.
- The Agamemnon. A revised text with introduction, verse translation and critical notes. By J. C. Lawson.  $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. pp. xlvii + 168. Cambridge. 1932.
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### PREFACE

THE new Catalogue is composed of the original catalogue (1913) and 17 supplements, laid down in one sequence on some 400 folio pages.

The cost of reprinting this is prohibitive, but members will be glad to have the following outline as a guide to the collection.

Photographs of the slides in an order corresponding to that of the catalogue are on view at 50 Bedford Square, mounted on cards and labelled. This series in 48 boxes forms an illustrated card catalogue of the whole collection.

The mass of material here listed consists of gifts from members of the Society and is a striking illustration of what can be done by corporate action. It is impossible to give a complete list of our donors, but members will like to see to whom in the main the collection owes its riches in its various sections.

One of the founders of the collection and its first Hon. Keeper was Professor J. L. Myres. Thirty-five years ago he laid down the lines, virtually unaltered, which it should follow, and to-day retains his interest in its efficiency. Every subdivision of the following list has benefited by his varied learning.

In the following list the donors are grouped under the sections which they have most benefited.

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COINS:—The Royal Numismatic Society, the authorities of the Dept. of Coins and Medals in the British Museum and in particular Dr. G. F. Hill.

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES:—Particularly those dealing with ancient athletics, Dr. Norman Gardiner †.

The present Keeper has added to all the sections.

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## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, υ, αι, οι, ου by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final -ος and -ου by *-us* and *-um*, and -ρος by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong ει, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in -ειον must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in -ρος, as Λέαργος, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-on* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for κ, *ch* for χ, but *y* and *u* being substituted for υ and ου, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for ου in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

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In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

*Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.*

Names of authors should not be underlined ; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus :

Six, *JdI.* xviii, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*JdI.* xviii, 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line ; e.g. Dittenb. *SIG*<sup>2</sup> 123.

*Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.*

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- AA* = Archäologischer Anzeiger.  
*Abh Berl. (Heid. Leipz. Münch.)* = Abhandlungen der Berliner (Heidelberger, Leipziger, Münchner) Akademie.  
*AD* = Antike Denkmäler.  
*AdI* = Annali dell' Istituto.  
*AEM* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilung.  
*AJA* = American Journal of Archaeology.  
*AJPh* = American Journal of Philology.  
*AM* = Athenische Mitteilungen.  
*APF* = Archiv für Papyrus-Forschung.  
*ARW* = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.  
*AZ* = Archäologische Zeitung.  
*BCH* = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.  
*BdI* = Bulletino dell' Istituto.  
*BM Bronzes, etc.* = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes, etc.  
*BMC* = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.  
*BNGJ* = Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher.  
*BrBr* = Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler.  
*BSA* = Annual of the British School at Athens.  
*BSR* = Papers of the British School at Rome.  
*Burs* = Bursian's Jahresberichte.  
*Byz* = Byzantion.  
*BZ* = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.  
*CAH* = Cambridge Ancient History.  
*CIG* = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*Cl Ph* = Classical Philology.  
*Cl Qu* = Classical Quarterly.  
*Cl Rev* = Classical Review.  
*CR Ac Inscr* = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.  
*CVA* = Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.  
*Δελτ* = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.  
*DA* = Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.  
Dittenb. *OGI* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae.  
Dittenb. *SIG* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*EA* = Arndt-Amelung, Einzelaufnahmen.  
'Εφημ = 'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς.  
*FR* = Furtwangler and Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei.  
*IG* = Inscriptiones Graecae.  
*IG Rom* = Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.  
*JdI* = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*JEA* = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.  
*JHS* = Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
*JInt* = Journal Internationale d'Archéologie Numismatique.  
*JRS* = Journal of Roman Studies.  
*LS* = Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon.  
*Mon Ant* = Monumenti Antichi.  
*Mon Inst* = Monumenti dell' Istituto.  
*ML* = Roscher, Mythologisches Lexikon.  
*NNM* = Numismatic Notes and Monographs.  
*NSc* = Notizie degli Scavi.  
*Num Chron* = Numismatic Chronicle.  
*NZ* = Numismatische Zeitschrift.  
*OJh* = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*PhW* = Philologische Wochenschrift.  
Πρακτ = Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρίας.  
*RA* = Revue Archéologique.  
*RE* = Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.  
*REA* = Revue des Études Anciennes.  
*REG* = Revue des Études Grecques.  
*Rend Linc* = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.  
*Rev Num* = Revue Numismatique.  
*Rev Phil* = Revue de Philologie.  
*RGVV* = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.  
*Riv Fil* = Rivista di Filologia.  
*RM* = Römische Mitteilungen.  
*SB Berl (Heid. Leipz. Münch.)* = Sitzungsberichte der Berliner (Heidelberger, etc.) Akademie.  
*SEG* = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.  
*TAM* = Tituli Asiae Minoris.  
*WV* = Wiener Vorlegeblätter.  
*Z Num* = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.  
*Z Sav* = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung.

*Transliteration of Inscriptions.*

- [ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.  
 ( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.  
 < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.  
 . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.  
 - - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known. Uncertain letters should have dots under them.  
 Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.  
 The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ῑ.

*Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.*

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

- ( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.  
 [[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.  
 < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

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The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

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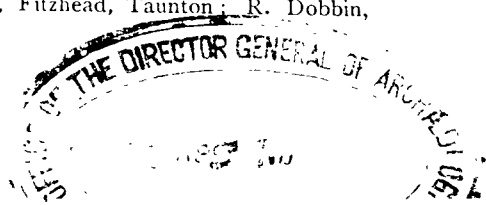
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## GREY WARES FROM LESBOS

[ PLATE I. ]

THE north-west corner of Asia Minor, Lesbos and, in particular, Mytilene, have long been recognised as the home of these grey wares called Lesbian or Aeolic bucchero. With remarkable tact, citizens of Mytilene resident in Naukratis proved the point by inscribing their names and place of origin on the grey vases they dedicated.<sup>1</sup> Their evidence was, however, supplemented by the discovery of grey pottery like their own in towns as near Lesbos as Larissa and Troy VIII.

Several centuries before Lesbian bucchero flourished, the same district produced a distinguished grey ware of which the home was in the sixth city of Troy. This pottery left descendants in the seventh city—side by side with the *Buckelkeramik*<sup>2</sup>—and these descendants would seem to be the direct ancestors of the bucchero of Troy VIII, Lesbos and other Aeolic sites.<sup>3</sup>

Returning to Troy VI, we find that some of its grey wares are unmistakably Minyan, which enables us to carry the pedigree further back still. Minyan ware is found in the second Minoan period, about 1900 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Nor can it be denied that the fabrics of Troy VI are derived ultimately from those of Troy II and Troy I.<sup>5</sup>

These facts may justify my choosing the name 'grey ware' which has already been used for what I believe to be an early member of the family under discussion.<sup>6</sup> In any case, some of the latest representatives of this family have so strong a family likeness that, under certain conditions, no more individual name can be applied.

A number of sites within the Aeolic area have produced grey pottery, usually in the form of sherds and often unstratified. The pottery belongs either to the Troy VI, VII periods (late bronze and early iron age) or to the Troy VIII period (archaic: sixth to seventh centuries). Shape and decoration should tell us which is which, but often the shape is incomplete and all distinctive decoration absent. In spite of these drawbacks, the material is important, for the Troy VI class has been very little studied, while archaic bucchero has been studied mainly from examples found

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, pp. 47, 48, 50, 51, 65. Loschke, *A.I.* 1891, p. 18. Karo, *de arte vascularia*, p. 25. Bohlau, *Aus ionischen . . . Necropolen*, pp. 96, and 120, distinguishes Lesbian and Samian bucchero. For other literature on the class, see Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, pp. 153-5.

<sup>2</sup> Dorpfeld, *Troja und Ithon*, pp. 296-303.

<sup>3</sup> Bohlau, *op. cit.* p. 96, comments on the continuity of Trojan wares and Aeolic bucchero.

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<sup>4</sup> Forsdyke in *JHS.* xxxiv. p. 126 ff. Childe in *JHS.* xxxv. p. 199 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Forsdyke, in Vol. I. 1 of the British Museum Catalogue, has already pointed out that 'the original black-polished ware . . . developed . . . under . . . conditions of conservative tradition and merely technical improvement, into the classical *bucchero nero* of Aeolis' (p. xii).

<sup>6</sup> Myres, *Who were the Greeks?* p. 247.

outside the district where it was made.<sup>7</sup> Lesbos, in particular, the acknowledged centre of the industry, has up till now contributed so little to our knowledge that any evidence it may supply is useful.

The sites in question are the following:—

*In Lesbos* :—

Pyrrha (excavated by Böhlau).

Antissa (*JHS.* li, p. 202. Only the prehistoric material is stratified).

Methymna (see pp. 5, 11 below. Unstratified).

*In Asia Minor* :—

(1) Troy, where the stratification provides our most useful basis for classification.

(2) Larissa, where Böhlau's excavation has produced a quantity of very interesting fragments of archaic type; a few fragments which must belong to the Troy VI period; and two or three whole vases. My dating is based on style, not stratification.

(3) Eski Hissarlik (Troad). Archaic bucchero. See Schliemann, *Troja*, p. 269.

(4) City on the Bali Dagħ (Troad). Archaic bucchero. Schliemann, *op. cit.* p. 264 ff.

(5) 'Tomb of Priam' on the Bali Dagħ. Troy VI pottery. Schliemann, *Troja*, pp. 262–3.

(6) Kebrene (Troad). Archaic bucchero. Schliemann, *Troja*, p. 275.

(7) Hanai Tepe (Troad). Archaic bucchero and Troy VI pottery. Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 706 ff.

The purpose of this paper was originally to introduce the 'grey wares' and others which I found during a trial excavation at Methymna. Alone, they would have been too inconclusive for publication. Recently, however, Dr. Böhlau has most kindly allowed me to study his pottery from Pyrrha and Larissa, and has with great generosity allowed me to publish a selection. At the same time, I have had the opportunity of working through Schliemann's fragments from the Troad, in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, where they are carefully preserved and catalogued. I have been put under a great debt to the Director, Dr. Unversagt, for permission to publish them also.<sup>8</sup>

The accumulation of material from all these sites, and its comparison with complete vases from alien cities will, I hope, provide some evidence on forms, dates and origins, and serve as a prelude to the further study of eastern bucchero.<sup>9</sup>

Since the majority of the sherds described below belong to the *archaic* period, and the literature on archaic grey wares is scattered, a brief discussion will not be amiss.

*Date.* The 'archaic' examples belong to the seventh century and the

<sup>7</sup> Pfuhl, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Most of this material will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*.

<sup>9</sup> I should like, also, to express my gratitude to Mr. Walters for permission to publish the British Museum vases on Pl. I and in fig. 5.

sixth, probably the first half. An adequate series of whole vases would make more exact chronology possible. There are indications that the ware survived in and after the Hellenistic period.<sup>10</sup>

The *colour* varies from silver-grey to gun-metal; the surface may be polished, or enhanced by a grey wash, or rough. Breaks shew a core that is usually grey but sometimes reddish. Mica is present in varying quantity.

*Decoration* consists of deep moulded lines, incision (free-hand or stamped) and relief. The patterns in relief are stamped or applied to the surface (like the bosses in fig. 4, no. 16, which break off). There is no trace of colour on either the Methymna sherds or on the other sherds illustrated, with the exception of fig. 4, no. 10 from Troy, where the top of the rim is red.

I am inclined to think that the pieces I have handled in Lesbos never were painted. The problems connected with painted bucchero do not, therefore, concern us here.

The influence of metal prototypes shews itself in the plastic knobs, handles with discs, imitation rings on *deinoi*, ridged stems, and countless other details.

*Shapes.* *Deinoi* seem particularly common, also stands (shaped more or less like Pl. I, no. 3) and dishes. Methymna has produced only two fragments of trefoil-mouthed jugs, though the shape was a popular one in this fabric.<sup>11</sup> The handle with discs, fig. 3, no. 13, may come from a jug, but is shaped differently from the Larissa examples (*e.g.* fig. 4, no. 15). Various rims testify to the existence of cups, bowls and plates of different kinds. Craters occur at Larissa but still await discovery in Lesbos.

The absence of *aryballoi* and *alabastra* from our sites is remarkable: perhaps they were made for export only; perhaps they were made elsewhere; possibly an example will occur in Lesbos to-morrow. They are conspicuous representatives of the class on foreign sites and in our museums.

Of the variations of bucchero found outside Lesbos and Aeolis, not all concern us here. We must exclude at present types not represented within our area, since we cannot yet either accept or ignore the claims of other centres to have produced their own bucchero.

The closest parallels are provided by Naukratis,<sup>12</sup> and I hope to shew that some of the Naukratite forms are identical with those of Lesbian grey ware. Several vases from Rhodes<sup>13</sup> appear to belong to our group, and so do the ridged stems of dishes from Samos.<sup>14</sup>

Outside the scope of this paper, as I have already said, are painted vases and small unguent vessels. It is the latter which represented our ware in the more remote parts of the ancient world, and, without them, a discussion of the distribution of Greek bucchero would be irrelevant.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Technau, *AM.* liv, p. 48, describes a Hellenistic pseudo-bucchero. Cf. also Walters, *Br. Mus. Cat. of Lamps*, p. xxi.

<sup>11</sup> *E.g.* B.M. 64. 10-7. 1576 from Rhodes, and 88. 6-1. 647, from Naukratis.

<sup>12</sup> C. Smith in Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, p. 49. Gardner,

*Naukratis*, II, pp. 47-51, 65.

<sup>13</sup> B.M. 60. 2-1. 13, 64. 10-7. 1415 and 1576.

<sup>14</sup> *AM.* liv, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> For general references, see Püchl, *op. cit.* pp. 153-5. For distribution, see especially Blinkenberg, *Lunds*, p. 275 ff., and Prinz, *Naukratis*, p. 57 ff.

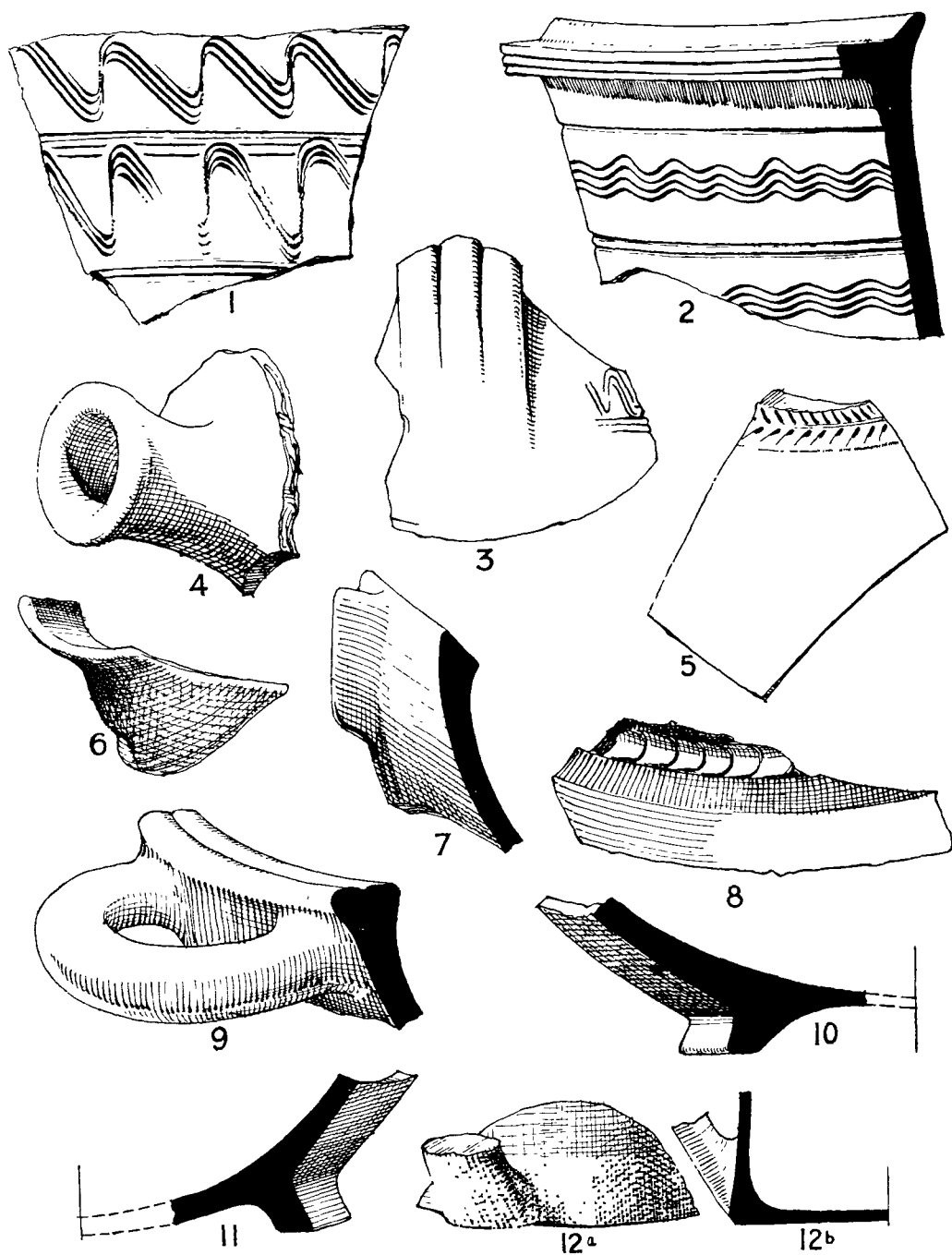


FIG. 1.—FRAGMENTS FROM METHYMNA.

## GREY WARES FROM METHYMNA

(FIGS. 1-3)

*Fig. 1, 1.* Grey clay, polished surface. *Fig. 1, 2.* Grey clay, black surface. *Fig. 1, 3.* Clay reddish inside: grey polished surface.

All these fragments are decorated with *wavy bands*, a favourite motive of the Troy VI period. We cannot say whether they developed from the zigzag bands of early Troadic wares, which might explain their appearance on a pyxis from Troy II-V,<sup>16</sup> or whether they were adapted from the undulating lines on some Mycenaean and Cappadocian<sup>17</sup> vases, which would account for their sudden vogue. Poppelreuter believed that they had their origin in rows of parallel straight lines which could be turned into undulating ones by a clever potter using a potter's wheel. He and Hubert Schmidt have pointed out how the *Wellenband*, made by a toothed instrument capable of producing a number of lines, superseded the single *Wellenlinie*, and how the combination of straight and wavy lines produces variations of pattern. This convenient decoration is more effective when incised than when painted: that perhaps is the reason why it took root in the north-eastern Aegean, where paint is discouraged by grey surfaces. Its most disconcerting feature is its pertinacity, for it survives practically unaltered into the archaic period, and reappears in the same form on flower-pots in Lesbos to-day.

The most striking examples from Troy VI-VII (late bronze and early iron age) are the large *deinos* SS. 3183, Pl. I., no. 1<sup>18</sup>, the stand 3230 and the vessel 3195: compare also 3190, 3196-3209, 3212, 3335-3365. A single sherd from Hanai Tepe (fig. 4, no. 2) is shewn by its context to be contemporary. To the archaic period belongs, in all probability, the *deinos* fragment fig. 4, no. 1, and, without doubt, a number of examples from Troy VIII. Several of these are in grey ware, e.g. SS. 3940, 3943 (fig. 4, no. 3), 3947; and one, no. 3933, in a poorer ware.

In Lesbos the pattern is equally common. Outside Methymna, it is found at Antissa in good grey pottery just above the Mycenaean imports: <sup>19</sup> Pyrrha has yielded several pieces, one from a large vessel which belongs definitely to the Troy VI group, some indefinite.

The rim of our no. 2, typical of this part of the world, is probably shaped to support a lid. Cf. our fig. 2, no. 7; paralleled at Pyrrha (fig. 4, no. 14) and Hanai Tepe.

No. 3, with its handle rising close to the body of the vase, recalls a type of vase like SS. 3195, 3197, from Troy VI, and the triple handles also would be appropriate to this period.

*Fig. 1, 5.* Grey clay: surface originally polished.

The inner end of each short line is deeper and wider than the outer end, shewing how a sharp instrument was pressed into the clay.

<sup>16</sup> Schmidt, *Schliemann's Sammlung* (hereafter referred to as SS.), 2469. See 2243 for possible derivation from zigzag.

<sup>17</sup> de Genouillac, *Céramique cappadocienne*, I, pp. 34-6. The date suggested for this Cappadocian

ware is M.M. III.

<sup>18</sup> Lower part of body restored.

<sup>19</sup> This evidence comes from one trench only and may require modification next season.

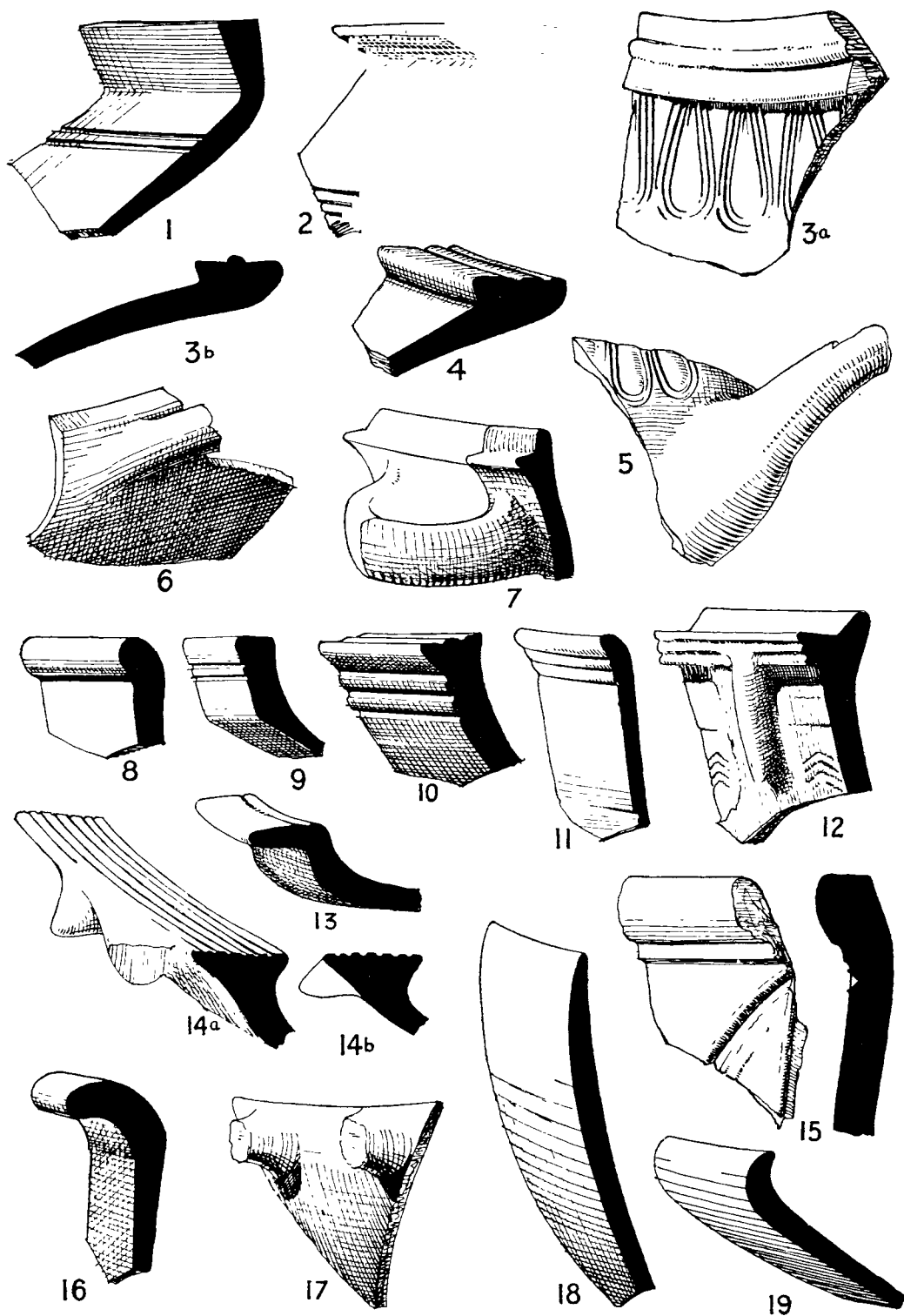


FIG. 2.—FRAGMENTS FROM METHYMNA.

This pattern occurs at Larissa on a *deinos* fragment (fig. 4, no. 5) with a double wavy line below. See also fig. 4, no. 12. Date uncertain, but probably archaic.

*Fig. 1, 6.* Fine grey ware, polished outside.

The sherd looks like part of the lip of a *trefoil-mouthed jug*, but without the profile of the body we cannot say whether it belongs to the Troy VI-VII or to the archaic period. The earliest trefoil-mouthed jug known to me is Cretan (B.M. A 586 of M.M. III date), but the form only became really popular in Greece in the early iron age. Troy VI and VII have produced numerous examples. Archaic bucchero jugs often have a raised rim.

*Fig. 1, 8.* Grey clay, reddish in centre: polished surface. Rim of foot.

Pl. I, no. 2 shews the same curious *scale pattern* on a fragmentary stand from Troy VI. A sherd from Pyrrha (fig. 4, no. 7), another from Hanai Tepe (fig. 4, no. 4) and a third (fig. 4, no. 9) in the British Museum from Mytilene<sup>20</sup> appear to be contemporary.

*Fig. 1, 9.* Grey clay. Dark grey burnish on handle rim and interior, but not on exterior.

*Fig. 1, 12, a, b.* Reddish grey clay, with fine grey polished surface.

This shape resembles though it does not coincide with that of SS. 3177 from Troy VI.

The other fragments in fig. 1 are difficult to date and present no points that merit special description. The spout, *no. 4*, is completely unpolished: *no. 7* is not polished inside. *No. 10* is polished inside and out, therefore probably a bowl.

*Fig. 2, 1-4* probably come from *deinoi*: the outside is in all cases polished. No. 3 bears a stamped tongue pattern: the lines are impressed and the tongues are flat without relief.

The magnificent though incomplete *deinos* from Troy VI has already been mentioned (Pl. I, 1), but the only *deinos* fragment from Methymna that could possibly be equally old is no. 1. The flat-rimmed *deinoi*, nos. 2-4, should be archaic, though there is a rim of this kind in Troy VI, SS. 3192. No. 3 with its tongue pattern might be any date after the middle of the seventh century. A flat-rimmed *deinos* fragment decorated with a wavy band was found at Pyrrha, and is illustrated (fig. 4, no. 1) beside the Larissa example already mentioned (fig. 4, no. 5).

*Fig. 2, 5.* Grey clay: polished surface: stamped tongue pattern in relief.

This fragment seems to belong to the shoulder of a two-handled jar. Contrast the flat tongue pattern of no. 3. The decoration recalls the more ambitious *stamped patterns*—animals, plaited bands and the like—on some particularly fine bucchero from Larissa.

*Fig. 2, 6.* Grey clay, polished inside.

*Fig. 2, 7.* Reddish-grey clay. Dark grey burnish outside.

The ridge below the rim may have been made to fit a lid. Parallels for the ridge occur at Pyrrha and Larissa (fig. 4, no. 14). See also SS. 3231.

<sup>20</sup> Inv. 1932. 2-18. 1.



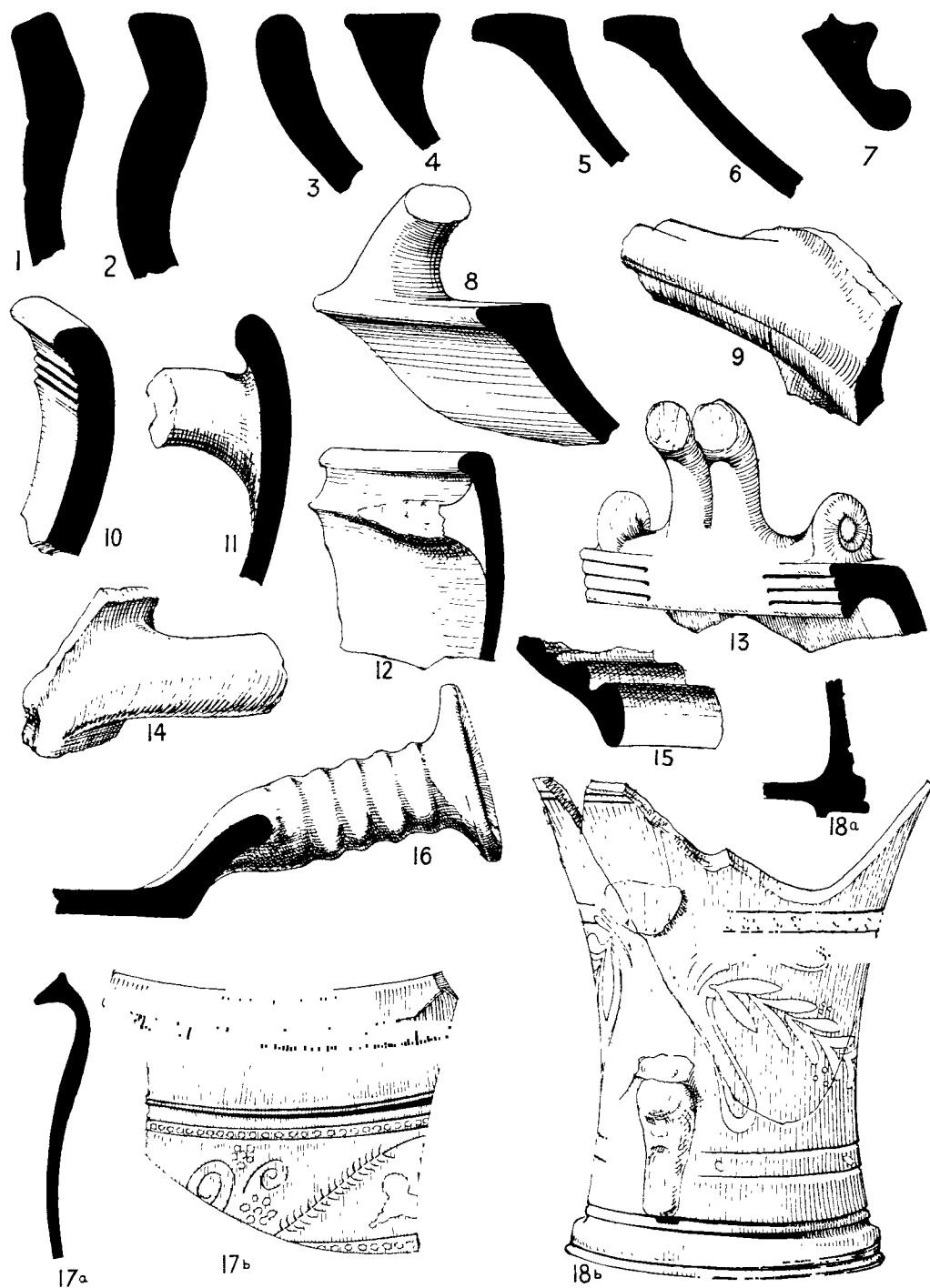


FIG. 3.—FRAGMENTS FROM METHYMNA.

*Fig. 2, 8-11.* No. 9 is not polished inside, which is surprising. No. 10 is polished inside and on the rim but not outside. No. 11 is polished on the outside only, no. 8 on both sides.

Nos. 9 and 10 are paralleled more or less at Pyrrha and Larissa, where grooved rims are common in the archaic period.

*Fig. 2, 12.* Grey clay. Very dark grey burnished on outside.

The horizontal bar recalls the bars that form *panels* on rims from Larissa, three of which are illustrated in our fig. 4, nos. 8, 11, 13. Böhlau, *op. cit.* p. 88, figs. 41-43, shews the motive in another ware. The bars, being in relief and loosely attached, break off easily, as ours has done.

*Fig. 2, 13.* Grey clay polished both sides: therefore a bowl or plate like Larissa 60 or 61: most probably one of the stemmed bowls.

This seems to have been a favourite shape in bucchero: cf. B.M. 60. 2-1. 13 (fig. 5) and 64. 10-7. 1415 from Camirus

*Fig. 2, 14.* Grey clay, dark grey burnish.

From a horizontal handle with knobs at either side, a common archaic type: see fig. 4, no. 6 from Larissa. There are also examples of the Troy VI period: SS. 3092, 3093.

*Fig. 2, 15* is a coarse grey ware, unpolished; 16 is polished on inside only; 18 on both sides, 19 on inside and on upper part of outside. 17, a fine grey ware, comes from a skyphos, a shape as popular in grey ware as in other classes of pottery.

*Fig. 3, 1-4* are of reddish grey clay; nos. 1, 2 are polished slightly outside, nos. 2, 3, and 5 inside; no. 5 also on rim; no. 4 is unpolished.

The coarse vessels of which they once formed part might belong to any period, except no. 5, which looks archaic.

*Fig. 3, 6.* Grey clay, polished on rim and inside. Also probably archaic.

*Fig. 3, 7.* Grey clay: grey brown burnish outside.

From the base of a stand like the one in Pl. I, 3, from Naukratis, B.M. 88. 6-1. 645, where the type is common.

*Fig. 3, 8.* Yellowish-grey clay: fine grey polish on rim, handle and inside.

Bowls with handle rising from rim are a common shape in the archaic period.

*Fig. 3, 9.* Reddish-grey clay; slight traces of polish on handle.

*Fig. 3, 10.* Very coarse reddish-grey clay quite unpolished.

*Fig. 3, 11.* Reddish-grey clay; black surface; slight polish outside. Evidently a coarse cooking pot.

*Fig. 3, 12.* Reddish-grey clay, unpolished.

*Fig. 3, 13.* Reddish-grey clay; grey surface; slight traces of polish.

Handles with discs are so common in the various wares of the archaic period and in bronze vases as well, that they scarcely need comment. They are, however, mainly associated with jugs, and our handle must come from some other shape, with a more definite interior rim. Contrast the jug handles from Larissa, of which one is shewn in fig. 4, no. 15.

*Fig. 3, 14.* Grey clay polished inside.

*Fig. 3, 15.* Reddish-grey clay: grey polished surface: cf. no. 7 above.



FIG. 4.—FRAGMENTS FROM VARICUS SITES.

Three fragments from Methymna of fabrics other than the one under discussion have been included in the drawing.

*Fig. 3, 16.* Coarse red ware, blackened in parts by fire.

The spout is false, with no opening into the pan. Two similar fragments were found.

The twisted handle of a pan, grey, from the Tumulus of Priam on the Bali Dag, and a handle from Pyrrha shew a fortuitous resemblance to no. 16.

*Fig. 3, 17.* Red glaze inside with black stripe by rim.

Brownish-black glaze outside. Incised lines: white spots and leaves. Third-second century B.C.

*Fig. 3, 18, a and b.* Red clay; bright red glaze.

The garlands and spots are white except that every other pair of leaves is reddish, the colour of the clay. Their lines are incised. The plastic bearded heads occur on one side only: the garlands depend and meet each other at the opposite side. Traces of the handle can be detected. The shape is very close to the one illustrated by Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 453, fig. 97, no. VIII. Second century B.C.

#### FIGS. 4, 5, and PL. I: GREY WARES FROM VARIOUS SITES.

Fig. 4 shews fragments of grey ware that have been collected because they throw light on the Methymna sherds, with especial reference to the wavy line, scale and panel decorations. They will be described very briefly.<sup>21</sup>

(1) From Pyrrha. Probably archaic period. (Cf. fig. 2, no. 2).

(2) From Hanai Tepe, Berlin, Inv. 9821. Troy VI period. (Stratum C.)<sup>22</sup>

(3) From Troy VIII. Archaic period. SS. 3943.

(4) From Hanai Tepe, Inv. 9819. Troy VI period. (Stratum C.)

(5) From Larissa. Probably archaic.

(6) From Larissa. Archaic period.

(7) From Pyrrha. Troy VI period. (Cf. no. 4 above.)

(8) From Larissa. Archaic period. To illustrate the panel decoration of our fig. 2, no. 12.

(9) From Mytilene. B.M. 1932. 2-18. 1. Scale pattern. Troy VI period.

(10) From Troy VIII. SS. 3937. Rim red. There is a similar fragment, unpainted, from Larissa, and both obviously copy a metal prototype.

(11) From Larissa. Archaic period.

(12) From Pyrrha. (Cf. fig. 1, no. 5.)

(13) From Larissa. Archaic period; panel decoration.

(14) From Larissa. Probably archaic. (See our fig. 2, no. 7.)

(15) From Larissa. Archaic period; panel decoration.

(16) From Larissa. Archaic period; panel decoration.

<sup>21</sup> As many of the photographs supplied had no scale, I have pasted them up irrespective of size.

<sup>22</sup> Schliemann, *Ilios*, pp. 706 ff.

Fig. 5. Stemmed dish from Camirus. B.M. 60. 2-1. 13. Ht. .078 m. Middle seventh century B.C.

Plate I.

1. Deinos from Troy VI, shewing wavy lines. Base restored. Ht. as restored, .372 m. SS. 3183. (See above, p. 5.)

2. Incomplete stand from Troy VI, shewing scale decoration. Ht. .145 m. SS. 3323.



FIG. 5.—DISH FROM CAMIRUS.

3. Incomplete stand from Naukratis. B.M. 88. 6-1. 645. Ht. .195 m. Seventh century. (Cf. fig. 3, nos. 7 and 15 above.)

4. *a* and *b*. Pyxis from Camirus. B.M. 60. 4-4. 45. Ht. with lid .105 m. Diam. of body with handles, .125 m. Diam. of lid, .075 m. Patches of the body, between the plastic heads, restored. The clay is a lightish grey, covered with a dark grey wash: no mica can be seen.

This fascinating vase appears here in order to illustrate the survival of the wavy line decoration. There are two such lines on the lid, and on the lower part of the body is another between impressed borders.

The heads were probably inspired by those on Corinthian pyxides,<sup>23</sup> and date the vase to the first quarter of the sixth century.

W. LAMB.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Pavne, *Néocorinthus*, pls. 35. 47.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF MARATHON

ALL modern commentators are agreed that the account of the campaign of Marathon<sup>1</sup> left us by Herodotus is often inconsistent, and that as often it is difficult to reconcile it with probabilities. In seeking to disentangle fact from fable in the story of Marathon we have a harder task than in the case of the story of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, for we have much less material at our disposal, and the dilemma of deciding what to accept and what to reject of Herodotus' story is very real. There are, however, some guides through this dilemma. Herodotus wrote with the greater event of Xerxes' invasion between him and the campaign of Marathon. Persia had ceased to be the terror to Greece which she had been in the year 491 B.C., and the memory of Athenian fears and hesitations had been obliterated by pride of achievement. It is some guide in the process of selection from Herodotus' story to imagine the kind of tales of Marathon he would be likely to have heard, when making his inquiries, and the kind of event which would be forgotten or concealed.

As he is almost our sole authority for the events of the campaign, we must, if we are to accept any part of his story, have good reasons for rejecting any other part. Now it seems to be certain that he must have obtained most of his information from Athens, and in that city have heard many stories from veterans of the campaign. We can get some guidance in our choice if we consider the kind of event which would have impressed itself on the memory of the men who fought, and the features of the campaign of which he would have heard nothing more than conjecture and gossip. In the former category we may safely place such events as Pheidippides' run, the late appearance of the Spartans, the arrival of the Plataeans, the delay in the attack while the opposing forces were facing each other, the formation of the Greek army in depth for the battle, the attack at the run, probably exaggerated in reminiscence, and the defeat of the Greek centre. In the latter category would come the plans of the commanders, both Greek and Persian, the chronology of events, as to which memory of the participants in war is notoriously unreliable,<sup>2</sup> and the happenings in Euboea.

It is a further help to us to remember that Herodotus had no knowledge of the art of war, and therefore usually did not understand the

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<sup>1</sup> I have to acknowledge the kind assistance of Mr. A. W. Gomme in the preparation of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> I have recently come across a letter written five days after the battle of Mons and describing that battle, from an officer on the staff of our 1st Corps,

who was in close touch with Sir Douglas Haig. In this letter he mixes up the events of the first and second days of the battle (23rd and 24th August, 1914).

reasons for the military movements of which he tells us. Not infrequently he ascribes to military commanders plans and intentions which are clearly wrong, and this he does not, as I believe, dishonestly, but from ignorance. In fact, as Tarn<sup>3</sup> has shewn, a knowledge of military strategy was very rare in Greece in the fifth century before Christ. Greek experience of war had, up to the time of the battle of Marathon, been almost entirely confined to inter-state warfare, in which manœuvre played little part. The normal tactics of the state militia consisted in the direct frontal attack, followed by hand-to-hand combat. The Persians, on the other hand, had, before they came into contact with the Greeks, had a long experience of successful war. Their armies had marched great distances, they had had to solve problems of transport, supply and administration, and they had learned to combine the operations of mounted and light troops with those of the mass of slow-moving infantry. Experience had, in fact, made them familiar with the general principles of military strategy, and their military organisation was, in general, far in advance of that of the Greek states. It is natural, then, that Herodotus should misunderstand or ignore the reasons for the manœuvres of Persian armies.

The weakness of the Persian military system consisted in the fact that the infantry core of the army on which their tactical manœuvres depended was not equipped to oppose successfully heavily-armed infantry. Up to the time of the battle of Marathon the Persians had not encountered an enemy who could withstand the combined attack of their Median infantry and cavalry, prepared by the fire of their archers. It was, I believe, a realisation of the importance of giving increased solidity to his infantry which caused Cyrus the Younger to hire the Ten Thousand, and it was equally, I believe, Alexander's realisation of the possibilities of a combination of the solidity of the Greek hoplite with the mobility and manœuvring power of the Persian system which made him the father of the modern art of war.

If we approach the story of Marathon with these facts in our minds, that is, if we ascribe to the Persian commanders a considerably higher degree of military experience than Herodotus credits them with, our task is simplified. For the theatre of war in the campaign of Marathon was small in extent and its topographical conditions in the fifth century B.C. can be reconstructed with reasonable accuracy. Ground and the conditions of time and space were then, as they are to-day, the dominating factors both in tactics and strategy. I start, then, my reconstruction of the campaign of Marathon with the premises that the Persian military system of that time was highly developed, that the Persian commanders had behind them considerable experience of war and would act with reasonable intelligence, and that we should not expect from Herodotus understanding of the reasons for a military manœuvre, which were not obvious.

Stripped of accretions which have aroused doubt or controversy, the story of the campaign of Marathon runs:—

After the suppression of the Ionic revolt Darius determined to supple-

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<sup>3</sup> *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments.*

ment Mardonius' conquest of Thrace and Macedonia by sending a combined naval and military expedition under Datis and Artaphernes in the summer of 490 or of 491 B.C. to reduce Athens and Eretria in order to punish those cities for the part they had taken in the Ionic revolt, and probably also with the object of completing Persian control of the Aegean.

The expedition sailed by Naxos and Delos, and, after a first landing in the bay of Karystos on the southern coast of Euboea, proceeded to attack Eretria. The Eretrians appealed to the Athenians for help, and the Athenians in turn appealed to the Spartans, sending Pheidippides on his famous run. The departure of the Spartans for Athens was delayed for the full moon, and in the meantime Athenian help failed to reach Eretria,



FIG. 1.

which fell after a siege of six days. At some time subsequent to the arrival of the Persian expedition in Euboea a Persian force was landed in the bay of Marathon, and the Athenians, marching north from Athens and joined by a contingent from Plataeae, took post west of the plain of Marathon, near the enclosure of Heracles. After a delay of not less than five, or more than eight days, the Athenians under Miltiades attacked the Persians. The Athenian centre was at first broken and was pursued by the Persian centre; the Greek wings, being intact, turned inwards and overwhelmed the Persians, who were driven back to their ships. The Persians re-embarking sailed round to Athens, but were anticipated by Miltiades, who made a rapid march back. The Persians then sailed away.

This bald statement of fact, together with the topography of the theatre of war and the military requirements of the situation, form the



solid basis upon which we have to reconstruct. Turning now to Herodotus' additions to this story, which modern criticism finds doubtful, we come first to the fate of Eretria. He makes (vi. 100) the Athenians abandon the project of bringing help to Eretria because they had learned of divided counsels in the city, and of the existence of a Medising party ready to betray their country. He makes (vi. 101) the whole Persian expedition proceed against Eretria and land in the bay of Marathon after its fall, while the Athenians do not leave the city (vi. 103) until they get news of the landing at Marathon and are joined at the enclosure of Heracles by the Plataean contingent (vi. 108). This story bristles with difficulties. Eretria held out till the seventh day of the siege (vi. 101), which would have allowed more than sufficient time for Athenian help to arrive, if the Athenians had been able and willing to send it, and suggests that such Medisers as there were in Eretria were a small minority. Next, the Persian expedition was designed to be strong enough to reduce Athens and there could have been no military reason for employing the whole of it against the much smaller Eretria, while, as will be seen, there were good military reasons for adopting a different course. But the greatest difficulty in accepting this portion of Herodotus' story consists in accounting for the action of the Athenians. Why, after learning of the fall of Eretria and the landing of the Persians at Marathon, should they have marched northwards from Athens? They could not have expected to be able to secure the western exits from the plain of Marathon, leading towards Athens, before the Persians, and if they failed in this they ran the risk of finding their position in the Pentelikon range turned by one or other of the routes leading from the plain of Marathon to Athens. Such a march would have been wildly imprudent, and is entirely incompatible with what we know of Miltiades' generalship. There is the further difficulty, if we accept Herodotus' story, of accounting for the march of the Plataeans. There are two routes from Plataea to the enclosure of Heracles, one north and the other south of the range which divides Attica from Boeotia; the northern route by the valley of the Asopos is 55 miles in length, the southern by Eleusis is 60 miles long. If they had waited to march out until after they got the news of the Persian landing at Marathon, they could hardly have reached the enclosure of Heracles until the fifth day after that event, and they would have been marching east in complete uncertainty as to whether the Athenians had been able to maintain their position. It is highly improbable that the Plataeans, with all their devotion to Athens, would have run such risks.

Herodotus (vi. 102) makes the whole Persian expedition land in the bay of Marathon 'because there was no place in all Attica so convenient for their horse.' This is clearly a childish reason, for it would make Datis have believed that the Greeks would have been foolish enough to come and fight him on ground which he had chosen as being the most suitable for his purpose. It is true that Miltiades did lead the Greeks to the attack in the plain, but I am going to suggest that the reasons both for the landing and the attack were different to those which Herodotus gives. It seems to me to be highly improbable that there was any cavalry at all with the Persian expeditionary force. We have had very wide experience of com-

bined naval and military expeditions, and of landings on open beaches, and we have always found cavalry to be a most unsuitable arm for such operations, unless good harbour facilities are available. It is a very slow and difficult business to embark and disembark cavalry on a beach, while horses take up an inordinate amount of space on shipboard. Their experiences during the suppression of the Ionic revolt must have given the Persians some familiarity with the conditions and requirements of combined naval and military expeditions. There is no mention of cavalry in the story of the battle, and, while there is a statement (vi. 101) that horses were landed in Euboea, that island is so unsuitable for the employment of mounted troops that I believe the horses landed must have been limited to those of the superior officers. The Greeks possessed no cavalry, and there is amongst all troops a natural tendency to dread an arm which they do not possess. I suggest that the deeds of the Persian cavalry were probably the subject of general report in Greece and that Herodotus assumed without strict inquiry <sup>4</sup> that the Persian expedition was provided with an arm which the Greeks particularly feared.

Failing the cavalry, it is necessary to find some reason for the landing at Marathon; and it is difficult to find any good reason for a landing of the whole expedition there after the fall of Eretria. The next object was the capture of Athens. Why, when they had command of the sea, did the Persians land at a place which put the defensible ranges of the Pentelikon and Hymettos between them and their goal? The suggestion is made that Datis hoped, through the negotiations of Hippias (who was attracted to Marathon by the memory of his father's experiences) with the Medising party in Athens, to secure the surrender of the town without a fight. But surely the influence of the Persian force on opinion in Athens would have been much greater if it had been nearer, and either Aegina, or Salamis, or the western plain of Attica would have been a more promising place than Marathon from which to correspond with the traitors. Again, why the long delay on the plain of Marathon, and why, if the whole Persian army was in front of him, should Miltiades have attacked when he did, knowing that the Spartans were coming up?

The only explanation advanced is the existence of the Medising party in Athens, which has to be brought in to account for a whole series of difficulties and improbabilities. The story of the Alcmaeonidae and the shield signal is one which I find it difficult to swallow. Most of us are now aware of the tendency to imagine or invent spy stories during a time of crisis in war and to exaggerate the activities of sympathisers with the enemy, and this story seems to me to be of that genre. After the battle, men with shields must have been scattered all over the plain of Marathon, and how the Persians were to pick out a particular shield as the signal it is hard to understand. To arrange for any signal the Alcmaeonidae must have been in communication with the Persians; if the Persians had been victorious in the battle it would have been easier to send a messenger,

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the deportation of the surviving Eretrians after the fall of the town, he would have  
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had difficulty in getting reliable information of what had happened in Euboea.

and the traitors are not likely to have been anxious to commit themselves if the Persians were defeated. A simple explanation of the story would seem to be that Miltiades, knowing the importance of getting back to Athens before the Persians could get round by sea, sent parties up Kynosoura or Argaliki, or both, to watch the movements of the Persian fleet, and that some of the men in the plain, seeing one of those parties signalling the movements of the ships, jumped to the conclusion that spies were at work.

Last, there is the difficulty of explaining why the Persians should, if their whole force had suffered a heavy defeat on the plain of Marathon, have expected to achieve anything by sailing round to Athens.

All, or nearly all, these difficulties disappear and the whole story becomes intelligible from a military point of view if we assume that Herodotus made a mistake in the time of the fall of Eretria and that this followed the march out of the Athenians, and the landing of a part of the Persian army at Marathon. It is a not unnatural mistake for Herodotus to have made, for most of the defenders of Eretria had been slain or carried off into captivity, and the Athenians in their enthusiasm over an unexpectedly complete victory would be prone to forget the fact that they had failed in the object for which they had originally set out from Athens, the relief of Eretria, or if they remembered it, to make the Eretrians responsible for the failure. One can hear, and doubtless Herodotus heard, the veterans of Marathon explaining over their wine how those damned Eretrians had let them down.

Mr. Munro <sup>5</sup> mentions two references to a decree of Miltiades summoning the Athenians to the help of Eretria, and these, if somewhat obscure, at least show that there is other evidence beyond the strong military probabilities that the march of the Athenians from Athens preceded the fall of Eretria. With that alteration in Herodotus' timing of events it is possible to reconstruct a story which is militarily comprehensible.

Herodotus gives us no figures for the size of the Persian army, and most of the suggestions of commentators down to quite recent times, when a better understanding of the limitations on the size of armies has had its effect, have been ridiculously exaggerated. The organisation of the Persian army having, as I have suggested, reached an advanced stage of development, it may be assumed that the expeditionary force was composed of organised units. I suggest that it consisted of two divisions, one commanded by Datis, the other by Artaphernes, with Datis as the senior commander in general control of the expedition. The probable size of a division would be about 12,000 men, and this number could have been carried in a fleet of some 200 vessels. As will be seen, the topography of the theatre of war supplies us with reasons, other than the requirements of military organisation and the capacity of the vessels of the time, for believing these figures to be approximately correct. The Persian expedition thus consisted of about 24,000 combatants carried in 400 vessels. Herodotus mentions 600 (vi. 95) as the number of ships, but, as Tarn shews, this is with Herodotus a conventional figure for a large Persian fleet.

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<sup>5</sup> *C.I.H.* iv, 238.

The Persian expedition sailed across the Aegean and after touching at Naxos and Delos reached the bay of Karystos on the southern coast of Euboea. Here it disembarked, and, after capturing the town of Karystos, established an advanced base. The choice of the bay of Karystos as an advanced base shews that the Persian commanders knew their business.

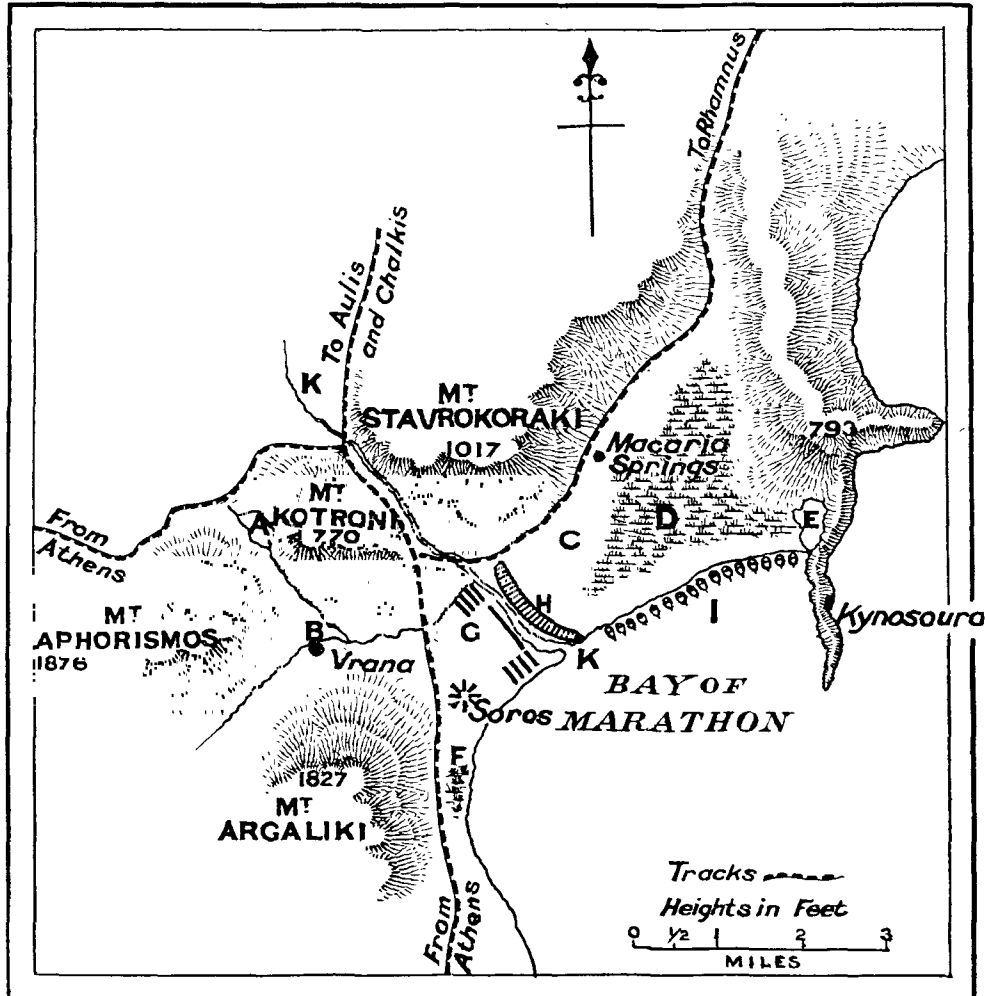


FIG. 2.—THE BATTLE-FIELD OF MARATHON: PROBABLE POSITION OF ARMIES AT OPENING OF BATTLE.

- |                            |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| A = Enclosure of Heracles. | E = Salt Lake.             | H = Persian Battle-Position. |
| B = Greek Camp.            | F = Little Marsh.          | I = Persian Ships.           |
| C = Persian Camp.          | G = Greek Battle-Position. | K = Charadra Brook.          |
| D = Great Marsh.           |                            |                              |

It provided good shelter for the whole fleet and supplies of fresh water and food, and it was so placed as to be equally suitable for an attack either upon Athens or Eretria, so its occupation gave no indication to the Greeks of the next Persian move. Having rested his crews in the bay of Karystos, Datis then, I suggest, dispatched Artaphernes to reduce Eretria. The

whole of Artaphernes' command could hardly have been required for this purpose, and it is at least probable that from 3000 to 4000 men were detached from it to Datis, giving the latter some 16,000 men. Datis, I suggest, kept his command in readiness to cover Artaphernes' movement against any interruption by sea. On learning that Artaphernes had safely landed his troops he moved his own division across to the bay of Marathon and landed there.

Just as the bay of Karystos was an excellent choice of a site for an advanced base, so the bay and plain of Marathon were excellent choices of positions for a force covering the siege of Eretria. The Kynosoura peninsula provided an anchorage in the northern portion of the bay sheltered from the east winds, and Mardonius' experiences in the conquest of Thrace had taught the Persians to respect the dangers of a lee shore. Xerxes' construction of the canal of Mount Athos is evidence of the effect of that experience. In the northern portion of the bay there is anchorage space for about 250 triremes close inshore.<sup>6</sup> Datis' ships could there be kept ready for immediate action, if the Athenians were to attempt to move by sea up the channel to Eretria. Similarly, Datis' troops, encamped north of the Charadra brook, would cover the roads leading from the plain towards Chalkis, and be in a position to operate effectively against any attempt from Athens to move by land to the relief of Eretria. A force encamped north of the Charadra brook would be able to draw water from that brook and from the springs of Macaria, and this water supply should have sufficed for a force of about the size of that which I have allotted to Datis, for about a week, but not for a much larger force. From a camp north of the Charadra brook Datis could occupy a position facing southwest along the brook with his right flank covered by Mount Stavrokoraki and his left flank by the sea. This position is about 2300 yards in extent, and was therefore suitable for a force of 16,000 combatants drawn up five deep.<sup>7</sup> The topographical conditions of the plain of Marathon north of the Charadra brook are then suited to a force of the size which I have allotted to Datis. The Persian commander's plan was strategically a sound one provided that he was strong enough to defeat any attack of the Athenians until he was joined by Artaphernes. With a long record of victory behind them the Persians had good reason to believe that they could repulse any attack by an equal or inferior number of Greeks, and Datis had in Hippias a reliable source of information as to the number of troops the Athenians could put into the field, and also as to the topography of the plain of Marathon. For the reasons given above I agree with Drunker and with those who have followed him in placing the anchorage of Datis' ships in the northern part of the bay, and his camp north of the Charadra. There is no tenable military explanation of a landing on the coast south of the Charadra brook and of the Persian force remaining with its back to the

<sup>6</sup> There is about 3500 yards of sandy beach opening on to a good depth of water between the mouth of the Charadra and Kynosoura promontory; this would allow 14 yards for each of 250 triremes, or sufficient space to allow the fleet to get to sea quickly.

<sup>7</sup> I allow the Persians 30 inches' front per man in the first line, and the Greeks with their shields 36 inches. An allowance is made for small intervals between units.

sea, without any attempt to secure the exits from the plain, which evidently was not made, as the Greeks on reaching the enclosure of Heracles did not come into collision with the Persians. Any sensible commander in such a position would have taken steps to watch the roads leading to Athens.<sup>8</sup> If, on the other hand, the landing was made north of the Charadra with the object of covering the siege of Eretria, there was no need to disperse the force by occupying the southern exits from the plain.

Turning now to the Athenians, my suggestion is that on receiving the appeal from Eretria they, urged by Miltiades, marched out by the road to Chalkis through Dekeleia, but when near that place they heard of the landing of Datis, and after meeting or getting into touch with the Plataeans, who very probably had received a similar appeal from Eretria, they moved down to the enclosure of Heracles to cover Athens. The position of the enclosure of Heracles has been identified by Lolling,<sup>9</sup> but I am inclined to think that the camp of the Athenians must have been in the valley south of the enclosure near Vrana, if they were to have obtained sufficient water for the prolonged halt. There the Athenians were close to the northern road from the plain of Marathon to Athens, and they flanked the southern road.

In these positions the two forces remained facing each other for from five to eight days. Datis had no reason for advancing upon Athens or attacking the Athenians until he was joined by Artaphernes. Miltiades probably hoped that Datis might come and attack him in his strong position in the hills, or that the Persians would not move until the Spartans arrived, but in any event he would have naturally postponed to the last possible moment the desperate expedient of an attack upon a superior Persian force. But when the news of the fall of Eretria reached the Athenians, Miltiades made the only decision which could have saved Athens, for if Datis alone could not be defeated it would be hopeless to attempt anything against Datis and Artaphernes together. Miltiades therefore formed the wise and bold decision to attack Datis before Artaphernes could come up. Such seems to be the only tenable explanation of the delay between the arrival of the Athenians at the enclosure of Heracles and the battle. The alternative explanation that the whole Persian force remained inactive on the plain of Marathon for from five to eight days, while negotiations were going on with the Medising party in Athens, is to my mind much less credible, for apart from other difficulties there would not have been sufficient water for the whole Persian expeditionary force for that time at the end of the dry season, unless the conditions of water supply were radically different to what they are to-day, and of this there is no sign.

So far I have followed very closely Mr. Munro's version of the story of Marathon, while giving in more detail than he does the military reasons for thinking that version probable. But I venture to differ from his account of the battle and from those of other commentators. He and others draw

<sup>8</sup> I find the fact that the Persians took no such steps to be an additional reason for supposing that no cavalry was landed, for in that case one would suppose that the first care of the Persians would

have been to obtain control of the whole of the plain in order to be certain of having a supply of forage.

<sup>9</sup> *Zur Topographie von Marathon*, A.M. 1876, p. 88.

up the Persian army in the plain with its back to the sea. I find it difficult to account for such an arrangement. If Datis intended or had actually begun to re-embark when Miltiades attacked, the natural place for a re-embarkation would have been the north shore of the bay, where the shore in addition to being under the shelter of Kynosoura peninsula allows of vessels being anchored closer in than is the case further south. The natural position from which to cover such an embarkation would have been the line of the Charadra brook. Most of the Great Marsh would at the end of the dry season have been passable and need not have interfered with the embarkation. If the Persian army was established south of the Charadra, before the Greeks came out into the plain and deployed, I can find no reason for the battle being fought as Herodotus describes it. In that case the Persians would have been much nearer the southern or coast road to Athens than were the Athenians at the enclosure of Heracles or at Vrana, and Datis could have turned their position without difficulty, covering his movement by the coast road with a flank guard in the foot-hills of Mount Argaliki and a rearguard at the Little Marsh. If, alternatively, we suppose that Datis, full of confidence, welcomed the battle and preferred a fight on the plain to manœuvre, it is hard to understand why he should have allowed the Greeks to come out of the defile and deploy to a flank, within a thousand yards of his front, a slow and dangerous manœuvre which invited attack.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, if we place the Persian army with its right on the foot-hills of Mount Stavrokoraki, its left on the sea, and its ships anchored off the shore of the bay, these difficulties disappear. The Greeks coming out of the defile would then have deployed in the direction in which they were marching, a speedier and less dangerous manœuvre than deployment to a flank. Miltiades wisely decided to secure his flanks by forming his wings in depth and his centre in line (vi. 111). The ten tribes and the Plataeans might then have been deployed as indicated in fig. 3.<sup>11</sup>

It may be assumed in view of the object of this formation that Miltiades had his wings so drawn up as to be able to form them rapidly to a flank. It is possible that the deployment or a part of it was made at the double, but the story of the charge over eight furlongs is now discredited. It is now generally accepted that Miltiades' object was to come to close quarters without exposing his men for any length of time to the fire of the Persian archers, in which case the distance over which the charge was made would probably not have exceeded 300 yards. Now in the upper part of its course the Charadra brook flows through broken country, in the middle of its course through a flat plain, and here in summer it is a negligible obstacle; as it nears the sea the banks become steeper and do constitute an obstacle.

<sup>10</sup> The distance between the fronts of the opposing forces, in this event, would probably have been considerably less than 1000 yards. The distance from the mouth of the Vrana defile and from the broken ground at the foot of Kotroni to the shore is 2300 yards. The Greeks with their column formation on the wings would hardly have required a lesser depth than 1000 yards, nor the Persians a

lesser depth than 750 yards between their front and the sea. The Persian archers would then only have had to advance a few hundred yards to disturb the Greek formation.

<sup>11</sup> It is generally agreed that the Greek force numbered about 10,000, which would give an average of some 900 to the Plataeans and to each of the ten Athenian tribes.

One would expect, then, the Greek centre from its formation and the nature of the ground to have advanced more rapidly than the wings. Coming up against the pick of the Persian troops the attack of the centre was repulsed, and the Persian centre, probably thinking that the battle was won, pursued without taking any measures to protect its flanks. It would seem probable from Herodotus' account that while the leading lines of the Greek wings engaged the Persian wings, the rear lines formed inwards and overwhelmed the Persian centre. It seems hardly credible that the rear lines of the Greek wings should have remained passive spectators of the pursuit of the centre while the leading lines were engaging the Persian wings. After the defeat of their centre the Persians were driven back through the Great Marsh to their ships. It was a tradition in Athens that the greatest Persian loss took place in the Great Marsh, and this was

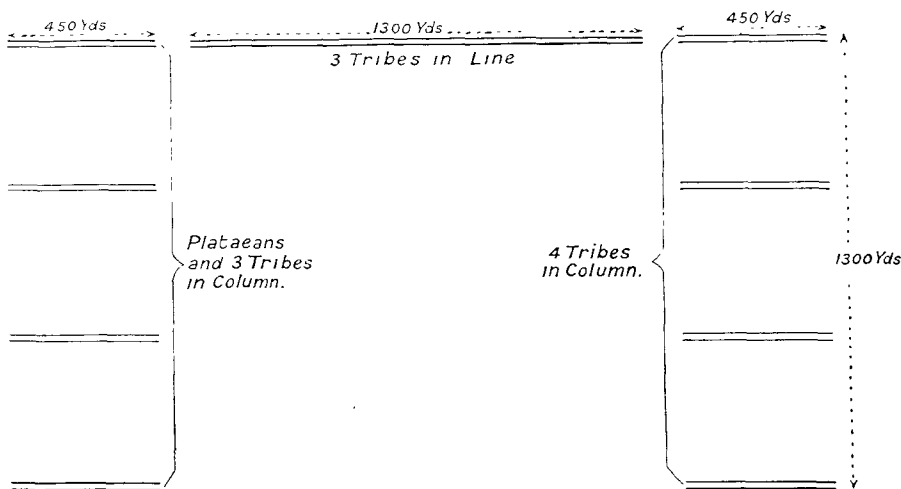


FIG. 3.—GREEK BATTLE-FORMATION.

illustrated in the painted Portico executed in the time of Pericles. This is the kind of tradition upon which reliance can be placed, for such an event would have remained in the memory of Athenian warriors; but fighting in the Great Marsh is not compatible with a battle in the plain south of the Charadra. I have already given reasons for not believing that fighting could have taken place as far south as the Little Marsh.

It would seem that a desire to bring the Soros into the picture and Herodotus' statement that the Greek centre was pursued into 'the inner country' has caused Mr. Munro and others to make the Persians fight with their backs to the sea. Schliemann in 1884 discovered neolithic implements in the Soros, and this for a time discredited its connexion with the battle. Stais in 1890 discovered in the Soros the remains of cinerary urns of the Marathon period, and since that discovery commentators have endeavoured to arrange the story of the battle so as to make the heaviest Greek losses take place near the Soros. I suggest that both Schliemann and Stais are right, that the Soros existed before the battle and that the Athenians,



desiring to have a worthy resting-place for the chief of their dead, burned the bodies on the plain and deposited the ashes in the Soros, the only prominent feature on the plain, in preference to erecting a new mound. As to the pursuit into the inner country, it is natural that the men of the Greek centre when repulsed should have fled towards the defile from which they came, followed by the Persians, and that Herodotus might reasonably have called a pursuit into the inner country.

After Datis had re-embarked the remnants of his division (and if my estimate of his strength and Herodotus' account of the Persian losses, 6400 (vi. 117), are even approximately correct, the proportion of casualties was, as one would expect, high), he was joined, I suggest, by Artaphernes' victorious force; so, with such a reinforcement, an attempt to anticipate Miltiades at Athens was natural. This failed owing to Miltiades' prompt march back to the city and, finding that the Spartans were approaching to reinforce the Athenians, the Persians sailed away. Plato says the Spartans arrived the day after the battle, and this is in accordance with Herodotus' statement that they reached the battle-field in time to view the Persian dead (vi. 120).

Such, then, is my reconstruction of the story of Marathon. It involves only one important departure from Herodotus, the date of the fall of Eretria, and is in accordance with the military probabilities and the topography of the theatre of war. Marathon was not, as Creasy made it, the first of the decisive battles of the world. It did not cause the failure of a Persian attempt to conquer Greece. It was an incident in a Persian punitive expedition which was partially successful. It did not, as the story of the events which preceded Thermopylae shews, inspire the Greeks with any lasting sense of superiority over the Persians. Miltiades by his judgment and courage saved Athens, but it was Salamis, not Marathon, which put a term to the advance westwards of Persian conquest and culture.

F. MAURICE.

## BATHYCLES AND THE LACONIAN VASE-PAINTERS

EXCAVATIONS at Sparta have cleared up many of the problems connected with the class of pottery now definitely recognised as Laconian, but the great number of the mythological scenes, found mainly on kylikes, form a group quite distinct in spirit and design from the other types of decoration used on Laconian ware,<sup>1</sup> and it is still a question whether the vases with these scenes (nearly all of them found outside Greece) could really have come from the workshops which turned out the vases found in Spartan soil. There must be some distinct and powerful cause, lying outside the normal growth of local artistic tradition, to account for this new development, and this cause, as I will try to shew, seems to be the coming of Bathycles of Magnesia to build the great Throne of Apollo at Amyclae.<sup>2</sup>

The painters of the kylikes put a really vivid feeling for narrative into their figure scenes and we make a poor response when we have to confess that in many cases we cannot recognise what is the story they tell. But, read in the light of Pausanias' description of the scenes used to decorate the Throne, so many of the difficulties seem to find a solution, that one can only conclude that Bathycles' work has been the inspiration behind the whole puzzling series.<sup>3</sup>

How close the pictures on the kylikes are to Bathycles' work is another matter. There are certainly signs of Ionian influence in a great number of them, but the drawing of others shews a strong Corinthian tradition, which, however, may only mean that the composition has been adapted to fit his own artistic methods by a painter trained in the mainland school: all are not of one period: some are more advanced than others in style and are perhaps remoter copies, modified by more up-to-date methods from elsewhere. But in actual subject and composition—in many cases unique or with details quite different from the usual b.-f. tradition—vases and Throne correspond too closely for it to be due to coincidence alone.

Pausanias' description of the Throne is tantalisingly full, yet, for all his detail, he leads up to the question of Bathycles' date only to shy away from it again.<sup>4</sup> Various dates throughout the sixth century have been suggested, and the most recent theory, based on the architectural fragments found on the hill at Amyclae, sets him quite at the end of the century.<sup>5</sup> If, however, the connexion between Throne and vases can be established

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Droop, *JHS.* xxx. 1910, p. 5: 'Evidence is not forthcoming from the excavations at Sparta as to the date at which mythological scenes are likely to have been in vogue.'

<sup>2</sup> Paus. III. xviii. 9ff.

<sup>3</sup> For comprehensive lists cf. Dugas, *RIA.* ix. 1907, x. 1907, xix. 1912, xx. 1912, xxvii. 1928;

Droop, *op. cit.* and the full bibliography in Pfuhl, *Mal. und Zeichn. der Gr.*

<sup>4</sup> ὅτου ἔξ αὐτοῦ ὁ Βαθυκλῆς μαθητὴς ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' ὅτου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποίησε, τάδε μὲν παρίημι (III. xviii. 9).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Fiechter, *JdI.* xxxiii. 1918, p. 242, and Buschor, *AM.* lii. 1927, p. 21.

it raises the question once more, and Bathycles' date will have to be set well into the first half of the sixth century to antedate the earliest of these vase-paintings.

Again, Pausanias gives us no hint as to the material of which the Throne was made. If, on the evidence of the vase-paintings, Bathycles' date is now to be set so early in the sixth century, it seems unlikely, on technical grounds, that the immense series of elaborate compositions used to decorate the Throne could have been carried out in stone, and probability now swings back to the view that the decorations were in bronze,<sup>6</sup> for the influence of bronze work is clearly recognisable in these Laconian vase-paintings; the figures are broadly treated to give a strong silhouette that does not need the inner detail to make the

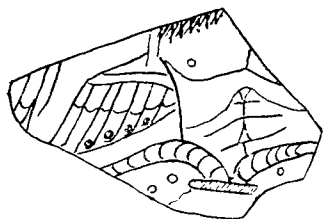


FIG. 1.—FRAGMENT IN THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM, B<sub>76</sub>.

meaning of the action clear, and the fine incisions and the use of a few stereotyped patterns, flowers and birds to fill the field seem to reflect the technique of the metal-worker. The drawings themselves give the impression of not having been originally composed to fill the circle of a kylix; one feels rather that they are only glimpses, seen through a circular frame, of some design in frieze or panel form which has been ruthlessly cut to fit the new setting.<sup>7</sup>

I set out below various passages from Pausanias' account with the vases<sup>8</sup> to which they seem to offer a parallel. Of course a number of the scenes belong to the regular stock-in-trade of the archaic artist, and when these are found on vases and on Throne it is only what we should expect. But when, besides this, several of the Laconian kylikes show scenes which find no explanation until they are seen in the light of the description of the Throne, it seems worth while to make a detailed examination of the whole series.<sup>9</sup>

Ι. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ . . . Τυφῶς (III. xviii. 10). The Typhon of Greek art



FIG. 2.—FRAGMENT IN LEIPZIG.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Furtwangler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 695, and Klein, *A.A.* xxxvii. 1922, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pernice, *JdI.* 1901, p. 192.

<sup>8</sup> I have made rough tracings of many of the vases to save the reader having to refer to the various publications in which they appear. They are not drawn to a uniform scale and do not show the purple

paint of the originals.

<sup>9</sup> I owe much to the kindness of Miss E. Haspels, who read this article in manuscript and made a number of helpful suggestions which I have incorporated without acknowledging my debt in each case.

as a rule appears as a creature with human head and body, winged and with snakes for legs like the monster who faces Zeus on a Chalcidian hydria in Munich.<sup>10</sup> A fragment of a Laconian kylix from Naukratis in the British Museum<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 1) seems to be from a picture of this giant: it shews a nude torso with unusually fine drawing of the muscles and parts of a right arm and wing, while from the base of the torso spring to right and left two serpents' tails, spotted and with a band of scales along the edge. On Corinthian vases Typhon does not appear in this form: they have instead a creature with only one tail, coiled clumsily below his upright body and wearing chiton and girdle.<sup>12</sup> The Typhon with double tail makes a less awkward picture and is new to the Peloponnese in the sixth century, though it occurs in the East at a very early date<sup>13</sup> and (with nude torso) is the type usually adopted on Etruscan works of art. This Eastern form would be the one best known to Bathycles and, if he used it on the Throne, it may be his design that has inspired this new venture on the part of the Laconian vase-painter.

2. ἐπειργασται δὲ καὶ Ἄτλας (III. xviii. 10). It is a question whether Atlas here formed part of the preceding group shewing the rape of his two daughters or whether Pausanias' words do not rather suggest that he was pictured separately,<sup>14</sup> but in any case he would stand as rather an isolated figure, for he could only be shewn in the most characteristic manner, holding up the sky on his shoulders, and so he appears on the Laconian kylix in the Vatican.<sup>15</sup> The subject appears on no other vase of the period, and the fact that it was treated also by the Laconian artist, Theocles, in the group in the Treasury of the Epidamnians at Olympia,<sup>16</sup> points to some local artistic tradition that may have some connexion with the design on the Throne. It is true it is not easy to see the sky in the shapeless mass above Atlas' head, and this has led to the view that the figure is Sisyphus,<sup>17</sup> but it is equally difficult to reconcile the action with the traditional doom of Sisyphus, and if the design is a translation from a work in bronze, this may be the artist's attempt to reproduce with the brush what was quite clear in the metal—a mass beaten out in relief and standing clear from the background—while the thickly scattered purple dots would represent the stars engraved upon it.<sup>18</sup> It seems possible that the vase-painter should have copied this dramatic figure from the one on the Throne, adding a second figure from elsewhere to balance it in the new setting.<sup>19</sup>

3. καὶ Ἡρακλέους μονομαχία πρὸς Κύκνον (III. xviii. 10). This seems to have been the subject of the fragmentary Laconian cup in Leipzig<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 2), for the figures on it find a close parallel in a peculiar version of

<sup>10</sup> 596, *Vasensammlung zu München*, i. Pl. 24 = Buschor, *Gr. Vasenm.* p. 95, fig. 69.

<sup>11</sup> B<sub>7</sub>, *Cat.* ii. p. 51; *R.A.* ix. 1907, p. 396, fig. 13.

<sup>12</sup> *E.g.* Lenormant et de Witte, *El. Cér.* iii. 31, 32, 32A. An exception is Salzmann, *Nér. de Camiros*, Pl. 31, which shews a type with two tails and wearing the usual Corinthian chiton.

<sup>13</sup> Furtwangler, *Ant. Gemmen*, iii. p. 203 and Frank, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, I. 2, Pl. 54, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Frazer, *Paus. (Comment.)*, III. xviii. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Albizzati, *Vasi Ant. Dipinti d. Vaticano*, ii. Pl. 17, 220 = *D.A.* i. p. 527, fig. 616.

<sup>16</sup> Paus. VI. xix. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Gerhard, *AF.* ii. p. 21, and Albizzati, *op. cit.* p. 66.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the lekythos, *JHS.* xiii. 1893, Pl. III.

<sup>19</sup> See No. 13, below, p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> *A.A.* xxxviii-ix. 1923-4, p. 82, fig. 19 (not a good reproduction); I owe the excellent photograph here reproduced to the kindness of Professor Koch.

the episode that has been identified on two b.-f. vases.<sup>21</sup> On these vases, Zeus, interposing between the two combatants, strides right, with the left foot forward; he is nude except for a chlamys loosely slung over both arms: in his right hand he holds a sceptre,<sup>22</sup> while his left hand is stretched out before him—on the hydria, empty—on the lekythos (Fig. 3), grasping a thunderbolt. To right of him is the fallen Cycnus, spear in hand, with Ares coming to his defence. Immediately to the left of Zeus stands Heracles with Athena behind him.

The Leipzig cup shows parts of the figures of Zeus and Cycnus. Zeus, nude (without chlamys), strides to the right in just the same way: the thunderbolt in his left hand is unmistakable, although much conventionalised on the lines of the lotus-bud ornament found on another Laconian vase,<sup>23</sup> and the fact that it is in his left hand is enough to show what the scene is. If Zeus were actually attacking a Giant,<sup>24</sup> the thunderbolt would be in his right hand as in all drawings of the Gigantomachy, but

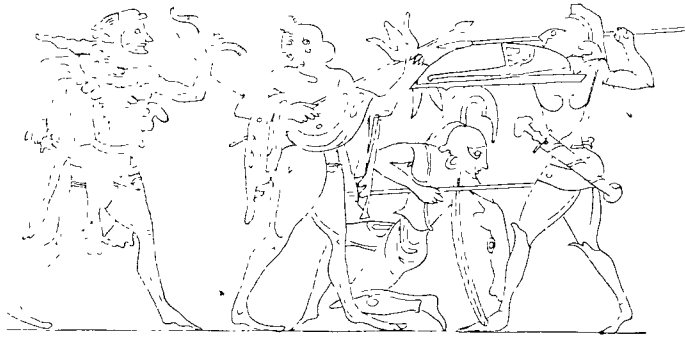


FIG. 3.—LEKYTHOS FROM VULCI.

there seems to be no authentic example of the Cycnus episode shewing Zeus with the bolt in his right hand. Here he only steps in to stay the fight: he does not take an active part in it and, as a rule, has both hands empty. Only on the lekythos mentioned above does he hold a thunderbolt, and then it is in his left hand. The figure of Cycnus on the Leipzig cup is very fragmentary, but what there is of it reproduces closely the figure on the hydria, with the right leg stretching behind the foot of Zeus, though the left hand is treated differently—flung back without the spear. There seems no doubt of the identity of the scenes on the three vases; they must derive from a common original, possibly a Laconian one, for it is typical of the Laconian artist, avoiding drapery whenever possible,<sup>25</sup> to draw his Zeus nude, though pictures of the Cycnus story as a rule shew him in a chiton. While the hydria and the lekythos give the more complete version, the circle of the Laconian kylix has limited the scope

<sup>21</sup> A hydria from Vulci, Lenormant et de Witte, *op. cit.* i. 2 and p. 315, and a lekythos from Vulci, *AdI.* 1880, Pl. M 3 = Reinach, *Rep.* i. 344.

<sup>22</sup> Probably the spear on the hydria is the vase-painter's clumsy misreading of a sceptre; cf. Heyde-

mann, *AdI.* 1880, p. 90.

<sup>23</sup> *JA.* xx. 1916, Pl. XI.

<sup>24</sup> As Rumpf suggests, *JA.* 1923-4, p. 83.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. below, No. 16, p. 39.

of the picture: unbroken, it may have allowed room for the figure of Heracles to the left of Zeus, but not for the two outer figures of the group. The letters on the kylix, ΑΦΕ, to left, are a puzzle; they certainly have nothing to do with the name Cycnus, but may they not be read as part of the name Ares? <sup>26</sup> This, at first sight, suggests that the artist is picturing a later moment in the fight, when, after the death of Cycnus, Ares is himself wounded by Heracles, <sup>27</sup> but, in the light of the more complete versions of the scene, this cannot be so: Ares can only be the outer, standing figure, coming to the rescue of the fallen Cycnus. Is it possible that the vase-painter, in borrowing his design, has given by mistake to the figure he reproduced the name <sup>28</sup> of the figure he had to omit?

4. ἡ παρὰ Φόλω τῶν Κενταύρων μάχη (III. xviii. 10). The scene on a Laconian dinos in the Louvre <sup>29</sup> may be an echo of this one on the Throne, though it is not a very convincing battle picture and seems rather to be a combination of two episodes—the greeting of Heracles by Pholus and the later fight with the Centaurs. Heracles, to right, grasps the wrist of the Centaur who faces him, and, though his club is in his hand, his bow and arrows, his traditional weapons against the Centaurs, are out of action, slung over his shoulder. Behind him are other Centaurs who flee in disorder to the left, two of them fallen to the ground. Corinthian versions offer no close parallel, <sup>30</sup> though Peloponnesian tradition may account for a Heracles without his lion-skin and perhaps for the shaggy coats of some of the Centaurs, rendered by rows of short incisions on the black glaze. <sup>31</sup> But on the other hand there must be some new source of inspiration to account for the swing and liveliness in the drawing of the fleeing Centaurs. The fact that two of them have human, and the others equine forelegs is no clue to the origin of the design, for Centaurs of both forms have their prototypes in Ionia and on the mainland alike, <sup>32</sup> but when one of the Centaurs of the dinos finds so close a parallel as it does on a Pontic vase in Munich <sup>33</sup> there is clearly some question of Ionian influence at the back of the design. <sup>34</sup>

For the rest of the frieze, which shews Achilles, waiting in ambush for Troilos—not one of the subjects which decorated the Throne—the artist had no new model. He here works on a tradition already established on the mainland and follows the version used by Timonidas. <sup>35</sup> The horses on the dinos are freer in drawing than those of Timonidas, but they too find their parallel on a Corinthian vase. <sup>36</sup> The composition is

<sup>26</sup> I have not seen the kylix itself, but on the photograph the central letter seems undoubtedly to be a *digamma*; I admit that my suggestion requires a drastic emendation, but there seems no alternative.

<sup>27</sup> Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles*, 457 ff.

<sup>28</sup> For another inscribed sherd cf. No. 6, below.

<sup>29</sup> E 662. *Cl.A. Louvre*, i. III Dc, Pl. 7, 1-4; *AZ.* 1881, Pls. XI 1, XII 1.

<sup>30</sup> On a skyphos in the Louvre, 63. *Cl.A. Louvre*, vi. III Ca, Pl. 12; *JHS.* i. 1880, Pl. I, a troop of Centaurs is shewn running to left, some of them fallen: they have human legs and only the human part of the body is shaggy. The Attic

fragment, *Cl.A. Athens*, i. III Hf, Pl. 1, 2 seems to have more in common with the dinos.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Baur, *Centaur in Ancient Art*, p. 93.

<sup>32</sup> W. v. Massow, *AM.* xli. 1916, p. 101, and Baur, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> 985, *Vasensamml.* p. 150, fig. 195.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Baur, *op. cit.* p. 55.

<sup>35</sup> Pfuhl, *MuZ.* fig. 174. The small snake decorating the grave of the Achilles on the dinos seems to appear also on the Timonidas vase, though less carefully drawn; cf. the similar decoration on a bronze greave, *Olympia*, iv. Pl. LXI. 990.

<sup>36</sup> *AZ.* 1859, Pl. 125.

rather stiff and staccato in contrast to the first group and confirms the impression that the rhythm and interweaving of movement in the Centaur group may be directly due to some foreign model, possibly to be found in the decoration of the Throne and incorporated into the frieze of this vase by an artist accustomed otherwise to work in the traditions of the mainland.

5. Διομήδην τε Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Θρᾶκα . . . τιμωρούμενος (III. xviii. 12). The group on a Laconian cup in the British Museum<sup>37</sup> might be interpreted as part of such a scene; it shews the small figure of a man running to right, holding by the reins two winged horses that rear up on either side of him. The composition seems to fit the circle of the frame so well that I hesitate to connect it with the frieze-like designs that must underlie the drawings on other Laconian cups, but the motive is a traditional one in the East,<sup>38</sup> occurring particularly in a circular setting, and it may be that the well-known scheme came most readily to the imagination of the artists of the Throne, and the wings of the horses suggest direct Eastern inspiration.<sup>39</sup> The group appears on vases of various periods, in many

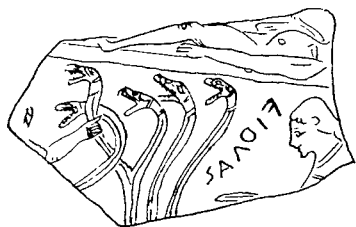


FIG. 4.—FRAGMENT IN SAMOS.

forms and under different names, but in this case it might well represent Diomedes with his horses—winged to show their swiftness like the horses of Pelops on the Chest of Cypselus<sup>40</sup>—though I confess it is difficult to see how the full scene of Diomedes' punishment could be combined with a design already so complete in itself.

6. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἡρακλέους πεποιήται τῶν ἔργων τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕδραν (III. xviii. 13). A Laconian sherd found in Samos<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 4) shews part of such a scene, but, with only the snakes, the head of Iolaus and the arm of Heracles, it does not provide much evidence to work upon. There seems no reason for linking the design especially with the Throne; as far as it is preserved, the scheme seems to be the usual one used by Corinthian artists<sup>42</sup>—Heracles and Iolaus on either side of the Hydra, each grasping a snake's head with one hand and preparing to hack it off with a sword in the other.

The clearly painted name, ΕΙΟΛΕΑΣ, to left, with the contracted ending common in the Laconian dialect, is no evidence either for or against connexion with the Throne, for, even assuming that the scenes on the Throne were inscribed,<sup>43</sup> had a Laconian artist copied this scene from it, he would surely have substituted his own dialect for the Ionic form of the name<sup>44</sup> which Bathycles would use.

<sup>37</sup> B2, Cat. ii. p. 49. Loeschke, *Bonner Studien für Kekulé*, p. 259, fig. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Loeschke, *op. cit.* p. 259, and E. Schmidt, *Der Knielauf*, pp. 320, 363.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Malten, *JdI.* 1925, p. 143.

<sup>40</sup> In the B.M. Cat. *loc. cit.* it is suggested that the figure on the kylix is Pelops, but the horses of Pelops won their fame in a chariot race and it is natural

that they should appear in harness; cf. W. v. Massow, *op. cit.* p. 27.

<sup>41</sup> *AM.* 1929, Pl. 16, 1.

<sup>42</sup> W. v. Massow, *op. cit.* p. 44, and Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 126.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Hitzig and Blumner, *Paus. (Comment.)*, III. xix. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. ΕΙΟΛΕΟΣ on a b.-f. hydria, B.M. B 301.

7. ὡς ἀνήγαγε τοῦ "Αἰδου τὸν κύνα (III. xviii. 13). The scene on a Laconian kylix recently found in Rhodes <sup>45</sup> (Fig. 5) is described as 'figura barbata che guida colle redini un leone,' but a much simpler interpretation seems to lie in the Cerberus story. The hero, without lion-skin or other attribute to distinguish him, and the rather peculiar dog with only one head are perhaps not easily recognisable, but the owl in the middle of the picture is the clue to the situation; it is not just the space-filling decoration that it sometimes is.<sup>46</sup>

In a number of Cerberus pictures Athena appears in the centre or at the side of the scene, directing Heracles in his task. She is not shewn on this cup, for Laconian vase-painters seem to avoid using the female figure whenever possible,<sup>47</sup> probably feeling the solid mass of drapery too heavy for their designs, but here the artist, not wishing entirely to



FIG. 5.—KYLIX IN RHODES.



FIG. 6.—KYLIX IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, B1.

deprive the hero of his protecting goddess, has put in the little owl as a shorthand symbol of her presence. (The compromise seems to have become an accepted tradition in connexion with this episode, for we find the owl set above Cerberus in exactly the same way on a late moulded vase.<sup>48</sup>)

The creature on the kylix is not the Cerberus with slim body and long, narrow head of Corinthian and Attic art,<sup>49</sup> but has more to do with the heavy, mastiff type of Ionian art;<sup>50</sup> this type of dog would be the one naturally used by the artists of the Throne, but it would be a puzzle to a mainland artist, so he has copied it on the lines of the only thing he knows like it—the lion of the Corinthian vases—giving it the lion's mane and tufted tail.

<sup>45</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, iii. p. 122, fig. 115 and Pl. B. Cf. *PhW.* 1932. 4 for another interpretation of the scene.

<sup>46</sup> On a Corinthian alabastron, Athens 12581, and a kylix, Athens 330. Cf. also *JHS.* xxxii, p. 374.

<sup>47</sup> See below, No. 16, p. 39.

<sup>48</sup> Furtwangler, *Sabourff Collection*, i. Pl. 74, 3.

<sup>49</sup> *AZ.* 1859, Pl. 125; Gerhard, *AI.* 129, 130.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *D.A.* 'canis' and a Caeretan hydria, Louvre, E 701 = Pfuhl, *op. cit.* fig. 154.



8. Ἀναξίας δὲ καὶ Μνασίνους, τούτων μὲν ἑφ' ἵππου καθήμενός ἐστιν ἑκάτερος (III. xviii. 12). Perhaps the horsemen on three Laconian kylikes <sup>51</sup> (Fig. 6) represent these heroes.<sup>52</sup> On two of the vases the rider is crowned with a double-branching bough and all three are accompanied by small winged figures, one of them bearing wreaths. Weicker <sup>53</sup> has pointed out the funerary meaning of the winged figure, the wreath and the branch, symbols borrowed from Egypt and widely adopted by the Ionian Greeks, and how this branch, set on the head of the figure, symbolises the heroising of the dead. It is possible that the sons of the Dioscuri would be shewn in such a way. The figures on these cups recall the type of horseman with flying bird beside him that is found in Eastern art <sup>54</sup> and is above all common on Corinthian vases. Here it is the East that seems to have supplied the model direct; the band across the horse's chest on two of the kylikes could not be part of a mainland design. Greek horsemen, until quite late in history, rode bareback, and so they appear invariably on their vase-paintings. Assyrian riders, on the other hand, used a saddle-cloth, kept in place by a wide, decorated breast-collar,<sup>55</sup> and this is sometimes correctly reproduced by Ionian artists,<sup>56</sup> but it never appears on the mainland of Greece. The painters of these Laconian kylikes have evidently had such an Ionian model before them, but they have been puzzled by the saddle-cloth, and, while omitting the cloth altogether, they still keep the collar, though its purpose is gone and there is nothing to support it. On the Hermitage cup the artist hides the weakness by finishing the collar under the rider's knee, but on the British Museum cup (Fig. 6) he shews it without any kind of attachment, as though it were glued on to the chest of the horse, and he is clearly copying something that was unfamiliar to him. Besides this, on these two kylikes, a larger proportion than usual of the outline is incised and sketch lines are abandoned as though the artist had not been familiar with his design, while the drawing of the horses' knees on the British Museum and Louvre examples is very odd and quite unlike anything in Greek mainland vase-painting. With the horseman such a favourite subject on Corinthian ware, there was certainly no need for a Peloponnesian artist to make these curious experiments unless his imagination had been fired by some new model, but if this new model were the Amyclaeon Throne, these three kylikes shew just the clumsy misreadings that we should expect in a local copy of the Ionian artists' designs.

9. ἀναίρεϊ δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντης τὸ ἐν Λυκίᾳ θηρίον (III. xviii. 13). A kylix in Heidelberg <sup>57</sup> which, though of rather exceptional form, shows all the characteristics of Laconian ware is decorated with a Chimaera. In design the Chimaera is not in any way original, but in the details of the drawing it seems to be something new to the Greek mainland of the sixth

<sup>51</sup> British Museum B1 = Fig. 6; Louvre E 665, *CIA. Louvre*, i, III Dc, Pl. 3, 10; Hermitage 183 = *JdI.* xxxviii-ix. 1923-4. Pl. 1. Possibly a fragment of a fourth is to be recognised in a sherd in Marseilles, Vasseur, *CR. Ac Inscr.* 1910, p. 428, Pl. II. 24-6.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Milchhoefer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 180, and Paus. II. xxii. 5.

<sup>53</sup> *Der Seelenogel*, p. 16.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, iii. p. 769, fig. 544, p. 779, fig. 548.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. E. Wasmuth, *Assyrische Plastik*, figs. 38 and 40.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. *JHS.* 1883, p. 19, fig. 14, and a frieze from Xanthus, *B.M. Sculpt.* B 312-3.

<sup>57</sup> *JdI.* xvi. 1901, p. 193, fig. 2.

century, nearer to the thickset lions of Hittite monuments; <sup>58</sup> the heavy shoulders, short body, wide, crinkled mane, pointed ears and thick fore-legs, not narrowed above the clumsy paws, <sup>59</sup> do not appear in the slender, long-bodied lions of the Corinthian style, not even in some examples <sup>60</sup> which are built on the same scheme as this one and with it are perhaps based on some Eastern design. Like these, the Laconian example may have been evolved simply as a decorative motive well fitted to the circle of the cup, but it may have some link with the type used on the Throne, for certainly there is no form more likely to have been used by the Ionian artists.

10. καὶ σφίγγες (III. xviii. 14). It is possible that some such important original lies behind the carefully drawn sphinxes on the Laconian kylikes of the Louvre <sup>61</sup> and New York. <sup>62</sup>

11. υἱός ἐστι θήρα τοῦ Καλυδωνίου (III. xviii. 15). Three <sup>63</sup> Laconian cups have pictures of the killing of a boar; two of them, those of Munich <sup>64</sup> and Leipzig, <sup>65</sup> showing only one man attacking the boar, need have no special reference to the myth of the great hunt, like the simple hunting scenes of Corinthian vases, <sup>66</sup> though there is clearly some new artistic idea behind the elaborate anatomy and the hair—done in the Ionic *krobylos*—of the hunter on the Munich example.

On the other hand, the scene on the kylix in the Louvre <sup>67</sup> (Fig. 7) must be a piece taken from a larger picture of a hunting scene, as the broken spear in the field proves. It has much in common with the early Attic representations, <sup>68</sup> dating from the end of the first quarter of the sixth century and apparently based on a version of the myth—unknown to the earlier Corinthian artists <sup>69</sup>—where the heroes, Meleager, Peleus and others, are recognisable and play their different parts. The two figures on the Laconian cup are very like the Peleus and Meleager of the François vase, attacking from the left—the left arm stretched forward and the right thrusting with a spear; the second figure, though beardless, with a long lock falling over the shoulder, with *nebris* and bordered chiton, may be identified with the Meleager on that vase. The action, too, suits the literary tradition as preserved by Apollodorus, Μελέαγρος δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κενεῶνα πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε. <sup>70</sup>

This new version may have been the one used in the decoration of the Throne and from there the painter may have learnt it; and yet, in a few details, he seems to follow the tradition used by other Peloponnesian

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. 46.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Morin-Jean, *Dessin des Animaux en Grèce*, pp. 78. 94.

<sup>60</sup> Louvre S 1679, *Cf.A. Louvre*, vi. III Ca. Pl. 9; B.M. 95. 10-27, 1; a plate in Vienna = Payne, *op. cit.* Pl. 30, 8.

<sup>61</sup> Louvre E 664. *Cf.A. Louvre*, i. III Dc. Pl. 3, 8; *Ac.* 1881, Pl. XII 4.

<sup>62</sup> Published in *IJ.I.* xxv. 1921, Pl. IV.

<sup>63</sup> A fragment in the Archaeological Museum at Florence is perhaps from a fourth.

<sup>64</sup> 383, *Vasensamml.* 1 Pl. 13.

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<sup>65</sup> *JdI.* xvi. 1901, p. 191, fig. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Munich 327, *Vasensamml.* i. p. 26, fig. 37; British Museum B 37, Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pottery*, i. Pl. 21; Vatican 124, Albizzati, *op. cit.* ii. Pl. 12.

<sup>67</sup> E 670, *Cf.A. Louvre*, i. III Dc. Pl. 3, 5.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Vatican 306; Albizzati, *op. cit.* iii. Pl. 29, and the François vase.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Buschor in *FR.* iii. p. 220. Ionian artists also seem to have been familiar with the story at an early date.

<sup>70</sup> Apollod. I. 8. 6.

artists: the flying spear (with *amentum*) appears on the British Museum Corinthian krater,<sup>71</sup> the drawing of the boar is close to that on the Vatican Corinthian krater,<sup>71</sup> and the position of the boar, set to right, is a scheme more usual on Corinthian vases than on Attic, where, as a rule, it is shewn facing left.

12. Κάλαις δὲ καὶ Ζήτης τὰς Ἀρπυίας Φινέως ἀπελαύνουσιν (III. xviii. 15). Perhaps one of the Boreades from this scene is to be recognised in the figure on a Laconian kylix in Munich<sup>72</sup>—a bearded figure in the 'bent-knee' attitude, crowned with a double-branching bough, with bird wings half spread, winged sandals and fringed chiton decorated with bands down the front and round the neck: the type seems to be a favourite local one and appears in slightly varying form on other Laconian kylikes.<sup>73</sup>



FIG. 7.—KYLIX IN THE LOUVRE, E 670.



FIG. 8.—KYLIX IN THE LOUVRE, E 669.

13. Τιτυὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων τοξεύει καὶ Ἄρτεμις (III. xviii. 15). The shooting of Tityos by Apollo is not found on any surviving Laconian vase, but if we accept Hauser's view<sup>74</sup> that the warrior on the kylix in the Louvre<sup>75</sup> (Fig. 8) is Apollo Pythoktonos, we have an incident closely connected with it,<sup>76</sup> for Leto was attacked by Tityos, son of Gaia, the guardian goddess of the Pythian oracle, as she was on her way to Delphi, where Apollo slew the snake. The warrior, attacking a large snake that rears up from the left from the shelter of a small, temple-like building, is shewn with helmet, shield and spear. An Apollo so armed needs some explanation, and though Hauser notes the fact that the great statue of Apollo at Amyclae carried helmet, spear and bow,<sup>77</sup> his theory of the Cretan origin of the kylix prevents his seeing the close local connexion between statue

<sup>71</sup> Cf. note 66 above.

<sup>72</sup> 382, *Vasensamm.* i. Pl. 13.

<sup>73</sup> British Museum B 4 = Petrie, *Naukratis*, i. Pl. VIII; Hermitage 183; British Museum B 1; Louvre E 665 (cf. above, No. 8, p. 32).

<sup>74</sup> *OJh.* x. 1907, p. 9.

<sup>75</sup> E 669, *Gl. Louvre*, i. III Dc, Pl. 3, 12.

<sup>76</sup> Many of the pictures on the Throne must have been large compositions illustrating several incidents, e.g. Nos. 12, 15, 19.

<sup>77</sup> Paus. III. xix. 2.

and vase. The artists of the Throne, in making a picture of a fighting Apollo, would be likely to shew him armed, like the figure of the god which was to rest above their work, and it seems possible that this rather naïve drawing of the Laconian vase-painter may be based on such a picture of the slaying of Python, which perhaps formed an incident in the Tityos scene on the Throne.

Among b.-f. vase-paintings there seem to be only three other instances, all three apparently 'Tyrrhenian,' of an Apollo helmeted, contrary to the recognised tradition which shows him unarmed except for bow and quiver, and it is a peculiar thing that two of these instances<sup>78</sup> occur in pictures of the Tityos story, while the third,<sup>79</sup> though interpreted by Loeschcke as the destruction of the Niobids, must be closely connected with the first two, for it seems to be only a regrouping of the same figures with little alteration. It is tempting to assume that the material for all three vase-paintings has been drawn from some lost picture of the Tityos episode. Loeschcke has already suggested their connexion with the Amyclaeon Throne,<sup>80</sup> and it may be that they have some more direct link with it than merely a common artistic tradition derived from Ionia.

In this connexion I am strongly tempted to see a fourth instance of an Apollo wearing a helmet on an amphora, also 'Tyrrhenian,' formerly in the Bourguignon Collection and now in Berlin,<sup>81</sup> in a scene which has been read in two ways—as the sacrifice of Polyxena<sup>82</sup> and again as Alcmaeon taking vengeance on Eriphyle for the death of his father<sup>83</sup>—neither of them entirely satisfactory; the picture seems to be only another variation on the artistic material which the three Tityos vases have variously drawn upon. We recognise, besides the helmeted warrior, the draped female figure who stands to the left of the picture, the wide, embroidered bands on the women's dresses and, on the right, the pair, man and woman, running side by side. One suspects the same myth behind it all.

But there is a good deal more—a chariot, a female figure, fallen over an altar (?), and a snake. All these, I think, find a place in the Tityos story—but in the second act, the slaying of the Python.

There seems to be a well-established tradition that the Python, slain by Apollo at Delphi, was female:<sup>84</sup> may not the fallen figure be she, fallen, not over an altar, but over the omphalos, her tomb?<sup>85</sup> Her angry snake-spirit rises from her side, menacing the armed Apollo, who turns to flee in his chariot<sup>86</sup>—to Tempe, according to the legend, to be purified of the crime.<sup>87</sup>

The figures of the man and woman, running in front of the horses of the chariot, repeat closely the Tityos and Leto of the fragment in Athens,<sup>88</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Louvre, E 864 (= *Mon. Ined.* 1856, Pl. 10, 1), and Graef, *Vasen von der Akropolis*, iv. Pl. 98. 2406.

<sup>79</sup> In Corneto., *AD.* I. 22, and Loeschcke, *JdI.* 1887, p. 275.

<sup>80</sup> *op. cit.* p. 279.

<sup>81</sup> *JdI.* viii. 1893, Pl. 1 = Pfuhl, *op. cit.* fig. 207 (the three figures at the left side are omitted).

<sup>82</sup> Hauser, *JdI.* viii. 1893, p. 93.

<sup>83</sup> Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren*, p. 55.

<sup>84</sup> *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 355 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Hesych. Τοξίου βουινός . . . και ὁ ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Πύθωνος, and cf. J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 399.

<sup>86</sup> The chariot appears in Ionian pictures of the Tityos story; cf. Furtwangler, *Ant. Gemmen.* iii. figs. 57, 58, and a Pontic vase, Lenormant et de Witte, *op. cit.* ii. 59.

<sup>87</sup> Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 12, 293 c (Seperion).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. above, note 78.

but the woman clearly holds a bow in her hand,<sup>89</sup> and so can only be Artemis, whom we should expect to find here with her brother and who does not appear elsewhere in the picture. The artist's confusion of the two goddesses may not be entirely his own, for there is literary evidence of a tradition which makes Tityos attack Artemis in place of Leto.<sup>90</sup> If this figure is to be taken as Artemis we may see Leto in the draped figure that appears, as on the Louvre and Corneto vases,<sup>91</sup> to the left of the picture, or perhaps one should interpret the group of four as Themis, with her attendant Horai, who laments the fate of Python and is herself soon to be driven from Delphi by the new god.<sup>92</sup>

This version of the slaying of Python brings us very near to the Laconian picture of Apollo Pythoktonos with the snake darting its head to right and faced by an Apollo with helmet, shield and spear, though the Laconian artist has used simpler elements that he was familiar with—the small building and the 'bent-knee' figure<sup>93</sup> hidden behind a circular shield—instead of venturing on the more varied figures of the elaborate scene that appears on the Bourguignon amphora.

What is the link between the two? Is it possible that the Attic artist found the rich material of his picture in some famous design—the design followed also by Bathycles to provide in turn the model which the painter of the Laconian kylix has used in his humbler way?

The sequel to the shooting of Tityos, the punishment inflicted on him by Zeus in Hades, may also have formed part of the picture seen by Pausanias. If so, the second figure on the kylix in the Vatican<sup>94</sup> which some have identified as Tityos,<sup>95</sup> bound and devoured by the vulture, may have been taken from the design on the Throne, isolated from its setting, and used to balance the figure of Atlas.<sup>96</sup>

14. ἡ πρὸς Ἀχελῷον Ἡρακλέους πάλη (III. xviii. 16). This seems to be the explanation of a fragment in the Louvre<sup>97</sup> (Fig. 9) where the extraordinary position of the bull's left foreleg, flung over the man's shoulder, has led to Hauser's ingenious suggestion linking the scene with Cretan bull-grappling.<sup>98</sup> It is a curious action for a bull, but this is no ordinary bull, it is a river-god, εἰκασμένον ταύρω,<sup>99</sup> awkwardly trying to use his strange limbs.

The grotesqueness of the design was luckily soon recognised and it was not repeated; other b.-f. vase-painters are content to give a less literal version of the wrestling.<sup>100</sup> The massive proportions of the bull on the Laconian fragment, the wavy lines used to indicate the folds of skin on

<sup>89</sup> Thielsch, *op. cit.* p. 57, takes it to be a snake in the hand of one of the Eumenides, but in the reproductions published it seems to be clearly a bow. I have not seen the vase.

<sup>90</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 179.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. notes 78 and 79 above.

<sup>92</sup> *Iph. in T.* 1259, and cf. J. E. Harrison, *Themis* p. 385 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. No. 4, above, p. 29.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. No. 2, above, p. 27.

<sup>95</sup> Albizzati, *op. cit.* ii. p. 46.

<sup>96</sup> For Ionic influence in the drawing of the ribs cf. Jacobsthal, *Theseus auf dem Meeresgrunde*, p. 22.

<sup>97</sup> E 666, *CVA. Louvre*, i. III Dc. Pl. 3, 7.

<sup>98</sup> *OJh.* x. 1907, p. 13.

<sup>99</sup> Apollodorus, II. vii. 5.

<sup>100</sup> Luce, *AJ.A.* xxvii, 1923, p. 32, gives a full list of examples. A rather similar motive is used for a picture of the struggle of Theseus with the Minotaur on a Chalcidian hydria, Louvre F 18 = Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Pl. XXVI.

the neck and the group of fine lines over the eye are all points that link it with the work of Ionian artists.<sup>101</sup>

15. καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς Ἡραν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεθείη (III. xviii. 16). A part of this picture may be reproduced on the second half of the kylix in Rhodes<sup>102</sup> (Fig. 5), for the scene would hardly be complete if it did not shew Hephaestus made drunk and led back to Olympus by Dionysus as he is shown here. The scheme is one which seems to have been widely used on b.-f. vases—on the François vase among others. Hephaestus, on a mule, is followed by a silenus, horse- or human-legged, who carries a wine-skin, while a draped Dionysus is somewhere in the picture, either standing in the group or reclining apart. Hephaestus, on this kylix, sits sideways on the mule with his maimed feet turned outwards, as he does in the marriage procession on the François vase.<sup>103</sup>



FIG. 9.—FRAGMENT IN THE LOUVRE, E 666.



FIG. 10.—KYLIX IN MUNICH, 384.

On the kylix apparently lack of space has curtailed the number of figures and—with his dislike of drapery<sup>104</sup>—the artist has discarded the Dionysus, for the nude figure cannot, I think, be the god, as Jacopi takes it to be:<sup>105</sup> it is quite exceptional for Dionysus to be shown nude.<sup>106</sup>

The greater number of the vases bearing this scene are of Ionian design,<sup>107</sup> as one would expect when the god himself is of Eastern origin,<sup>108</sup> and, taking into account the evidence from the other half of the kylix,

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 102.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. above, No. 7, p. 31. Jacopi, in publishing it, notes that the episode appeared among the reliefs of Gitiadas in the Chalkioikos (Paus. III. xvii. 3).

<sup>103</sup> *FR.* i. 1-2.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. below, No. 16, p. 39.

<sup>105</sup> *op. cit.* p. 122.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Loeschcke, *AM.* xix. 1894, p. 516, and Malten, *JdI* xxvii. 1912, p. 253, note 3.

<sup>107</sup> E.g. B.M. B 264 = Gerhard, *op. cit.* i. 38, and

Lenormant et de Witte, *op. cit.* i. 49 A. The episode appears only twice on Corinthian ware; (a) on an amphoriskos, Athens 664 = Loeschcke, *op. cit.* Pl. 8, in a version quite different from the others; (b) on a krater, unusual in technique and design, B.M. B 42 = Walters, *op. cit.* i. Pl. 21. 1, where the picture seems based on the same model as the Laconian one. Cf. Payne, *op. cit.* p. 142.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Malten, *op. cit.* p. 232 ff.

one may reasonably suppose that this Laconian version of the episode has some connexion with the one recorded on the Throne.

In connexion with the episode here recorded by Pausanias, the scene on another Laconian kylix<sup>109</sup> (Fig. 10), which has been read in a number of ways, may perhaps find its true interpretation. Can the two figures, seated facing one another, be simply Hera and Zeus, angrily gesticulating over her ridiculous position? They are certainly like the Zeus and Hera on the François vase,<sup>110</sup> where the episode appears in full, though, there, both Hera and Zeus are seated to the right, their chairs have footstools and are of the regular Attic pattern and there is a wealth of fine detail in dress and furniture that is never found in Laconian vase-paintings. On the kylix, perhaps for the sake of symmetry of design, the Laconian artist has turned Zeus round to face Hera and he has drawn the chairs like those he is most familiar with—the type, with lions' legs before and behind, long, sloping back, crowned with a palmette, and peculiar arm-rest, found frequently on Spartan works of art.<sup>111</sup> Both vases show the arms of Hera raised in the same position, but on the François vase (though part of the vase is missing here) Zeus, with his sceptre in his hand, makes a more dignified figure than he does on the Laconian kylix, where, as on the cup in Cassel,<sup>112</sup> he gesticulates with both hands to give emphasis to his words.

16. καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Πρωτέα ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ (III. xviii. 16). The scene on a Laconian kylix in Athens<sup>113</sup> has been interpreted as Teiresias being led from the presence of Oedipus,<sup>114</sup> and again as Philoctetes on Lemnos,<sup>115</sup> but neither reading seems finally convincing. This passage from Pausanias seems to offer a clue; may not the central draped figure be read as Proteus in the grip of Menelaus, the man who stands to the right of him and pulls him forward with a firm hold on neck and wrist? (The four lines on the neck of Proteus can only be taken as the fingers of a hand: there seems no other explanation possible.<sup>116</sup>) Behind Proteus stands a second male figure, one of Menelaus' companions,<sup>117</sup> gesticulating. The parallel episode of Heracles' struggle with Nereus is pictured in much the same way on two b.-f. Attic vases;<sup>118</sup> Nereus, a tall, stooping figure to right, in a long chiton and with an himation over his arms, is held in the grasp of Heracles, but in this case it is his daughters, the Nereids, who are introduced as spectators of the struggle. On the Laconian kylix the attendant male figure makes a different interpretation of the scene necessary, and this passage from Pausanias' description of the Throne seems to supply it.

The subject is not known on any other work of art, and it has been suggested that what Pausanias saw was really a picture of the struggle

<sup>109</sup> Munich 384, *Vasensamml.* i. Pl. 13.

<sup>110</sup> *FR.* i. 11–12.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Tod and Wace, *Cat. of the Sparta Museum*, p. 102 ff. On the kylix lack of space has forced the palmette from the throne of Zeus down into the space behind.

<sup>112</sup> Below, No. 17.

<sup>113</sup> 13910 = *JHS.* xxx. 1910, p. 19, fig. 7.

<sup>114</sup> *JHS.* xxx. p. 20.

<sup>115</sup> Pfuhl, *op. cit.* i. § 232.

<sup>116</sup> A b.-f. skyphos in Philadelphia, *AJ.A.* xxvi. 1922, p. 174, fig. 1, shows Herakles holding Nereus in the same way, by the neck.

<sup>117</sup> *Odyssey*, iv. 408.

<sup>118</sup> British Museum B 225, *CV.A. B.M.* iv. III He. Pl. 35. 3a, and *Bibl. Nat.* 255 = Gerhard, *op. cit.* ii. 112.

between Heracles and Nereus,<sup>119</sup> but this would be a curious mistake for him to have made, and surely the fact that it is a local hero's exploit is enough to explain the choice of this rarer version of the well-known scheme, while the artist would welcome a means of avoiding the dark mass of a Nereid's dress<sup>120</sup> and of getting the lighter silhouette of a male figure to contrast with the draperies of the Proteus.

17. Διὸς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ διαλεγόμενων ἀλλήλοις (III. xix. 3). Is there any further description needed of the scene on the kylix in Cassel<sup>121</sup> (Fig. 11)? The eloquent gestures of the two figures are the truest equivalent of the Greek διαλεγόμενων.

18. ἡ Δημητὴρ καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτων (III. xix. 4). This group may have been the subject of a fragmentary Laconian kylix in the British Museum<sup>122</sup> (Fig. 12). Pluton sits facing left and in front of him stands Kore with a pomegranate in her hand. She is in the middle of the picture



FIG. 11.—KYLIX IN CASSEL.

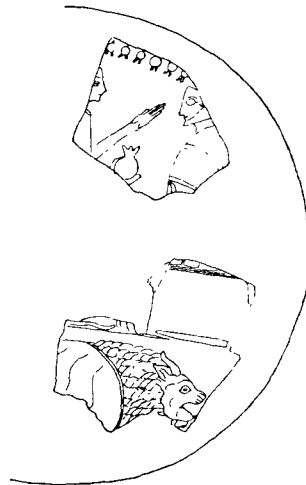


FIG. 12.—KYLIX IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, B 6.

and there is ample room in the last part of the circle of the kylix for a third figure—Demeter—behind her and perhaps seated to balance the seated Pluton. The prominent position given to the fruit seems to reflect the important part it plays in the story.

19. κομίζουσι δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν Ὑακίνθον καὶ Πολύβοιαν, Ὑακίνθου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔτι παρθένον· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ὑακίνθου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχον ἤδη γένεια, . . . περὶ δὲ ἀνέμου Ζεφύρου, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑακίνθος ἀπέθανεν ἄκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ ἄνθος εἰρημένα τάχα μὲν ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλως, δοκεῖτω δὲ ἡ λέγεται (III. xix. 4). Though Pausanias only refers to this one picture in connexion with the legend of Hyacinthus, his sceptical allusion to the traditional story seems to imply that he saw it set out in full, as one would expect it to be, on this monument

<sup>119</sup> Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*, i. p. 70.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. No. 3, p. 28, No. 7, p. 31, and No. 15, p. 37.

<sup>121</sup> *A.I.* 1898, p. 189, fig. 3.

<sup>122</sup> B 6, *Cat. ii.* p. 51 = Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 23, fig. 18. Cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 95.



to the dead hero, and in this connexion I venture to suggest a new reading of the scene on the Laconian kylix in Cassel<sup>123</sup> (Fig. 13). While the scene has been identified as Trophonius erecting a tholos<sup>124</sup> or Daedalus busy on the labyrinth,<sup>125</sup> the circular object in the man's hand has been interpreted as a building stone. But it clearly has concentric circles on it, and these on a building stone are not easy to explain; but they are used as a form of decoration on disoi:<sup>126</sup> also the attitude of the man suits well the action of a discus-thrower; he grasps the discus in the right hand, supporting its weight on the forearm,<sup>127</sup> while his left arm (not shewn on the fragmentary cup) was probably swung upward in the regular way.<sup>128</sup> Can this be Apollo with the fatal discus in his hand? And if this is Apollo there is only one building that could be associated with him here—the tomb of Hyacinthus. The artist has clearly tried to shew something highly decorated: the band of irregular dots may be a

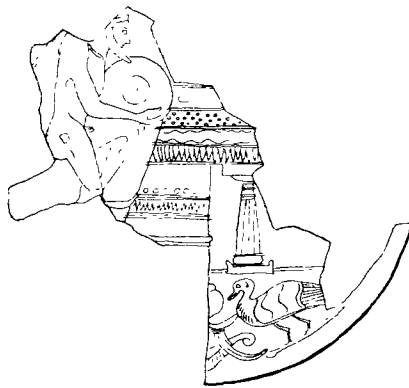


FIG. 13.—KYLIX IN CASSEL.

rough-and-ready way of reproducing a figured frieze, while the second band seems to form a kind of leaf-pattern,<sup>129</sup> and the curious base at the foot of the column—not necessarily its base: it may be a separate thing—with horns at either end may be a cramped attempt to shew the altar<sup>130</sup> that was somewhere below the Throne.

The building seems to be of curious plan, a circle broken by a porch on one side.<sup>131</sup>

Tsountas, when excavating at Amyclae, came upon a foundation of horseshoe shape with traces of straight walls across it<sup>132</sup> which he thought must have formed part of the Throne, but nothing of this now remains and, when a later rectangular building was found on the summit of the hill<sup>133</sup> and identified with Bathycles' great monument, it was thought

<sup>123</sup> Bochlau, *Aus Ion u. Ital. Nekrop.* Pl. x 4.

<sup>124</sup> Bochlau, *op. cit.* p. 128.

<sup>125</sup> Hauser, *O.Jh.* x. 1907, p. 10.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *JHS.* xxvii. p. 7 and *ibid.* 1880, p. 63.

<sup>127</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 16.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> Like the fragment of an architectural frieze from Amyclae, *AM.* lii. 1927, Pl. XXIII.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 511 f.

<sup>131</sup> Bochlau, *op. cit.* p. 127.

<sup>132</sup> Εφημ. 1892, par. 16, and Fiechter, *JdI.* xxxiii. 1918, pp. 131-2.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Fiechter, *op. cit.* p. 135.

that the circular structure must have been an early altar,<sup>134</sup> especially as a layer of burnt matter was found beside it. The foundations found by Tsountas might well have served for some such building as the one shewn on this vase and, if there is any truth in this new interpretation of the drawing, they may after all prove to have been the base of the famous Throne, but as all trace of them has vanished the subject can never get beyond mere guesswork.

Robert,<sup>135</sup> discussing possible restorations of the Throne before the later discoveries, makes the suggestion that the Throne itself stood on this circular base with the altar standing where the circle is broken (in contrast to Furtwängler,<sup>136</sup> who takes the circular base as the altar and sets a straight-backed throne behind it) and that the Throne had a rounded back on the lines of certain Etruscan thrones;<sup>137</sup> such a design does not seem so remote from the building represented on this fragmentary Laconian cup.

JOCELYN M. WOODWARD.

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<sup>134</sup> Cf. Buschor, *AM.* lii. 1927, p. 14.

<sup>135</sup> *RE.* iii. p. 125.

<sup>136</sup> *Meisterwerke*, p. 693.

<sup>137</sup> H. Muhlestein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, Pls. 124, 125.

# THE TITHE OF APOLLO AND THE HARMOST AT DECELEA, 413 TO 404 B.C.

## A. *The Tithe*

XENOPHON (*Hellenica*, III, v, 5) records some reasons why the Spartans in 395 B.C. were particularly hostile to Thebes.<sup>1</sup> First among these causes (apparently mentioned in chronological order) stands the Theban claim to the tithe of Apollo at Decelea: πάλοι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς (the Thebans) τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν Δεκελείᾳ, κτλ. This allusion to Decelea does not seem to have been understood by the editors. For instance, Breitenbach wished to get rid of it by the emendation ἐκ τῆς λείας. Underhill in support of the MSS. quoted Justin, V, x, 12: *Thebani Corinthiique legatos ad Lacedaemonios mittunt qui ex manubiis portionem praedae communis belli periculique peterent*, etc.: and Plutarch, *Lysander*, XXVII: Λύσανδρον δὲ φασιν ὀργῇ φέρειν ὅτι τῆς δεκάτης ἀντεποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου Θηβαῖοι μόνοι - - - καὶ περὶ χρημάτων ἡγανάκτησαν ἃ Λύσανδρος εἰς Σπάρταν ἀπέστειλε,<sup>2</sup> for references to the claims made by Thebes to a share of the booty of the Peloponnesian war. Now, both these passages are apposite, and probably refer to the same occasion which Xenophon means; but they do not mention Decelea. So Underhill preferred to abandon the reference to it as inexplicable.

If we look at these original authorities more closely, we can see that Justin evidently did not distinguish a general claim for a share in the spoils of war from a particular claim to a δεκάτη dedicated to Apollo and at Decelea. Plutarch *did know* of some kind of δεκάτη, though he does not speak of the deity to whom it was dedicated, nor of the precise source of the spoils. Yet he distinguishes it from the money which Lysander sent to Sparta; *i.e.* Lysander's spoils from his navarchy.<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes, however, in a passage not quoted by the editors of Xenophon, was evidently alluding to the same tithe as that to which Xenophon and Plutarch refer, and he confirms Xenophon on the connexion of the tithe with Decelea.

Demosthenes' evidence is to be found in XXIV, 128, where the orator is making successive attacks on the antecedents of three persons connected with that case. The third whom he vilifies is Glaucetes, of whom he says: οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Δεκέλειαν αὐτομολήσας, κάκειθεν ὀρμώμενος καταθέων καὶ φέρων καὶ ἄγων ὕμας; - - - δεκάτας ἐκεῖ τῷ ἄρμοστῇ κατατιθεῖς τούτων ἀκριβῶς, τὴν δὲ γ' ἐνθάδε θεόν - - - ἀποστερῶν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Walter Otto of Munich for his kind and helpful criticisms of this essay.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known dedication of the Spartans at Delphi is represented by ancient authorities and

Ditt. *Syll.* I,<sup>3</sup> 115, as a commemoration by Lysander of his victory at Egospotami. No allusion seems to connect it at all with Decelea.

<sup>3</sup> Xen. *Hell.* II, ii, 8.

ὑμετέρων πολεμίων δεκάτης.<sup>4</sup> The passage is not alluded to in modern discussions of Spartan harmosts.<sup>5</sup> The explanation for this neglect may partly be sought in the unreliable character of the context.

The historical value of the passage might well be impugned on the ground that Attic orators often gave vent to such pieces of vituperation with little or no regard to truth. This contention is partly strengthened by the fact that there is a special improbability in this charge against Glaucetes. He was still able to serve on a foreign embassy in 355, through which he became involved in the case against Timocrates: so fifty years earlier he must have been rather too young to have committed serious depredations on Athens from Decelea.<sup>6</sup> But these arguments only seriously affect the question of Glaucetes' responsibility for depredations before 404—a question which we must leave unsolved; they do not necessarily weaken the validity of the rest of Demosthenes' account: *i.e.* that there was a harmost in Decelea, to whom tithes were paid.<sup>7</sup> In fact, if Demosthenes was uttering a slander, it was not likely to be an entirely nonsensical slander. Presumably, he thought that these circumstances would at least seem sufficiently plausible to his Athenian audience; but this would not require a very high level of historical truth.

The claim of Demosthenes' statement for serious consideration is greatly strengthened by its coincidence with Xenophon's allusion. Similarly, the reliability of the text in Xenophon's *Hellenica* is vindicated by its correspondence in thought with Demosthenes' narrative. Thus the two passages derive mutual support from each other; and it seems worth while to investigate further the possible implications of this little-known fact about the Spartan occupation of Decelea: viz. that a tithe of the spoils from Attica, dedicated to Apollo, was deposited with a harmost there.<sup>8</sup>

### B. *The Harmost and King Agis*

Of course, even if one accepts the existence of the tithe at Decelea, the fact that Demosthenes was right in one particular does not prove that he was also right about the presence of a harmost there. Still, in view of this partial vindication of Demosthenes' circumstantial accuracy, it seems worth while to consider what kind of an official he can have meant in speaking of a 'harmost.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Is not this the man who deserted to Decelea, and thence sets out, making incursions and robbing and ravaging you (the Athenians)? . . . he deposits accurately the tithes of these (spoils) with the harmost there (at Decelea), but now he . . . defrauds your own Athena of the tithes from your enemies.'

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Oehler in Pauly-Wissowa, ἀρμυσταί; Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde*; Kahrstedt, *Gr. Staatsrecht*, I, Sparta.

<sup>6</sup> The scholiast realised this difficulty and remarked: δεῖ νοῆσαι τοῦτον πάνν γεραίτατον—evidently an assumption from the context. He also raised a second difficulty; that Glaucetes would have had to remain an exile, if he had deserted to Decelea. The scholiast evidently was thinking of the decree

quoted by Lycurgus (*in Leocratem*, 120 seq.). But surely Glaucetes would have returned with the other exiles in 404 (*Xen. Hell.* II, ii, 23), and would have been protected by the general amnesty of 403? The scholiast evaded this second difficulty by a second assumption: that Glaucetes must have been kidnapped to Decelea.

<sup>7</sup> Schaefer (*Demosthenes*, 1885, vol. I, p. 304 and note 1, p. 305) seems to accept the truth of Demosthenes' charges against Glaucetes, but does not mention the harmost.

<sup>8</sup> Demosthenes, though he omits to mention Apollo as the recipient of the tithe, evidently was aware that the harmost was only a trustee. Cf. his use of κατατίθεις.

He can scarcely have spoken in forgetfulness of King Agis, if he remembered the *tithe*; for Agis' share in the occupation of Decelea was well known. Those editors who merely suppose that (for instance) 'he seizes the opportunity of bringing in the obnoxious word ἄρμωστής,'<sup>9</sup> seem to go too far in their incredulity. Demosthenes may have strained the facts somewhat to improve the vigour of a rhetorical attack. But would he be likely to have weakened a very suspicious story by adding quite unnecessary fabrications, instead of giving an account of the possible circumstances?

If Demosthenes' reference to a harmost at Decelea is not attributed to mere ignorance or mere rhetoric, two interpretations seem open:—(i) Did he call Agis a 'harmost'? But this would almost certainly have been a mistake; for there seems to be no other instance when a Spartan king was ever called 'harmost.' One of the essential features of a harmost's office is the fact that he is limited by a district, within which he must confine his operations; and also he is directly subject to the home authorities. But Spartan kings in the field were not limited, except by the presence of Ephors or σύμβουλοι on their staff. Hence Agesilaus in Asia Minor, 396–4 B.C., or Agesipolis in Chalcidice, 380 B.C., are never called anything but ἡγεμόνες, though some of their predecessors and successors, performing similar strategic functions in the same districts, are called ἄρμωσται.<sup>10</sup> There can be little doubt that a Spartan king was never a ἄρμωστής. So while we cannot be sure that Demosthenes would be correct in his use of Spartan titles, it seems fairer first to see if a 'harmost,' in some otherwise attested sense of the word, could have been present at Decelea.

(ii) The use of the title ἄρμωστής for an ordinary Spartan officer placed in a similar strategic position to that of the commander of Decelea can be paralleled from the later history of Agis' own reign.

After his invasion of Elis (402 B.C.),<sup>11</sup> on retiring in autumn, Agis left Lysippus behind at Epitalium as ἄρμωστής with a garrison and exiles from Elis.<sup>12</sup> Epitalium was used by Lysippus as a base to raid Elis during the winter till the next Spartan invasion, in just the same way as Decelea was used during the latter part of the Peloponnesian war. Moreover, at the close of the war with Elis, Agis offered a *tithe* at Delphi (Xen. *Hell.* III, iii, 1); and though we are not informed of the precise origin of this dedication, it is tempting to regard it as consisting at least in part of a tenth of the spoils taken in Lysippus' raids.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> W. Wavre, *In Androtonem et in Timocratem* (Cambridge, 1882), annot. ad loc. Alternatively, he identifies this harmost with 'the harmost of the Peiraeus after the surrender of Athens.' Does he mean Callibius, the harmost of Athens itself?

<sup>10</sup> Agesilaus Xen. *Hell.* III, iv, 2 seq.), ἡγεμόνων; contrast Thibron *id.* III, i, 41 and Euxenus *id.* IV, ii, 5, ἄρμωσται. Agesipolis *id.* V, iii, 8, ἡγεμόνων; contrast Teleutas *id.* V, ii, 37 and Polybiadas *id.* V, iii, 20, ἄρμωσται.

<sup>11</sup> So dated by Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* III.<sup>2</sup> 1, p. 17. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altent* V, § 762, places the cam-

paign a year later.

<sup>12</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III, ii, 29: φρουρούς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ . . . καὶ Λύσιππον ἄρμωστήν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἡλίδος φυγάδας, . . . καὶ τὸ ἐπίοντα χειμῶνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυσίππου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν ἐμέριτο καὶ ἤγετο ἡ τῶν Ἡλείων χάρα. Cf. Pausanias, III, viii, 5, who gives the name as Λυσίστρατον Σπαρτιάτην without any official title. Diodorus, XIV, xvii, 12, may allude to the same occupation.

<sup>13</sup> For another contemporary example of dedicating a *tithe* of spoils to a deity, cf. [Lysias], ὑπὲρ Πόλυστράτου, 24—an Athenian, escaped from the Sicilian

Was there, then, such a harmost in Decelea as Lysippus in Epitalium? If there was, one difference between them is clear and important. The harmost at Decelea is not likely to have been there merely in the absence of the king. Agis was not accustomed to return each autumn to Sparta from Attica, as he did later from Elis. He remained outside the Peloponnese throughout the winter. On the other hand, to judge from Thucydides, Agis did not confine himself to Decelea, but was accustomed to lead his forces to any place where they might be needed. For instance, in the winter of 413 he marched as far as the Oetaeans and Achaea Phthiotis.<sup>14</sup> Hence it is evident that Decelea must have been occupied also by a permanent garrison and a commander, as long as Agis was away.

This officer will have taken over the full command of Decelea only in the absence of Agis. For when the king was present in the field, all other Spartans by νόμος were his subordinates.<sup>15</sup> This fact raises a slight difficulty; for it is clear that Demosthenes does not refer to any short interval. Evidently he represented the harmost as continually receiving the tithe. This may be just a fiction on Demosthenes' part, by which he has converted a temporary into a permanent official. But it is not impossible that such a harmost might continue to exercise a subordinate authority, even when Agis was present, provided that he had a special function to perform.

An analogy may perhaps be found in the relations of Brasidas and Clearidas in Amphipolis. Clearidas had been set up there as ἄρχων in the summer of 423 B.C. (Thuc. IV, cxxxii, 3). In the following summer, as a consequence of Cleon's campaign in τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, Brasidas himself had to operate from the same city, while still employing Clearidas in a subordinate capacity to command the Amphipolitans and others. It is evident that the ἄρχοντες in τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, 423-2 B.C., were the prototypes of the later harmosts. Also Brasidas' function as commander-in-chief abroad has some affinities with that of Agis.<sup>16</sup>

Our evidence, then, on the functions of harmosts seems to indicate that just such a duty as Demosthenes implies might be typical for one of them. So far as our limited information goes, there is no instance where a harmost, so called, ever commands a body of Spartiates; they are only commanders of neodamodes or allies.<sup>17</sup> Now it seems clear that Agis had no Spartiates at Decelea, except his own staff. The forces there were

disaster, raids Syracusan territory, and dedicates a tithe to the goddess of Catane.

<sup>14</sup> Thuc. VIII, iii, cf. v, δύναμιν γὰρ ἔχων εὐθὺς ἐκασταχόσε δεινὸς παρῆν. He had fortified Decelea in the early summer of 413, Thuc. VII, xix, and directed the raids throughout Attica from thence, *ibid.* xxvii, 4. In the summer of 411 he received an embassy from the Four Hundred there, and after sending for additional troops from the Peloponnese made an approach against Athens itself, *ibid.* VIII, lxxi. Late in 410 he made a similar attempt on the city, Xen. *Hell.* I, i, 33. In Diodorus, XIII, lxxii, 3, this attack is misdated and contains features borrowed from the previous one (cf. Busolt, *Grech. Gesch.* III,

p. 1528; contrast Beloch, *Grech. Gesch.* II, i, p. 418). In the spring of 405 Lysander visited Agis at Decelea (Plut. *Lys.* IX). According to Xen. *Hell.* II, ii, 7 seq. and iii, 3, Agis remained in Decelea also, until after the capitulation of Athens: Pausanias commanded the field force, cf. Busolt, *Grech. Gesch.* III, 1627, note 2. Diod. XIII, cvii, 2. Plut. *Lys.* XIV, make both kings command together, contrary to Spartan νόμος: so also Beloch, *Grech. Gesch.* II, i, 436.

<sup>15</sup> Thuc. V, lxxvi, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *JHS.* I, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *JHS.* I, p. 76.

generally: (i) a garrison of allies of a fixed number periodically relieved, (ii) such additional foragers as might attach themselves temporarily or permanently to the garrison.<sup>18</sup> The position of Lysippus at Epitalium (already discussed) suggests that a harmost might appropriately be employed to co-ordinate the operations of such a heterogeneous force at his own discretion in the king's absence, and perhaps even under his control when present.

It remains to ask how the Thebans came to have a claim to this tithe collected from the booty. The scantiness of our evidence on the terms of the dedication precludes the possibility of a direct answer. But, at any rate, apart from their quota as Sparta's allies, the Boeotians must also have provided the largest share of additional raiders from Decerea. Their very nearness would facilitate that; and also we have the evidence of the historian from Oxyrhynchus (XII, 4), who might even be interpreted as alluding to the tithe: τὰ τε γὰρ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάν[τα τὰ κατὰ τὸ]ν πόλεμον ἀλίσκόμενα μικροῦ τιν[ος ἀργυρίου]υ παρελάβανον, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεσκευὴν ἅτε πρόσχωροι κατοικοῦντες ἅπασαν μετεκόμισαν ὡς αὐτοῦς, κτλ. The 'little money,' for the price of which the Boeotians secured these spoils, may merely mean the small outlay involved in ravaging a near neighbour. But it seems just as likely that the historian knew, but did not stop to mention more clearly, the fact that a tithe was left with the Spartan harmost in Decerea. On much of the booty this percentage could best be commuted for a cash payment. Also the Boeotian League as the chief contributor to this fund felt aggrieved somehow at the manner in which Sparta had disposed of the whole.

H. W. PARKE.

<sup>18</sup> The composition of the force can be deduced from Thuc. VII, xxvii, 3 seq. There is no indication of a garrison of Spartans apart from the pretty anecdote in Aelian, *VH* II, 5—ἀκούοντες οἱ ἑφοροὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς Δεκέρειαν καταλαβόντας περιπάτω

χρησθαι δειλινῷ, ἐπέστειλαν αὐτοῖς 'μὴ περιπατεῖτε,' ὡς τρυφόντων αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σῶμα ἐκπονούντων. Cf. Agesilaus in Asia Minor and Egypt or Agesipolis in Chalcidice with only 30 Spartiates as their staff.

## TREBIZOND, A MEDIAEVAL CITADEL AND PALACE

RECENT research is making us daily better acquainted with Byzantine religious buildings. Saint Sophia is a byword in architectural history and the Byzantine style has been drawn on in the West perhaps more than any other. But of the secular buildings of Byzantium, of the great palaces so famous in history, few examples have been spared. Accounts tell us of the great palace at Constantinople, but of this vast collection of buildings



FIG. 1. THE WALLS OF THE LOWER TOWN.

little more than a single stair remains above ground. Of the palace of the Hebdomon, situated on the Sea of Marmora to the south of the capital, even less is to be seen, though further excavations would probably prove fruitful, and of the mediaeval palace of the Blachernae on the Golden Horn, which served as the Imperial residence after the eleventh or twelfth century, only a single building, the Tekfour Serai, survives. At Salonica, one of the most important cities of the Byzantine world, there are no more than a few foundations in the Turkish fort. At Nicaea, the capital of the empire for some years when the Greek rulers were driven out of Constantinople, there is nothing. Only at Mistra, near Sparta in Greece, and at Trebizond, at the eastern corner of the Black Sea, do the actual walls of the old palaces survive. The former, though now the larger and the better preserved, was in mediaeval times the less important, for Mistra was but the capital of a despot or prince, whereas Trebizond was governed by a line of emperors who ruled for no less than 257 years.



The first of these, Alexios Comnenos, established himself in the eastern Black Sea region with the help of his famous aunt, Tamara, queen of Georgia, in 1204, and chose as his capital Trebizond, a town of considerable importance both because of its strategic situation and because it was the main entrepôt for the overland trade with Persia. In classical times the city had been fortified and granted certain privileges, and in the most prosperous Byzantine days it had been made the capital of a theme or district and was thus the seat of a Governor. The new Emperor had therefore a firm foundation on which to build up his empire, which was soon to dominate not only the immediate neighbourhood, but also to acquire colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea. His first task was one of consolidation and fortification, and it is to his energy that we owe the larger portion of the walls of the upper and middle citadels and the more important part of the palace.

The fortified portion of the town consists of three separate divisions. The lowest of these is a large, almost square area, bordered on the north by the sea. The walls are mostly of late date (Fig. 1), the upper levels being in part due to the Turks, and the buildings enclosed by them are of no great importance. Immediately to the south, but separated from the lower citadel by a wall, stood the second citadel, on higher ground, being bordered on the eastern and western sides by deep ravines (Fig. 2). From this the ground rises in a series of terraces, so that the third or upper citadel is protected on either side by huge precipices. To the north a strong wall separated it from the middle citadel; to the south it was more vulnerable, for the ravines close in but do not actually meet. The upper citadel is thus in the shape of a triangle (see Plan), secure on either side, but approached from the south by a bridge-like table of land. Here was situated the main entrance gate, defended by various towers of considerable strength. Here it was also that the severest attacks took place, and here the walls suffered most at the hands of invaders. But in spite of this the upper citadel was the strongest of the three, and hence within its walls were situated the palace and the more important administrative buildings.

Descriptions of mediaeval travellers give us some idea of the former magnificence of the palace, which contained guest-rooms, the royal apartments, the treasury, archives and the government offices. The finest part was known as the "Golden Palace" of the Comnenes.<sup>1</sup> It was reached by a marble stair and was surrounded by overhanging balconies of wood, probably not unlike those which we see to-day in the deserted monasteries near Trebizond or in those more prosperous ones on Mount Athos. The great hall, with marble floor and walls decorated with portraits of the Comnene emperors, was apparently the largest construction, for the council chamber, with roof supported on four marble columns, was situated above it. Close by was the great refectory and the library which Panaretos describes in his chronicle, but of which nothing now survives.

From the sea what remains of these walls presents a most impressive sight, arches and windows towering up above the roofs and the ramparts

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<sup>1</sup> De Beylic. *L'habitation byzantine*, p. 141.

over the town and the bordering ravines (Fig. 3). From nearby the palace seems even more formidable, for the inaccessible nature of the cliff



FIG. 2.—THE MIDDLE CITADEL.



FIG. 3 —THE UPPER CITADEL.

on which it stands is stressed again by the walls that overtop it (Fig. 5). On the north and south these walls are fortified by means of towers, whose foundations at least date from a period prior to the establishment of the

empire. These towers and walls have in some cases suffered severely at the hand of time or at that of a more rapid destroyer, so that the original scheme is not always easy to follow. Thus the gap in the wall through which entrance to the upper citadel is now effected (10 on Plan) is not an original gateway, but in reality the site of a tower which no longer exists. Uspensky points out that Lynch appears to have mistaken this gap for an ancient entrance, for he traced the line of the east to west wall bordering the northern extremity of the upper citadel past it. The Russian archaeologist considers that the original palace wall and gate were situated further to the south.<sup>2</sup> He cites two separate proofs of this fact. In the first place, we have the testimony of that most interesting traveller Evliyah, who visited Trebizond in 1648 and learnt that 'on the north side the gate leads to the middle castle, which is the only open gate. A second secret gate is always kept closed.'<sup>3</sup> The open gate was situated in the northern tower and led to the official palace road. The secret gate was discovered by Uspensky in 1916, blocked up with stones. It was set in the southern wall of the tower situated to the south of the palace, opposite the open area known under the name "Epiphania" (7 on Plan), overlooking the eastern ravine. Until the building of the tower of St. John (1 on Plan), now, alas, destroyed, this tower (2 on Plan) had been the most important part of the palace defences. It was always carefully guarded and access to it seems to have been extremely difficult. It was thus a most suitable site for a secret door. In the second place, a careful examination of the wall which Lynch indicates as the northern wall of the upper citadel (see Plan) reveals an additional proof of his error in associating this with the northern wall of the palace itself, for its western extremity meets the western wall far beyond the line of the outer walls and fortifications of the palace. From what can be seen to-day it seems that the boundary wall of the palace was not very large and that it was never as important as the wall which separated the upper and the middle citadels. Traces of this remain along its whole length, and Lynch's plan, which we have followed here, seems to be reasonably accurate. We were unable to check it throughout, owing to the inaccessibility of the greater part of the wall.

As we have already noted, the south-eastern corner of the upper citadel constituted the weakest point in the defensive scheme, and it was here that attacks were most frequent. A series of buildings was hence begun here, the strongest of which was the large tower known as that of St. John (1 on Plan).<sup>4</sup> Its walls were extremely thick and it must have presented to an invader an aspect even more formidable than that of the natural precipices and high fortifications to east and west. This new tower took the place of an older one to the north in the scheme of defence (2 on Plan), and the latter, being no longer required for military purposes, was converted into a chapel. Until recently frescoes showing two compositions were preserved there. The first of these consisted of three figures, one of which wore royal clothes, the second represented a figure of the Christ

<sup>2</sup> *Sketches in the History of the Empire of Trebizond* London, 1880, p. 44.  
(in Russian), Leningrad, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> *Narratives of Travel in Europe, Asia and Africa*, (1280-1285).

<sup>4</sup> This tower was probably built by John II.

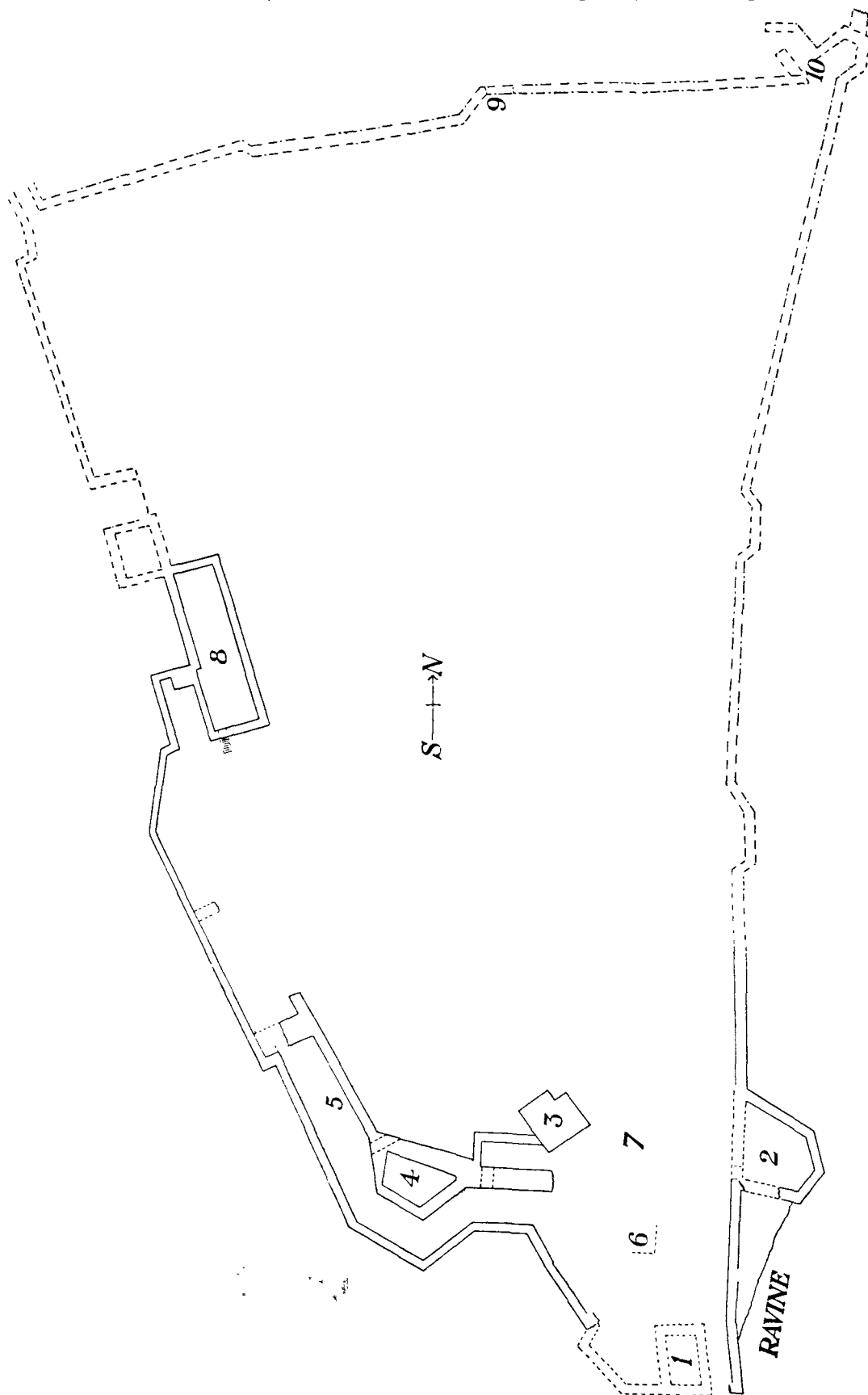


FIG. 4.—TREBIZOND: PLAN OF THE UPPER CITADEL. Scale: 1 mm. = 1 m.

in the act of performing a blessing. Now, owing to the destruction of the western walls of the tower, nothing survives.

An examination of the ground plan of the palace reveals the fact that it was built to face westwards. All the more important rooms overlooked the western ravine, while to the east there seems to have been a road and to the south a square, between the rooms and the ramparts. The buildings that survive to-day belong to several periods, the earliest work, which dates in all probability from Roman times, being characterised by large square blocks. There are three main divisions, separated by



FIG. 5.—WALLS OF THE UPPER CHADIL.

terraces supported by buttresses. The strongest and uppermost buildings are those in the south-eastern corner which have already been described. Next to them in position came the main halls and dwelling-rooms of the palace, situated to the north-west of the square called "Epiphania," in mediaeval times a kind of corso, around which centred the official, court and social life of the city. The walls and windows of many of these palace buildings still survive (Fig. 6) and the terraces on which they stood, though covered and buried with debris, are still to be made out. But it is impossible to state definitely which were the rooms inhabited by the Emperor and other members of the royal family and which of the windows belonged to the great hall or to the refectory, of which we



FIG. 6.—THE PALACE WALLS.



FIG. 7.—WINDOWS OF THE PALACE.

read such glowing accounts. The elaborate stone frames of some of the windows survive (Fig. 7), suggesting that the upper stories, in this area at least, were more important than the lower ones.

It is this middle area that is the most interesting, and it is here that we can allow the imagination to carry us away from the foundations of fact. It is thus tempting to identify the large rectangular structure which runs beside the western wall (5 on Plan) with the great hall of the palace. Close to it, to the south-east, is a more or less square building (4 on Plan), which popular tradition terms the bedchamber of the Empress Theodora. It was apparently used for many years by the Turkish Governor, though now it is roofless and is rapidly falling into decay. Close to it, and partly built in with it, is a small Turkish bath which was probably reserved for his use. It is not of very early date, however, though Byzantine material has probably been re-used.

But excavation alone will be able to determine the true identity of the rooms, and only when this has been undertaken will it be possible to make a complete plan of the palace. Excavations might well disclose the most interesting results, for certain sections of the palace are built over the remains of an earlier structure which appears to be of considerable importance (see 6 on Plan).<sup>5</sup>

Our third section of the palace lies further to the north, and on the western side of the citadel, at a lower level. Buildings here seem to have been of extensive proportions, but one of them only survives. This is a large hall with double-vaulted roof of Turkish date, which was used as a magazine in Lynch's day (8 on Plan). The walls are in the main Byzantine and rounded windows, now walled up, which belong to the same date, are to be seen.

In the Middle Ages the citadel seems to have been less accessible than it was at the end of the nineteenth century, for during the days of the empire none but members of the Royal house, the court functionaries, state officials and distinguished visitors, who were being conducted round the sights of the town, could penetrate within the castle walls. During the days of the Sultans, though only the Governor resided within the citadel, the local population was allowed to pass freely, foreigners alone being refused admission. In addition, the Turkish officials of pre-War days seem to have protected the ancient walls, for the destruction, rebuilding or alteration of any part of the castle was forbidden. Since the War this state of affairs has unfortunately changed, and of late years the old buildings have suffered more at the hands of local 'improvers' than ever they did before at those of besiegers. An attempt to pull down the walls to make a public garden was soon abandoned, but the area being deserted, the walls serve as a quarry and the open spaces as a rubbish dump for all who live within easy reach.

D. TALBOT RICE.

<sup>5</sup> Uspensky suggests that excavations should be begun by St. John's tower, where the original ground

level is only about three metres below the present surface.

## DROOP CUPS

[PLATES II-IV.]

IN *JHS.* xlix, 270, Beazley and Payne, in their article on Attic black-figured fragments from Naukratis in the British Museum, publish for the first time fragments of two cups that belong to a well-marked group of black-rimmed kylikes that was first studied by Droop some twenty years ago (*JHS.* xxx, 21 ff.). These cups can at once be distinguished from the ordinary black-rimmed Little Master kylix by the following peculiarities:

The upper part of the stem is reserved and generally channelled.

The edge of the foot is convex and black, not, as in normal Little Master cups, whether red or black of rim, straight in section and reserved.

The hollow cone that runs from the base some way up the stem has a black band: in normal Little Master cups this cone is entirely reserved.

Inside the bowl there is a thin reserved band, not, as in normal Little Master cups, right at the top of the rim, but some way down it.

Whereas the normal Little Master cup, whether red-rimmed or black-rimmed, has the lower part of the body black with one reserved band, this treatment is exceptional in the Droop cups, which often shew a great variety of ornamental zones on this part of the vase; of these the most distinctive is a zone of inverted birds or animals, generally in pure silhouette.

The inside of the bowl is decorated with only a small reserved medallion with sometimes a central dot and circle or two, or else is entirely black.

Droop's article deals with seventeen of these vases. Beazley and Payne give a supplementary list of eighteen other examples, whole or fragmentary.<sup>1</sup> Neither Droop, whose article in *JHS.* xxx deals only in passing with these Attic vases, nor Beazley and Payne, for whom they are only one of many items dealt with in one article, make any attempt to classify this interesting series, and the same is more or less true of my own article in *Εφημ.* 1915, where I dealt with the Rhitsona black-figured kylikes (of which six belong to this class) and incidentally recorded seventeen examples, including five of those from Rhitsona and eight from Tarentum, not noticed by Beazley and Payne.

Further examples since noted bring the total up to over a hundred and twenty and justify an attempt at classification.<sup>2</sup> Droop's article in *JHS.*

<sup>1</sup> No. 2, however, of their list is probably the foot of no. 17 (see below under my no. 49). No. 3 is identical with no. 8 (see below my no. 9); no. 18 (my no. 123) is not pure Droop; on the other hand, the Weber cup mentioned just after the list as connected with the series seems from the illustration of it in Sotheby's sale catalogue to be a normal example and is listed below as no. 87. On connected vases see the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> It is a great pleasure to acknowledge the help I have received in collecting this material. For photographs and information about vases I am much

indebted to the directors of the museums at Athens, Bonn, Boulogne, Copenhagen, The Hague, Munich, Naples, New York, Syracuse, Toronto, and the Vatican; to the German Archaeological Institute who most kindly provided me with prints of the photographs of the Acropolis sherds (Photos 17-20 of Graef's *Antike Vasen der Akropolis zu Athen*); to Dr. D. Levi, who did much to facilitate my work in Florence and Chiusi; to Mr. M. P. Vlasto for photographs, drawings and full information about the plate in his collection, below no. 125, figs. 11, 12; to Mr. Pottier for much kind help and for permission



xxx is referred to as Droop; B.P. 1, 2, 3, etc. refers to Beazley and Payne's list of Droop cups in *JHS.* xlix, 270-71.

The vases may be grouped according to the treatment either of the handle zone or of the lower part of the bowl.

The handle zone may show—

I, a simple lotus, or (much rarer) lotus and palmette pattern on interlaced stems;

II, a pattern of lotus above palmette alternating with palmette above lotus, connected by stems or tendrils;

III, animal or human figures as on normal Little Master cups.

The palmette zone so common on cups that conform for the rest to the normal black-rimmed Little Master type hardly ever occurs in the Droop cup series, and where it does occur it is generally abnormal (below, nos. 10, 47; cp. also 74). A garland of leaves also occurs, but to the best of my knowledge only on three cups (5, 75, 77), two of which show other abnormalities as well.



FIG. 1.—No. 3. CUP IN THE LOUVRE.  
DIAM. 18 M.

The lower part of the bowl is either—  
A, mainly black, either as on cups of class A of Έφην. 1915, pp. 116, 117 (the 'Siana' group of B.P. p. 260), or as on normal Little Master cups; or else shows one of the following schemes:

B, a middle zone of silhouette animals or birds upside down, with thick and thin bands above and below it and a bottom zone of rays;

C, a middle zone of line or leaf pattern with the other zones as in the previous group;

D, thick and groups of thin horizontal bands covering the whole of the lower part;

E, some less stereotyped system of ornamental zones.

I. A. Handle zone, lotus pattern; lower part of the bowl mainly black.

The parent type of the whole lotus-band series is perhaps to be seen in—

1. Thebes: from Rhitsona, grave 50, no. 266 a, Έφην. 1915, p. 123, no. 1; diam. 19 m.; body below handle zone all black except that just above the stem there is a reserved band round which run two thin black lines (cp. the Rhitsona cup, grave 49, no. 263, *ibid.* p. 117, fig. 21); the inside of the rim lacks the distinctive reserved band.

Very similar to 1 is—

2. Thebes: from Rhitsona, grave 51, no. 234, *ibid.* p. 124, no. 2 and fig. 12; diam. 21 m.; but here the normal reserved band appears on the inside of the rim and the reserved band outside at the bottom of the body is decorated with rays.

3 (fig. 1). Louvre: from Elaeus, found 25.8.22 in sarcophagus 13, no. 77; diam. 18 m.; lower part of bowl like that of a normal Little Master cup.

to publish the vase from the French excavations at Elaeus; and to Mr. Merlin, who unearthed and had photographed for me the fragments that are now transferred from the Musée Guimet to the Louvre. A special acknowledgment is due to Professor

Beazley, who with his customary generosity put his knowledge at my disposal. He drew my attention to nos. 82, 92, 93, 122 and 125, and I owe entirely to notes made recently by him in Italy my accounts of nos. 4, 14-16, 27, 33, 53, 57-60, 69, 74, 100, 114.

4. Civita Vecchia Museum: very like no. 3: handle zone lotus buds; rim and foot normal Droop, the stem with normal channellings; lower part of bowl normal Little Master.

We may place here—

5. The Hague: Musée Scheurleer, *CI.A. Pays-Bas*, fasc. i, III, H e, pl. 44 (B.P. 5), from Penteli (Attica); diam. .215 m.; lower part of bowl normal Little Master, handle zone wreath of myrtle leaves with fruit in red and white; the hollow cone of the foot has two black bands.

Rhitsona, gr. 50, in which 1 was found, dates from about 560 B.C.; gr. 51 dates from about 540, but 2 is much worn (see fig. in 'Εφημ. 1915) and may be a good deal older than the date of its burial. The Elaeus sarc. 13 contained, besides our no. 3, two plain black kylikes of a type found at Rhitsona in mid-sixth-century graves.

I. B, early. Middle lower zone, silhouette animals or birds upside down.

On the eight vases following (nos. 6–13) the animals are fairly well drawn; lions or panthers tend to have one forepaw raised; the favourite bird is the swan; occasionally a hen is seen with her head erect and set firmly on her shoulders; dots are discreetly used to adorn the field. In the handle zone beneath each handle is a dot rosette.

6. Thebes: from Rhitsona, grave 51, no. 231, 'Εφημ. 1915, p. 123, fig. 13, *BSA. XIV*, p. 269, fig. 14; diam. .21 m.; animal zone panthers and swans, hen.

7. Athens: Nicole 904, Droop fig. 9 b, from Tanagra; diam. .21 m.; animal zone swans and hens.

8 (fig. 2). Munich: A 903, Droop p. 25; diam. .21 m.; animal zone lions and sheep(?); no field dots.

9. Louvre: C. A. 2512. *Coll. Hirsch Sale Cat.* (1921), Pl. VII, 148; B.P. 3 and 8; animal zone cocks and swans, no field dots; both birds and lotuses have incisions; the cheerful inscription recorded in the sale catalogue was written large on the outer rim of the cup in a reddish colour which has completely disappeared, leaving the letters to be read in matt on the glaze; the vase will be published in *CI.A. Louvre*, fasc. VII, by M. Pottier, to whom I owe this information.

With the above I. B. vases we must group—

10. Copenhagen: *CI.A. Denmark*, III, H, pl. 118.3; B.P. 1; from Castello (Rhodes); diam. .218 m.; handle zone odd spade-shaped palmettes alternating with single petals and resting on a cable pattern; animal zone as on 6; no dot rosettes under handles; the one hen, not visible in the *CI.A.* illustration, is, so Dr. Poul Fossing kindly informs me, of the Rhitsona 51.231 (above no. 6) type; base and rim normal Droop.

11. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1842, photo 18; lotus buds and embryonic palmettes as on 31, below; swans and hens with field dots.

12. *ibid.* 1845, photo 18; hen and deer(?); heads missing; Graef identifies as cock and bull; no field dots.

13. *ibid.* 1846, photo 18; deer and lion (back to back, foreparts missing); no field dots; two broad bands above animal zone, the lower purple (cp. below, no. 17).



FIG. 2.—No. 8, CUP IN MUNICH.  
DIAM. .21 M.

No. 6 was found in the same grave as 2, but shows less signs of wear.

Nos. 7-11 are closely related to 6 and are of approximately the same date (550-540 B.C.), no. 8 perhaps a little later than the rest; nos. 12 and 13 should perhaps be regarded as early examples of the group which immediately follows (I. B late).

I insert here from brief notes kindly sent me by Beazley :

14. Taranto 5826 : from Taranto : handle zone, lotus buds; dot and petal rosette under each handle (similar to central rosette of no. 125, fig. 11 below, but less elaborate); birds with field dots.

15. Taranto : from Taranto : handle zone, lotus buds; animals without field dots; top of stem reserved but not channelled.

16. Taranto : from Taranto : handle zone, lotus buds and embryonic palmettes; animals without field dots; top of stem reserved but not channelled.

Of these three vases no. 14 is probably to be included in our earlier group; 15 and 16 in the later group (I. B late).

I. B, late. On the later examples listed below the artist confines himself more and more to cocks and hens, which are now always depicted either pecking or fighting; their heads, especially those of the warlike male birds, become more and more precariously attached to their bodies, while the wattles, completely detached from the head, almost become a diffident sort of field ornament. The lion (or panther) and swan motive is now rare (cp. nos. 78 and 80). Where quadrupeds do occur on later examples of this or the II. B series they are generally sheep (deer?) or rabbits.

Contrary to the normal course of development, these later vases are in one respect less stereotyped than the earlier examples just listed, namely in the treatment of the purely linear bands above and below the animal zone. The abnormality is, however, only apparent, the variety in this case, like the normal uniformity of a decadent type, being the line of least resistance for the bored workman.

17. Würzburg 158 : Droop fig. 11 *b* : from Vulci : diam. .22 m.; swans and sheep (?); above the animal zone two thick bands, one of them purple, with the usual thin bands in between; top of stem reserved but not channelled.

18. Rhodes : from Ialysos, Sep. CCXX; *Clara Rhodos*, III, figs. 227 and 229 (the latter misprinted 219; diam. .20 m.; fairly poor swans and hens and (not visible on the illustrations, but see text p. 231) one crane. The way the handle zone pattern is continued under the handles is unusual. Is it part of the 'recomposition' referred to on p. 231?)

19. Munich 2258 : Droop fig. 13 *b* : from Etruria; diam. .195 m.; cocks and hens. Foot restored.<sup>3</sup>

20. British Museum : Naukratis fragment B 600.38, B.P. Pl. XVII, 25 : a good hen facing a rather degenerate cock; above this normal bands and slight remains of handle zone showing interlaced lotus stems.

21. (Plate II). Louvre C.A. 2903 : from the Guimet Museum, fragment; cock and hen both to right, the hen with head erect but less well attached to the body than on

<sup>3</sup> As figured by Droop (cp. also B.P. p. 270) this vase has a normal Little Master foot. When, however, I examined the vase in 1914 I noted that the foot had been repaired in modern times and was possibly alien. This observation is now confirmed by Prof. Sieveking and Dr. Diepolder, who report that the base and lower part of the stem are certainly

alien, the latter being somewhat greater in diameter than the upper part of the stem, which belongs to the vase and has never been broken off. The absence of a reserved line part-way down the rim may perhaps be explained by the fact that the inside of the bowl has been painted over.

the Naukratis fragment; as on the Naukratis fragment the thick bands seem exceptionally thick.

22 (Plate II). Louvre C.A. 2902: from the Guimet Museum, handle zone and foot almost entirely missing; as preceding, with same hens and same exceptionally thick bands and similar lotus band.

23 (fig. 3). Reading University: from the collection of Mrs. C. Petrocokino (Greece); diam. .21 m.; eight panthers, one seated, facing boar, bull, deer, and goat; the edge of the base where it turns over towards the stem shews a shallow groove above the normal torus. The crowded treatment of the animals is a parallel reaction to that which produced the very widely spaced birds or animals of the II. B vases nos. 61-65, below; cp. also vases of the same group (nos. 62, 63) for a not quite orthodox treatment of the edge of the base. For the rays alternately in outline, as frequently on III. C vases, cp. the Naples vase just below, no. 25.

We may place here—

24 (Plate II). Florence: Coll. Campanari; B.P. 13; handles and foot missing; diam. about .22 m.; between each pair of lotus buds a down-pointing leaf. This vase has no zone of rays: otherwise it conforms to our later I. B series.

25 (Plate II). Naples: Coll. Santangelo, Heydemann 210; diam. .208 m. This vase too conforms in the main to our later I. B series, but note the grazing stag on either side of either handle and the treatment of the rays, black and in outline alternately. The abrupt way in which the lotus band breaks off before the stags finds many parallels in Laconian, where the lotus band is normally left in the air in this unsatisfactory way when it approaches the handle palmettes.<sup>4</sup>

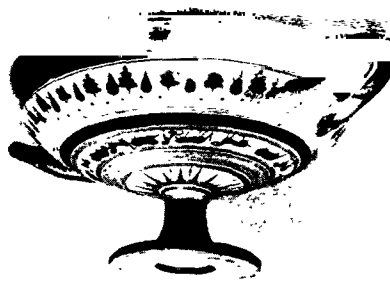


FIG. 3.—No. 23, CUP IN READING.  
DIAM. .21 M.

This later group of I. B vases begins about 540 B.C., which is probably the date of such examples as no. 18, above.<sup>5</sup> As regards the latest phase of all, where degenerate cocks and hens are the characteristic fauna, we may note that at Rhitsona, though no Droop cups so adorned have yet been found, cocks of the same degenerate shape adorn the shoulders of a class of lekythoi (class N of *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, pp. 52-54 and Pl. XVI) found in a series of graves that begins with gr. 31 (of about 530 B.C.) and ends with gr. 18 (of about the end of the century). Our I. B cups with degenerate cocks may well cover the same period.

I. C. These cups have the same motives as those of the I. B cups except that the zone of inverted animals or birds is replaced by one of some simple line or leaf ornament (in the appended descriptions of the individual vases this item is placed first).

<sup>4</sup> For the photograph of this vase and for information about it I am indebted to the great kindness of Dr. P. Mingazzini. When I saw it in the museum at Naples it had an alien (Little Master) foot which has since been removed.

<sup>5</sup> Found at Ialysos in a single interment grave

(CCXX) with an early sixth-century B.F. amphora, two mid-sixth century kylikes, and a small floral B.F. kylix which to judge from the illustration might be dated anywhere in the second half of the sixth century.

- 26 (Plate II). Reading University: from Steele Coll. (Copais); B.P. 14; diam. .21 m.; sloping lanceolate leaves alternating with dots; beneath each handle a dot rosette.
27. Bari: very similar to 26 but without the dot rosettes.
28. Brussels A 1580 bis: Droop fig. 12 a; from Rhodes; diam. .22 m.; ivy wreath; beneath each handle a dot rosette.
29. Syracuse 12602: Sep. 74: like 28 but with no line between upper and lower row of leaves.
30. Athens 12710: Nicole 905, Droop fig. 9 a; from Rhodes; diam. .21 m.; like 28 and 29, but on handle zone lotus buds alternate with palmettes.
31. Ialysos: *Annuario Scuol. Atene*, VI-VII, fig. 213; B.P. 12; diam. .21 m.; snaky lines: handle zone lotus buds alternate with embryonic palmettes; beneath each handle a dot rosette.
32. Taranto: ε pattern.
33. Bari: ε pattern.
- 34 and 35. *AM.* 1929, Beilage XXV: fragments from the Samian Heraeum; step pattern.
36. Syracuse: *Mon. Ant.* XVII, fig. 459; from Gela (Bitalemi); Droop p. 25; fragment: double row of lanceolate leaves with no central stalk.
37. Munich 2257: Droop fig. 10 a; from Etruria; diam. .21 m.; black triangles; the thick band of the zone above them is purple.
38. Munich 2256: Droop fig. 13 a; from Etruria; diam. .15 m.; like 37, but the black triangles have shot up into rays.<sup>6</sup>
39. Würzburg 157: Droop fig. 11 a; diam. .21 m.; R.F. ribbon pattern; the broad band above it is purple, below it two broad bands (the lower purple); the rays are in outline.
40. Rhodes: from Ialysos, Sep. CLXXVI; *Clara Rhodes*, III, fig. 170; diam. .21 m.; R.F. ribbon pattern; the broad band above it is purple; careless work.
- 41, 42. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1825, 1826, photo 18; fragments with R.F. ribbon pattern. 41 has on the handle zone down-pointing leaves as on 24, above.
43. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1834, photo 18; continuous spiral.
- 44, 45, 46. Taranto: simple key pattern; top of stem reserved but not channelled; outer edge of base less thick and rounded than on normal Droop cups and only partly black. We may place here also—
47. Taranto 3687: see Έφην. 1915, p. 120 n. 7; ε pattern as on 32 and 33, but on the handle zone alternate palmettes and single petals resting on a continuous spiral.

These I. C vases are harder to put in any chronological order: most of them I should date about 540 B.C. The careless Taranto trio 44-46 are probably later (530 B.C.?).

I. D. Handle zone as on the groups already listed, but covering all the lower part of the bowl outside are broad bands, some black, some purple, alternating with the usual groups of three or four very thin bands: no rays.

48. Athens 13906: Coll. Petousi 78; Droop fig. 9 d; diam. .188 m.; five broad bands.
49. Vatican: Albizzati, pl. 33.226 (B.P. 17 and 2); diam. .21 m.; eight broad bands.<sup>7</sup>
50. Vatican: Albizzati, pl. 33.336 (B.P. 4); diam. .21 m.; eight broad bands.

<sup>6</sup> The Little Master foot with which this cup is at present provided is inserted into the bottom of the bowl and plastered round. It is unlikely that it belongs to the bowl (Dr. H. Diepolder, confirming observations of my own).

<sup>7</sup> The existing foot wrongly described in B.P. as Little Master<sub>1</sub> is alien; there is little doubt that

we should transfer here the foot at present attached to the Taleides cup, Albizzati, pl. 35. 321. The contours of the join between foot and body in the Taleides cup approximate very closely to those of the plaster filling between bowl and existing foot on this vase.

51. Taranto: cp. Ἐφην. 1915, p. 120 n. 7; eight broad bands; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.  
 52. Reading University: from Egypt; fragment showing five broad bands.  
 53. Naples: fragment perhaps from Cumae.

### I. Fragments with only rim and handle zone determinable.

- 54, 55. Palermo: from Selinus (Malophoros): 54, lotus flowers and buds interlaced only below; 55, lotus buds alternating with palmettes, likewise interlaced only below.  
 56. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1794; and perhaps also  
 56a. Graef 1796.  
 57. Florence: three fragments: lotus buds with dots in arcs below; below handle zone four thin bands and one thick band of black.  
 58. Florence: lotus buds.  
 59. Florence: lotus buds, alternately showing white tips.  
 60. Florence: lotus buds, red band, four thin black lines, beginning of more lotus buds (cp. perhaps no. 115). Apparently a I. E. fragment.

II. Handle zone, lotus above palmette alternating with palmette above lotus, with connecting stems or tendrils; there is never any form of cable pattern running round the middle of the zone; the lotuses are often tipped with white. The design of the zone corresponds very closely to that of the zone between the mouldings on the Nikosthenes amphora Vatican 451, Hoppin 62. The reserved band round the upper part of the stem is normally not channelled. There are no II. A examples nor any II. D; the II. B vases never show the earliest phase of the inverted animal zone; the II. C examples must also, with one exception, be placed fairly late in the C series. On the isolated II. E vase see below (no. 76).

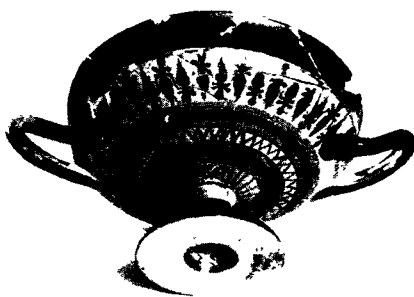


FIG. 4.—No. 66, CUP IN SYRACUSE.  
DIAM. .215 M.

### II. B.

- 61 (Plate II). Athens: C C 679; diam. .20 m.; animal zone, hares, three on either side.  
 62, 63. Taranto: cp. Ἐφην. 1915, p. 120, n. 7; hares<sup>8</sup>, three on either side; outer edge of base less rounded than usual and only partly covered with black.  
 64. Oxford: fragment from Naukratis (B.P. 10), extending only from handle zone to animal zone, of which latter only part of one bird is preserved.  
 65 a, b. Athens: Acropolis, Graef photo 18 (presumably recorded under 1855 a, b): cocks widely spaced.

### II. C.

66 (fig. 4). Syracuse: from Gela, 20442; diam. .215 m.; continuous zigzag; the lotus and palmette pattern differs from the normal, the outlines are better defined and there is no applied white. The upper part of the stem is channelled. The vase is probably rather earlier than most of the class II cups (about 540 B.C.).

<sup>8</sup> Beazley, 'hares, etc.': my own notes of 1914, 'very badly drawn cocks.' Both creatures are quite appropriate. I have been unable to obtain

any additional information (on these or any other of our vases) from Taranto.

67. Rhodes: from Ialysos, Sep. CCLIV; <sup>9</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, III, fig. 265; diam. .20 m.; spiral band with dots in angles.

68. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1833, photo 18 (a similar fragment photo 17); spiral band with dots in angles.

69. Taranto: from Taranto; spiral band with chevrons in the angles; Little Master foot, but doubtful whether it belongs.

70. Thebes: from Rhitsona, grave 31, no. 191; 'Εφημ. 1915, fig. 16; diam. .17 m.; dots, black and white, three deep. Grave 31 dates from about 530 B.C. and this vase seems to have been new at the time of burial.

71. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1839, photo 18; net pattern with large white and black blobs.

72. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1832, photo 17; ivy garland.

## II. B or C.

73 *a, b, c.* Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1835, pl. 87; 1836, photo 18; and probably 1795.

### Handle zone abnormal; lower zones of type C.

74. Taranto: from Taranto; handle zone palmettes, upright and inverted alternately, connected by tendrils which meet to form double spirals at the base of each palmette; lower middle zone R.F. ribbon pattern; top of stem reserved but not channelled.

75. Rhodes: from Camirus, Sep. XCIII. 2; *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 208; diam. .185 m.; handle zone, garland of ivy leaves and white berries; middle lower zone, dots, black and white, two deep (cp. no. 70, Rhitsona 31.191); the stem and upper side of the base and the inside of the bowl are invisible in the illustration and not described in the text; as seen from beneath the base is orthodox.

### Handle zone abnormal; lower zones of type E.

76. Munich 2259: Droop fig. 10 *b*; from Etruria; diam. .185 m.; the handle zone shows the type II motive but not the treatment of it normal on our cups; below it we have a narrow zone of squares, black and reserved alternately, R.F. ribbon pattern, net pattern with black dots three deep and smaller white dots in between them, and, in place of rays, tongue pattern. Like 66 and unlike the normal II. B and C cups, this cup has the top of the stem channelled as well as reserved, and here again the slightly more careful work may indicate a slightly earlier date.

77. Berlin: Furt. 2039, Droop fig. 12 *c*; from Etruria; diam. .21 m.; handle zone garland of lanceolate leaves and berries; lower part of body, proceeding downwards, one group of normal linear bands, vertical zigzags, six groups of normal linear bands (the thick band black and purple alternately), net pattern with dots two deep, one group of thin bands; on the rim inside three reserved bands close together; cone inside stem black all the way up; 'vorzügliche Technik' (Furtwängler *ad loc.*). This vase has points of contact with the two Antidoros cups (below, 112 and 113) and the fine Munich cup (below, 123), and with the I. D. series above.

I. B or II. B (?). Fragments with handle zone entirely missing, middle lower zone inverted animals in silhouette. As these inverted animal zones are almost exclusively associated with a floral handle zone it seems best to assume that these fragments belong to class I. B or II. B and to deal with them here before proceeding to our class III, which shows human or animal figures on the handle zone. For the exceptional instances of III. B decoration see below (nos. 83, 84).

<sup>9</sup> The other contents were a B.F. amphora (figs. 263-4), a Fikellura amphora (fig. 266), and a ring (fig. 267).

78 (fig. 5). Louvre C.A. 2905: from the Musée Guimet; fragment with panther facing swan; careless work of the period of the late cock and hen friezes.

79 (fig. 6). Louvre C.A. 2904: from the Musée Guimet; fragment with two cocks facing and a third cock (head missing) which belongs to a second pair; careless work such as is often associated with the exceptionally broad band below the animal zone.



FIG. 5.—No. 78, LOUVRE.

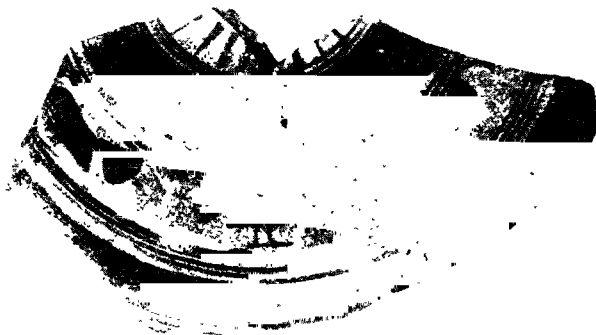


FIG. 6.—No. 79, LOUVRE.

80. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1844 *a-c*, photo 18: panthers and swans; no field dots; cp. 78.

81 *a-h*. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1847-1854. Graef's letterpress at this point gives signs of weariness: photo 18 of the Acropolis sherds shows that these fragments are mainly of the middle or transitional period: a grazing animal turns what is left of its back on a cock of the earlier type but poorly drawn and with no field dots; the heads of a pair of fighting cocks are still more or less organic, and on a third fragment a cock (head only left)

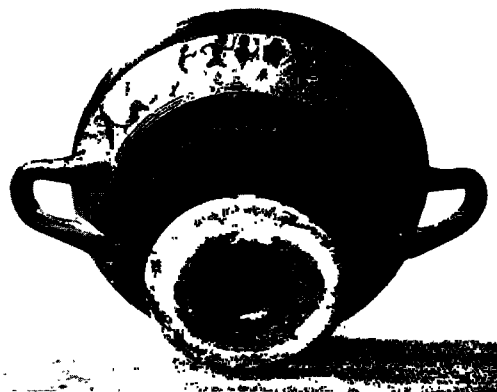


FIG. 7.—No. 82, CUP IN BOULOGNE.  
DIAM. .27 M.

faces a hen, etc. I have not attempted to equate the individual pieces of my 81 *a-h* with the Graef numbers (1847-1854).

### III. Handle zone decorated with animal or human figures:

#### III. A. Lower part of bowl mainly black.

82 (fig. 7). Boulogne, no. 516: diam. .27 m.; handle zone (A) two draped figures facing, that on *l.* bearded and holding rhyton; behind each: silen, maenad, silen, maenad,



silen, all facing centre; (B) rider facing draped standing figure (face new); behind rider: silen and maenad three times, and silen; behind standing figure: maenad, silen, maenad, silen, all facing centre: in field mock inscriptions; faces often very sketchy; black often very thin, e.g. for arms and tails; purple (for hair, beards, parts of drapery) and incisions: under the figure zone three thin lines; lower part of bowl normal Little Master (cp. I. A above); inside of bowl normal Droop; foot normal Droop (with top of stem channelled) except that the inner cone is black almost to the top (cp. above, no. 77 and below, no. 111) and the edge of the foot has a sharpish contour (like no. 23, above, but not so pronounced). This cup comes at the beginning of our whole series, a little before the middle of the sixth century.

III. B. Vases that can be placed here are also exceptional. We have no cup that combines a purely human or animal handle zone with a lower zone of animals. The Droop cup artists appear to have found two whole zones of animated beings altogether too lively for their taste; see above, no. 25 (plate II), where the painter seems to have started out to paint a full-blooded III. B cup and then thought better of it.

83. Palermo 318: handle zone lions back to back but with heads turned round to centre between horizontal palmettes, no colours or incisions; middle lower zone dolphins, not inverted, widely spaced; stem shortish with upper part reserved but not channelled.

84. Athens: Acropolis, Graef pl. 88. 1843 (B.P. 9); handle zone, very fragmentary, shows part of a horizontal handle palmette; middle lower zone cocks and hens as on 21. No human or animal figures are to be seen on the extant fragments of the handle zone of this vase, but they may be fairly safely assumed from the horizontal palmettes.

Both these vases are probably to be dated 540–530 B.C.

III. C. Handle zone human or animal figures, lower part of bowl as in the II. C series above.

85. Plate III. Athens: C C 822; diam. .17 m.; handle zone (A) three duels between Greek and Amazon; (B) two duels between Greek and Amazon with a third Amazon looking on; mock inscriptions; upright handle palmettes; under each handle a reversed lotus; middle lower zone inverted z pattern; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.

86 (Plate III). Athens: C C 823; diam. .195 m.; handle zone like that of 85, except that here we have on either side three duels and in the centre Greek meets Greek; middle lower zone R.F. ribbon pattern; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled; the base (see Plate) deviates from the usual form. It is doubtful, however, whether the foot belongs at all.

87. Weber Sale Catalogue (Sotheby, May 22–23, 1919) Pl. IV; B.P. p. 271 (see above, p. 55, n. 1); diam. .185 m.; handle zone shows the same triple duel, mock inscriptions, handle palmettes and lotus under the handles as no. 85; the lower part of the body the same R.F. ribbon pattern with the same linear bands above it, as no. 86; the base also is that of a normal Droop cup.

88. Bologna: *C.A. Bologna II*, pl. 30. 1, 4; Pellegrini, *Necrop. Felsin.* fig. 19; B.P. 7; diam. .195 m.; like last but under each handle a panther; upper part of stem reserved and channelled.

89. Munich: Collection Preyss; diam. .20 m., as 88.

90. Athens: Acropolis, Graef pl. 88. 1856 *a* and *b*; part of handle zone and linear zones with intervening R.F. ribbon pattern as on nos. 86–89, above.

91. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1857, photo 19; handle zone boar between horsemen, upright handle palmettes, mock inscriptions, linear bands with intervening R.F. pattern as on 90. The vase is closely related to 85–90.

92. L. Pollak, *Joseph von Kopf als Sammler*, Pl. IV, 94, fragment: handle zone four naked youths, the second of them offering the third a cock, between two draped men seated, upright handle palmettes, a fifth naked youth between seated figure and palmette on left; middle lower zone a double row of dots with a line between them (careless ivy band).

93. New York; Sambon, *Coll. Canessa: Vases Antiques de Terre Cuite*, 1904, p. 13, no. 35 Pl. I; diam. .254 m.; handle zone quadriga advancing with Greek fighting Amazon before and behind it, and, next the handles, averted sphinxes; plentiful white; middle lower zone careless ivy leaves; rays black and in outline alternately; upper part of stem reserved and channelled.

94. Thebes: from Rhitsona, grave 31, no. 168, *Ἐφημ.* 1915, fig. 15; diam. .27 m.; quadriga in battle with pair of fighters before and behind it and, next the handles, averted sphinxes; middle lower zone ivy wreath; rays all black; upper part of stem reserved and channelled.

95. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1869, photo 20, fragmentary; quadriga three-quarter face in action; in front of it fighting Amazon; sphinx (probably in same position as on 94, but according to Graef 'under' the handle); middle lower zone degenerate ivy band; rays alternately black and in outline.

96 (Plate III). Athens 12281: Nicole 899; diam. .28 m.; quadriga advancing, three-quarter face, with warrior before and behind it and eagle flying above; horizontal handle palmettes; lower middle zone ivy band; rays all black; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.

97 (Plate III). Florence: Coll. Campana (B.P. 6), fragmentary; diam. about .30 m.; chariots racing between horizontal handle palmettes; lower middle zone ivy band; rays alternately black and in outline.

98. Thebes: from Rhitsona, grave 31, no. 167, *Ἐφημ.* 1915, fig. 14; diam. .28 m.; quadriga in battle with Greek fighting Amazon before and behind it; horizontal handle palmettes; lower middle zone net-pattern with pomegranates (not plain dots) two deep; rays black and in outline alternately; upper part of stem reserved and channelled.

99. Rhodes: from Camirus, *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 434 (rinvenimenti sporadici no. 1); diam. .29 m.; quadriga in battle with a pair of foot fighters before and behind it and, next the handles, averted sphinxes; middle lower zone pomegranate net pattern with pomegranates two deep; the zone of rays and details of the stem are neither visible in the illustration nor described in the text. The vase is obviously by the same hand as no. 94 (Rhitsona 31.168).

100. Taranto: from Taranto; handle zone warrior running to r., eye, quadriga three-quarter face to r., eye, warrior; middle lower zone, two rows of big dots with thin line between; rays black and in outline alternately; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.

101. Tarquinia: diam. about .20 m.; handle zone flying gorgon with seated draped man, nude spearman and lion on either side of central figure; middle lower zone net pattern with pomegranates two deep; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.

102 (Plate III). Chiusi 1807: diam. .22 m.; sphinxes facing with a mantle figure facing and a sphinx averted on either side of central group; middle lower zone net pattern with pomegranates three deep; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.

103. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1861, photo 19; handle zone two male feet; linear bands, net pattern with dots, white and red, three deep.

103 a. A fragment 'entirely similar' to the last is reported by Graef (p. 189) as having been found at Eleusis.

104. Athens: C C pl. 33.821 (B.P. 15); diam. .22 m.; from Tanagra; handle zone symposium, mock inscriptions; under either handle a dog; middle lower zone spirals; below it two thick bands with the usual thin bands above and below each; rays in outline; foot modern.

105 (Plate III). Louvre C.A. 2901: from the Musée Guimet; diam. .22 m.; handle zone animals; middle lower zone spirals; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled. For the hares compare the II. B cup above, no. 61.

106. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1865, photo 19; fragment showing horses' feet at bottom of handle zone; on middle lower zone a broad, careless spiral band as on 68, but without the dots; rays.

In the above class two well-marked groups stand out from the rest. The first (nos. 85-90) is of fairly small cups, diam. .20 m. or less, with duels of foot-soldiers and Amazons, mock inscriptions, upright palmettes at the

handles, and under the handles an ornament. The second (nos. 93-99) is of larger cups, diam. .25 to .30 m.: on 97 the handle zone shows quadrigae racing, on the rest a quadriga occupies the centre of the handle zone with fighters on either side; the handle palmettes, where they occur, are horizontal; sometimes they are replaced by seated sphinxes; there are no mock inscriptions and no ornament under the handles. Two examples of the second group were found in a burial of about 530 B.C. and the whole group may be dated about 540-530 B.C., its predecessors being the large III. E vases below nos. 110-112. The first group (85-90) shows gradations of quality which probably mean differences of date, 86 (C C 823) being presumably earlier than 85 (C C 822). This smaller-sized series is probably continued by cups such as our 102, which have points in common with the large cups, 93-99. Nos. 104 and 105 stand rather apart from the rest: 104 is the earlier as shown by the rendering of the spiral and the mock inscriptions in the field and animals under the handles; 105 is late work of about the same date as the other Guimet fragments.

III. E. Handle zone with human or animal figures; lower part of body zoned in a less stereotyped way than on the III. C vases.

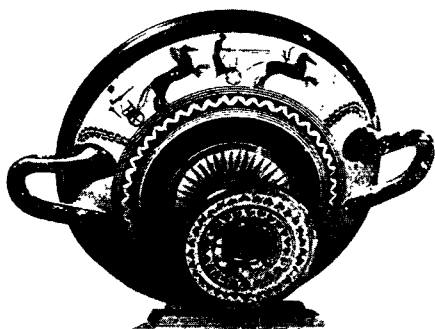


FIG. 8.—No. 109, CUP IN TORONTO.  
DIAM. .276 M.

107. Athens 9711: Nicole 906, Droop fig. 9 c; diam. .243 m.; hero fighting lion, onlookers, averted horseman, mock inscriptions; below handle zone a band of lanceolate leaves and dots with thin bands above and below it, a very broad black band, two very thin bands dotted fretwise on the inside, black rays; upper part of stem channelled.

108. Wurzburg 341: Droop fig. 11 c; diam. .27 m.; handle zone pygmies and cranes; below handle zone thin bands, R.F. ribbon

pattern, thin bands, the two lowest dotted fretwise on the inside, rays; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.

109 (fig. 8). Toronto 289 (B.P. 6 bis): diam. .276 m.; handle zone two chariots racing between ivy sprays, mock inscriptions; below handle zone thin bands, R.F. ribbon pattern, thin bands, very thick black band, thin bands, rays black and outlined alternately: round top of stem 'three reserved bands in red, no channellings.' There is no parallel among Droop cups for the decoration of the base (see fig. 8), but the motive recurs on the lower part of the body of vases of our C group; cp. too the position of the signatures on the Antidoros cups below, nos. 112 and 113. This vase was formerly in the Van Branteghem Collection, no. 6 of Frohner's catalogue, where it is said to have been found in Athens. For information about it and permission to publish it I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Iliffe.<sup>10</sup>

110. Wurzburg 342: Droop fig. 11 d; diam. .24 m.; handle zone three chariots; below handle zone eight zones of which the top, third, sixth and bottom show six thin bands (the two middle bands of each six have dotted fret on the inside), the second and fifth zones R.F. ribbon pattern, the fourth and seventh a wreath of lanceolate leaves; upper part of stem reserved but not channelled.

111. Berlin: Furt. 2038, Droop fig. 12 b; diam. .295 m.; from Vulci; handle zone two processional quadrigae approaching a mantle figure between lions averted but with faces to centre; mock inscriptions; below the handle zone bands (three thin, one thick

<sup>10</sup> The vase has now been published in the *Catalogue of the Greek Vases at Toronto* by Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, pp. 102-4 and Pl. XXIX.

black, one thick purple, three thin), lanceolate leaves, bands as above, ribbon pattern all in outline, three thin bands, rays alternately black and in outline; rim inside has two reserved bands, one at top (Little Master position), one low down; upper part of stem channelled; cone inside foot is black all the way up.

112 and 113. Taranto: the two vases with the signature 'Αντιδωρος ἐποίησε painted on the reserved base, Mariani, *Notizie*, 1897, pp. 230-33, A and B, figs. 5-8 (Hoppin, *B.F. Vases*, pp. 52-53).

112. Mariani A: diam. .30 m.; handle zone each side three quadrigae racing, with mock inscriptions; under each handle a figure (youth seated to r.; youth in chiton and himation standing to r., regardant); lower zones (1), (3) and (5) double band of thin lines as on the normal band zone, but in place of the thick band between them a double row of dots forming a sort of fret, (2) net pattern with dots three deep, (4) vertical snaky lines; rays all black; foot, see below under 113.

113. Mariani B: diam. .285 m.; handle zone (a) boar hunt, (b) pygmies and cranes, no figures under handles; lower zones (1) R.F. ribbon pattern with thin lines above and below (cp. 109), (2) black rosettes with reserved centres, (3) tongue pattern (rare on Droop cups, but cp. above no. 76 and perhaps the Oxford fragment below, no. 115); black rays, below them lines and dots as on zones (1), (3), (5) of 112 (Mariani fig. 7 detaches the dots from the bands, but contrast his careful description, p. 233, which corresponds with my notes of the vase).

Both vases have the normal reserved band low down on the rim inside and both are provided with a foot that shows the normal Droop base. The only deviation that they show from the orthodox type is in the stem, which is in both cases shorter than usual and without the reserved and channelled upper part. This abbreviation may be a passing fancy of Antidoros himself, but more probably it is due to the modern restorer. Of 112 Mariani reports (p. 230), 'l'altezza della parte conservata del piede è circa 0.06, ma forse ne manca poco più d'un centimetro se si tien conto d'un collarino plastico di cui sembra che si veggano le tracce'; of 113 (*ibid.* p. 232), 'altezza del piede, parte conservata 6-5 cm.' See further *ibid.* p. 230, n. 2, and Έφημ. 1915, p. 122, n. 9. It would perhaps be rash to suggest that remains of the channelled rings at the top of the broken stem prompted the tidy repairer to the labour of the file.

114. Vatican magazine: fragment; handle zone two feet to l., then foot of one mounting a chariot (part of wheel preserved); four thin bands, R.F. ribbon pattern, four thin bands. On inside two thin red lines.

These III. E vases must all be dated near the middle of the sixth century; I should be inclined to give the limits of the series as about 555-540 B.C.

III. C or E. I append here a number of fragments from Naukratis, the Athenian Acropolis, and elsewhere which I have been unable to assign with certainty as between these two groups (C and E).

115. Oxford: from Naukratis, G. 137.25 (B.P. 11); handle zone remains of folding chair, staff or spear, palmette; lower part R.F. ribbon pattern between normal linear bands (the broad band of both linear zones red, the lower less broad than the upper), but below this there is left the tips of two black blobs or tongues or some other variant from the normal pointed rays; the inside shows a reserved centre; a small cup.

116. British Museum: from Naukratis, B 600.44, *JHS*. xlix, pl. XVI, 13 (B.P. p. 271, no. 60 of their B.F. fragments): handle zone fight, onlookers, horseman, mock inscriptions; lower part all missing. Possibly an A vase (cp. 82, above).

117. Cambridge: from Naukratis, N 111 (B.P. 6, *ter*): handle zone remains (horses' heads, parts of reins, goad and mock inscriptions) of quadriga in race or procession: rim .03 m. deep, showing that this vase is of our larger size, diam. about .30 m.; lower part all missing.

118. Cambridge: from Naukratis, N 116 (B.P. 6, *quater*): remains (outside r. horse except legs, mane only of inside r. horse) of quadriga facing; rim .03 m. deep as on 117, original diam. about .30 m.

119. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1858, photo 19: handle zone legs of two figures, one running, one kneeling, mock inscriptions; horizontal handle palmettes, no colours or incisions; thick and thin bands, R.F. ribbon pattern, thick and thin bands.

120. Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1860, photo 19: handle zone remains of three pairs of hoplites fighting, fine careful work, mock inscriptions; thick and thin bands; ivy wreath; probably III. C.

120 *a b, c, d.* Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1859, 1863, 1862, 1864, photos 19 and 20: may all belong here, but from the photographs and descriptions of these fragments it is difficult to be certain whether they belong to Droop cups of any kind at all.

### I, II, III. C.

121 *a, b, c, d.* Athens: Acropolis, Graef 1827, 1829, 1830 and 1828, photos 18 and 17: the last is regarded by Graef as belonging to our I. C class, but the remains of the handle zone decoration do not support this view.

122. Limena (Thasos): from Thasos: fragment (two joining): upper part missing, then, downwards, four thin bands, snaky lines, four thin bands, black band, four thin bands, black rays.<sup>11</sup> Cp. above, no. 31, but our fragment may conceivably have continued upwards as an E vase.



FIGS. 9 AND 10.—NO. 124, CUP IN BONN.  
DIAM. 13 M.

### *Related vases:*

123 (Plate IV). Munich 2244: diam. 40 m.; B.P. 18; the decoration of the outside of the bowl of this cup might well belong to an exceptionally large example of our group III. E; so too might the inside rim with its three reserved bands; the foot also has, externally, the contours of a squat Droop foot and the squatness might reasonably be explained as due to the large size of the cup. But in three points this cup deviates entirely from any of those just listed:

(1) the reserved band round the stem (not seen in the illustration) is neither channelled nor left plain, but painted with rays, black and outlined alternately as on the bowl, but pointing downwards;

(2) the base underneath is all black and has the outer edge turned down so that the vase rests only on this outer edge (cp. the kantharos of about 560 B.C., *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, Pl. VII, 50.266, and the Boeotian B.F. kylix of about 440-430 B.C., *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, Pl. XXIII, 139.42);

(3) the bowl inside has as a central medallion a R.F. gorgoneion framed in tongue pattern.

The foot indeed is stated by Hackl (*Führer*, Munich, 1908) to be alien; but in the case of this vase, from so old a collection, this probably means no more than that when the nineteenth-century repairer sorted out bowls and feet there was no convincing join in this case to prove that foot and bowl belonged together, and that this foot, so unlike the normal Little Master, was rejected not unnaturally by Hackl, as by Jahn before him, on stylistic

<sup>11</sup> I owe this number to a photograph sent to Professor Beazley by Miss Haspels.

grounds which now, as far as they go, all point the other way (cp. the case of the Antidoros cups, above, nos. 112 and 113).

124 (figs. 9, 10). Bonn 1581: diam. .13 m., total ht. .08 m., to top of stem .03 m., to middle of spout .05 m., inner diam. of spout about .002 m., of holes on top rather less; handle zone rough net pattern with dots two deep; lower part of body linear bands, thick



FIG. 11.—NO. 125, PLATE IN THE VLASTO COLLECTION, MARSEILLES.  
DIAM. .14 M.

and thin, and, in place of rays, a zone of daisy petals; foot decadent Droop with the top of stem carelessly reserved but not channelled; the top of this unusual cup has a flat black undetachable cover with a sunk centre perforated by 23 holes; one side of the bowl has a spout which, as far as preserved (about .01 m.), projects straight out. The broken-off continuation of the spout may have projected upwards, but no such upward projection is required to make the cup act quite well as a strainer or a feeding cup. It may well be a late

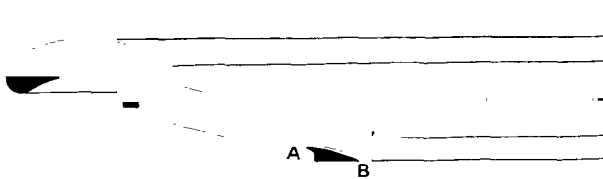


FIG. 12.—SECTIONAL DRAWING OF THE VLASTO PLATE, NO. 125.

sixth-century predecessor, clumsier and less adaptable, of the well-known type of invalid's or baby's cup that we find *e.g.* at Rhitsona, grave 30.30 (*Black Glaze Pottery*, Pl. XVII).

125 (figs. 11, 12). Marseilles, Collection M. P. Vlasto, no. 40: plate; diam. .14 m.; underneath black with reserved bands and centre and two holes for suspension bored through the shallow foot ring (see fig. 12); the upper side shows on the rim fairly early birds and animals as on our B types of cup, and variations on a variety of our C and E motives on the flat surface. For central rosette cp. no. 14, above.

This classification is schematic and concerned at that rather with the subordinate details than with the main zone of decoration—with the frame rather than the picture. But certain facts emerge; the great mass of our examples—those listed under the headings I. B and C, II. B and C, and III. C—form a single group whose family likeness can scarcely be disputed. Both the handle zone and the lower part of the body are decorated after a very small number of standardised models (I, II, III for the handle zone, B. C for the lower part). Whether these standardised articles were all produced in a single workshop or in a number of rival establishments entirely unfettered by any scruples as to copyright, the various slight developments that have been noted above when dealing with the several groups are certainly in the main a matter of date, the almost inevitable changes that must creep in between 550 and 530, even if the same hand tries to do the same work.

The groups that most distinctly fall outside the standardised category are the first and the last, I. A and III. E. With the first (I. A), we must group the at present solitary III. A vase (no. 82), with the last (III. E) the two E vases with floral handle zones (nos. 76, 77).

The I. A group, as already stated, is almost certainly one of the parents of the whole lotus band series, not yet fully differentiated as regards the lower part of the bowl decoration from the 'Siana' type on the one hand and the normal black-rimmed Little Master on the other. The Rhitsona evidence is decisive on this point.

The III. E group is in some ways the antithesis of the I. A. The scheme of decoration is elaborate, and each particular vase gives the impression of being a careful individual piece of work. But like the I. A group this also stands out both as early and as not yet standardised. There can be no doubt that the large III. E cups form a series which is continued by the large cups of the group III. C. There is also, I think, no doubt that the two vases signed by Antidoros belong to this group. But there are other questions raised by these III. E cups which it is not so easy to answer with confidence: what is the relationship of the signed vases to the rest of the group? and what is the relationship of the whole group to the I. A cups? Uniformity of shape and of decoration of the subordinate parts of the cup is no proof of a common workshop, as the normal Little Master cups sufficiently show. On the other hand, though we have more than a hundred Droop cups there are no signatures save these two of Antidoros, and it is conceivable that he was the head of one prolific workshop which turned out at first the creditable cups of the III. E group and side by side with them the plainer and cheaper I. A cups, the III. E cups developing in the course of years into something simpler and more mechanical, while the lotus band cups, developing in the opposite direction, became rather more decorative. Such a shop would have been a similar concern to that of Nikosthenes. Not merely is most of the work of the same trivial quality, but there is scarcely a single pattern on the Droop cups that cannot be paralleled precisely in the long series of Nikosthenes' signed amphorae.

This brings me to my final point. Droop published these cups in the first place as Attic imitations of Laconian kylikes. Beazley and Payne

(p. 271) see no reason to suspect Laconian influence; but the style of the decoration taken as a whole is remarkably like that of Laconian kylikes and the peculiar foot is typically Spartan.<sup>12</sup> Just as Nikosthenes a few years later adopted an Etruscan type of amphora to gain Etruscan customers, so it is tempting to suppose that Antidoros and his associates (or rivals) adopted a Laconian type of kylix to capture Dorian markets, and also perhaps, as Mr. Wade-Gery has suggested to me, to appeal to customers with philo-Laconian tastes at home. While it would be rash to lay too much stress on the finds from such places as Tarentum and Selinus, yet the fact remains that a certain number did find a market in Dorian lands. But, as I pointed out some time ago,<sup>13</sup> here we are met with the difficulty that the Spartan feet with the channelled stem which the Droop cups seem to imitate are described by the Spartan excavators as characteristic of the period from the end of Laconian IV (*i.e.* about 500 B.C.) onwards,<sup>14</sup> continuing until at least the end of the fifth century, while the Attic imitations flourish mainly during the third quarter of the sixth century, no examples being known which are unquestionably, or even probably, of fifth-century date. The exact date at which this form of foot was generally adopted in Sparta is uncertain. We are told that 'the evidence of the finds leads to the supposition that the introduction of ridges round the stem and a rounded edge to the foot belongs to the period covered by Laconian IV,'<sup>15</sup> *i.e.* to the rather comprehensive date 550–500 B.C. Assuming that this foot was introduced at the earliest date allowed by this statement, fifty years before it achieved popularity, even so it would appear in Laconia later than the burial of the earliest of the Attic vases that imitate it. Droop makes no attempt to solve this problem in his latest publication, where he adheres both to his original dating of the Spartan foot and to the view that the Attic cups are imitations.<sup>16</sup> This position is untenable. One way out of it would be to assume a third otherwise quite unknown fabric from which both Droop cups and true Spartan borrowed their common features. But this is a desperate way of preserving the phenomena. A second would be to maintain that the Spartan was copying the Athenian and not *vice versa*. But the Spartan kylix right through the sixth century seems to shew a natural and self-contained development: in particular we find at Sparta a *raison d'être* for the channelled rings in the painted rings of the preceding period.<sup>17</sup> In Attica the Droop cup is a branch line suggesting outside influence. We are left with no alternative but to suggest that the Spartan dating should be somewhat modified. The dating of the Laconian periods is confessedly in round numbers. A consideration of external evidence such as that provided by these Droop cups might help to greater precision.

P. N. URE.

<sup>12</sup> The striking related vase no. 123, which displays a quite different shape of foot, has round the upper part of the stem another form of decoration which is common nowhere (cp. Furtwangler on the Attic cup, Berlin 1800), but may be paralleled on the Laconian cup in Munich, Sieveking and Hackl,

fig. 48.

<sup>13</sup> *Εφημ.* 1915, p. 122.

<sup>14</sup> *JHS.* xxx, p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> *Artemis Orthia*, p. 96.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 101.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p. 96.



# THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EPONYMOUS ARCHONS OF BOEOTIA

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THE office of Federal Archon was apparently created in the League which was revived and reconstituted by Thebes after her liberation from Sparta in 379.<sup>1</sup> Like the archons of the individual cities,<sup>2</sup> the federal archons seem to have had little power; as Swoboda points out,<sup>3</sup> the fact that their seat was not in Thebes but in Onchestus<sup>4</sup> shows that their functions were chiefly ceremonial. This explains why the Boeotarchs but not the archons of Boeotia are frequently mentioned in literature. The archons are, however, important as being the eponymous magistrates of the Boeotian League. From the revival of the League soon after 379 on into Roman times federal documents are generally, and documents of individual cities often, headed with the names of archons of the League. The following paper is an attempt to construct a chronological list of the federal archons of Boeotia.

The materials for such an attempt are exceedingly scanty. In few cases is it possible to fix the date of an archon by literary evidence or, indeed, by evidence of inscriptions other than Boeotian. Fortunately there is a very large number of extant inscriptions from Boeotia and the Megarid at the time of its incorporation in Boeotia. There are two main ways in which these inscriptions may be used to establish the chronology of the federal archons. First, in many cases a series of decrees or military lists is inscribed on the same stone. In this paper it has been assumed that the inscriptions from the front of a stone are normally earlier than those from the sides; further, that in the Amphiaraum at Oropus, from which so much of our material comes, the right side of a stone was usually inscribed before the left; the evidence is given by Leonardos in *Ἑφημ.* 1919, 57. From the position of the different monuments in this sanctuary little can be learnt. There is, it is true, a general tendency to inscribe decrees dating from the same period on neighbouring monuments; for

<sup>1</sup> There is no inscriptional evidence for the existence of the office earlier than this, and the silence of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, together with its use of ἀρχων as synonymous with Βοιωτάρχης, forbids the assumption that archons existed at the period with which the treatise is concerned. Cf. E. M. Walker,

*The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> H. Swoboda in Hermann's *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten*, I. 3, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Swoboda, *l. c.* p. 279.

<sup>4</sup> *IG.* VII. 27, 28, 209-212, 214-218, 220-222, 1747-8, etc.

instance, the inscriptions from the archonships of Ἀριστόμαχος, Νίκων, Φίλων, Διονύσιος,<sup>5</sup> Στράτων, Φιλόξενος and Ἀρτύλαος all come from the eastern quarter of the line of monuments marked ' I I I ' in the plan in Πρακτικά, 1884.<sup>6</sup> Thus, when a monument with a decree from the priesthood of Oropodorus is found in the middle of the group, it may be considered probable that the priesthood and the archonships belong to the same period; but as decrees from the same archonships are found in widely different places (witness those from the years of Παμπερίχης and Χαροπίνης, p. 100), not much reliance can be placed on the inference.

Secondly, documents of individual cities are headed not only with the name of the federal archon but also with that of the city archon and, usually, with those of the polemarchs and the secretary to the polemarchs. Both in these headings and in the lists of young men who, in their twentieth year, finished their military training and passed into the πελτοφόρα<sup>7</sup> or τάγμα,<sup>8</sup> names constantly recur. Again, the same pair of names is often found in reversed order; and since in Boeotia the general Greek tendency to repeat the same names in a family was particularly strong, the individuals denoted by these names may usually be regarded as the sons or fathers of those who bear the names in the opposite order. This affords some valuable evidence as to the order of some of the federal archons. In using it I have assumed that thirty was the minimum age for holding the offices of archon, polemarch or secretary to the polemarchs in the towns of Boeotia. This assumption is incapable of proof; but an age qualification of thirty is known to have obtained in many places. It was, for instance, the qualification at Athens; pretty certainly in the Achaean League;<sup>9</sup> probably in the Aetolian;<sup>10</sup> and in places as widely separated as Aegiale,<sup>11</sup> Demetrias<sup>12</sup> and Corcyra.<sup>13</sup> Thus general probability favours the assumption of an age qualification of thirty years; and that it is not far at variance with the truth is suggested by the very fact that with it as a working hypothesis it has proved possible to construct a fairly satisfactory scheme of dating the archons of the Boeotian League. It is as likely to apply to the secretaryship to the polemarchs as to the other two offices, since this seems to have been a responsible post often held by a man after he had been polemarch; for instance, Ἀμινοκλείς Θέμωνος was polemarch of Acraephia under Λυκίνος and secretary under Διωνίουσόδωρος;<sup>14</sup> Δαμάγαθος Μνασίππω was polemarch of Hyettus under Φίλων II, secretary under Δαμάτριος I;<sup>15</sup> then there is the case of Πραξιλλεῖς Ἡσυχριώνδαο,<sup>16</sup> who, as Perdrizet suggests, must have been secretary long after he was polemarch. The age qualification for holding

<sup>5</sup> In this paper the Boeotian forms of the names of archons have usually been adopted. But in dealing with inscriptions from the Amphiarium at Oropus I have used the κοινή forms current in that place. Both forms are given in the index; and except in the case of Ἀρτιούλας, called in the κοινή 'Ἀρτύλαος,' they are so nearly alike as to be recognisable without difficulty.

<sup>6</sup> IG. VII. 251-258, 273-278, 289-296.

<sup>7</sup> Used by Acraephia, Hyettus, Copae and

Chorsiae.

<sup>8</sup> Used by Thespieae.

<sup>9</sup> Polybius XXIX. 24. vi.

<sup>10</sup> Swoboda, *op. cit.* p. 364.

<sup>11</sup> IG. XII. 7, 515.

<sup>12</sup> IG. IX. 2, 1109.

<sup>13</sup> IG. IX. 1, 694.

<sup>14</sup> BCH. XXIII. 193. i. and 200, viii.

<sup>15</sup> IG. VII. 2813, 2825.

<sup>16</sup> BCH. XXIII. 204.

these offices must not be placed too high, since there are cases of father and son holding office in the same year; in the first archonship of Φίλων, for example, Προππίδας Δαμοξένω was secretary and Δαμόξενος Προππίδαο polemarch.<sup>17</sup>

A feature which makes it difficult to construct anything like a certain chronology of the federal archons is that no distinction is made in the inscriptions between different archonships of one man (or between archonships of different men of the same name. Dittenberger ad *IG*. VII. 247, 2813 argues in favour of the first alternative, but there is no way of settling the question, since it is exceptional for the patronymic or city of an archon to be given, and since it so happens that all the archons in question bear common names like Φίλων, Καφισίας and Δαμάτριος. In this paper, entirely as a matter of convenience and to avoid tiresome repetition of a formula, I shall speak of the 'second archonship of Φίλων' and so on; but this must not be taken as prejudging the question). Such distinctions are sometimes made with regard to the priests of Amphiarauus or the archons of the individual cities; for instance, Ἐπικράτεις was priest in the archonship of Δαμόφιλος, Ἐπικράτεις ὁ δεύτερος in that of Στράτων.<sup>18</sup> But it is only in one of the six inscriptions from the year of Στράτων that 'ὁ δεύτερος' is added. Thus the absence of any distinction between two magistrates of the same name can never be taken as proving beyond question their identity.

As for the dialect, Boeotian is notoriously a slippery and unreliable guide; the dates assigned to its many different phases often depend on unproved theories of the dating of the federal archons, so that in using these conclusions as a means of dating the archons we are in danger of arguing in a circle. In this paper, the results reached by Sadée in his dissertation *de Boeotiae titulorum dialecto* and by Bittenwieser in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXVIII, have been used as a check on dates reached by other means. The more recent treatment of the Boeotian dialect by Bechtel in his *Die griechischen Dialekte* is in general in agreement with these two authorities.

In the majority of cases this is all we have to go on in fixing the dates of the archons of the League. It is obvious that nothing like certainty can be claimed for any chronological scheme constructed from such evidence. All that can be claimed is a probability more or less strong according as it is confirmed by the several tests of names mentioned in the inscriptions, dialect and script.

As data we have, first, the Aegosthena lists. That Megara joined Boeotia ὅτι Κλεομένης εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν προσεκάθισεν is stated by Polybius;<sup>19</sup> the date of her return to Achaëa is more vaguely indicated, but is generally placed in B.C. 192.<sup>20</sup> From Megara itself only two inscriptions headed with the name of an ἄρχων ἐν Ὀρχεῖστω have come down to us; but from Aegosthena we have two series of documents dated by the archons

<sup>17</sup> *IG*. VII. 2813.

<sup>18</sup> *IG*. VII. 293 and Ἐφημ. 1892, 38, no. 65.

<sup>19</sup> XX. 6, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* IV. ii. 434.

of the Boeotian League; and Aegosthena, as Beloch remarks, clearly belonged to that League at the same time as Megara.<sup>21</sup>

The Aegosthena lists yield the following list of archons:

—	224-201	<i>IG. VII.</i>	207
Καφισίας	223-200	,,	209
Ὀνάσιμος	222-199	,,	210
Ἰππίας	221-198	,,	211
. . . λλος	220-197	,,	213
. . . ονίδας	219-196	,,	214
Χαρίλαος	218-195	,,	215
Μνάσων	217-194	,,	216
Ἀριστοκλείς	216-193	,,	217
Θεοτίμος	215-192	,,	218
Δαμάτριος	224-194	<i>IG. VII.</i>	220
Κόμμαδος	223-193	,,	221
—	222-192	,,	222

Another fixed point is the date of the archon Λυκῖνος, which Holleaux has established with every appearance of certainty as being 215-203.<sup>22</sup>

Now in the inscriptions from Acraephia published in *BCH. XXIII.* 194 ff. the following list is found on one stone:

Καφισίας	<i>BCH. XXIII.</i>	197. iv.
Ἀθανίας	,,	197. v.
Καφισότιμος	,,	198. vi.
Ἀγαθοκλείς	,,	199. vii. <sup>23</sup>

The Καφισίας who heads the list belongs to the same period as the Καφισίας of the Aegosthena lists; for under Ἀγαθοκλείς a certain Φιλοκλίδας Ἀσκληπίνω is mentioned as an ephebe, and the same man is secretary under Λυκῖνος; under Ἀθανίας Ἀμεινοκλείς Θέμωνος is an ephebe, under Λυκῖνος a polemarch. Thus Caphisias' dates will be 223-200, Agathocles' 220-?. But more follows from the double mention of Φιλοκλίδας; namely, that there must have been an interval of ten years between the archonships of Ἀγαθοκλείς and Λυκῖνος. These five archons may therefore be dated as follows: Καφισίας 223-216, Ἀθανίας 222-215 (or 221-214), Καφισότιμος 221-214 (or 222-215), Ἀγαθοκλείς 220-213, Λυκῖνος 210-203.

#### THE ARCHONS ΦΙΛΩΝ, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ AND ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ

As has been mentioned, two archonships of Φίλων are known and must be carefully distinguished. In one Θεόδωρος is priest of Amphiarus<sup>24</sup>; in the other, the priest of Amphiarus is Νίκηππος.<sup>25</sup> That in

<sup>21</sup> Beloch, *op. cit.* 433.

<sup>22</sup> *REG. XIII.* 187 ff.

<sup>23</sup> The order may be Καφισίας, Καφισότιμος, Ἀθανίας, Ἀγαθοκλείς.

<sup>24</sup> *IG. VII.* 247; the name of Φίλων is restored in *IG. VII.* 300, where Θεόδωρος is again mentioned as priest.

<sup>25</sup> *IG. VII.* 255, 273, 278.

which Νίκηππος was priest must be the second of the two; for this year was later than that of Χαρίδαμος,<sup>26</sup> and Χαρίδαμος was later than Νικίας;<sup>27</sup> whereas Νικίας was in all probability later than the first year of Φίλων, since in that year Θρασύλαος was archon of Hyettus, in the year of Νικίας Θρασύλαος ὁ οὔστερος.<sup>28</sup> It is the second of Philon's two years which is associated with those of Διονύσιος and Στράτων.

The names of the three archons are found in conjunction on the following monuments:

(A) The monument set up by his son in memory of Διόδωρος who was priest of Amphiarus in the archonship of Χαρίδαμος, and of his wife Φανοστράτη. The names are arranged thus:

*Left Side.*

*Face of Stone.*

<i>IG. VII. 271.</i>		<i>IG. VII. 272.</i>	
Dedication to Διόδωρος		Dedication to Φανοστράτη	
I. <i>IG. VII. 278.</i>	II. <i>IG. VII. 273.</i>	V. <i>IG. VII. 276.</i>	
Φίλων	Φίλων	Στράτων	
III. <i>IG. VII. 274.</i>	IV. <i>IG. VII. 275.</i>	VI. <i>IG. VII. 277.</i>	
Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος	Στράτων.	

In spite of the practice prevailing in the Amphiarum by which the left side of a monument was the last to be engraved, these decrees must, as Holleaux points out, have been cut in the order indicated by the Roman numerals. Thus the sequence of archons was—Φίλων, Διονύσιος, Στράτων.

(B) The monument of Ἀριστονίκη and Πτωίων, with the following inscriptions:

Dedication to Ἀριστονίκη *IG. VII. 247.* Dedication to Πτωίων *IG. VII. 250.*

Νίκων	„	251.	Ἀριστόμαχος „	254.
Διονύσιος	„	252.	Φίλων „	255.
Στράτων	„	253.	Στράτων „	256.

Since the previous series of inscriptions has shown Φίλων as a predecessor of Διονύσιος, it is clear that here again we have an unusual arrangement;

<sup>26</sup> *IG. VII. 271–278.* These are the inscriptions on the monument of Διόδωρος. All the inscriptions on this monument must obviously be later than the archonship of Χαρίδαμος, in which Διόδωρος had been priest of Amphiarus.

<sup>27</sup> Διόδωρος was priest of Amphiarus when Χαρίδαμος was archon of the Boeotian League (v. *IG. VII. 239*). But the inscriptions on the base of the monument of Cn. Calpurnius Piso show that the priesthood of Διόδωρος was later than the archonship of Νικίας. The following table will show the arrangement of these inscriptions: the Roman numerals represent the order of engraving according to Holleaux (*REG. VIII. 193 ff.*):

*Left column.*

I. Νικίας (Ἐφημ. 1892, pp. 33, 62).  
 II. ? (Ἐφημ. 1892, pp. 33, 63).  
 III. Δαμόφιλος (Ἐφημ. 1892, pp. 33, 69).  
 IV. Δαμόριλος (Ἐφημ. 1892, pp. 33, 65).  
 Priest of A. Ἐπικράτης.

*Centre of stone.*

V. (Priest of Amphiarus, Ἀσώπων).  
*IG. VII. 269.*

*Right column.*

VI. Ἐφημ. 1892, pp. 33, 66.

*Centre of stone (under V).*

VII. (Priest of Amphiarus, Διόδωρος.)  
*IG. VII. 270.*

<sup>28</sup> *IG. VII. 2813, 2821.*

the decrees on the right must have been cut before those on a level with them on the left. The order of the archons will be—'Αριστόμαχος, Νίκων, Φίλων, Διονύσιος, Στράτων.

(C) The monument found immediately to the right of that of 'Αριστονίκη and Πτωίων (*IG. VII. 289–296*). On the face of the stone at the right of the monument are two decrees dating respectively from the archonships of 'Ιππαρχος and Διονύσιος;<sup>29</sup> at the right of the stone adjoining this on the left come two decrees from the year of Στράτων;<sup>30</sup> to the left of these come four other decrees, two from the year of Φιλόξενος and two from that of 'Αρτύλαος;<sup>31</sup> the last of the four projects some way beyond the others beneath *IG. VII. 294*. This in itself makes it unlikely that Dittenberger can be right in suggesting that *IG. VII. 289–292* were cut the first and *VII. 293* and *294* the last of the decrees on the stone; and Leonardos mentions other signs which point to these four decrees from the years of Φιλόξενος and 'Αρτύλαος being the latest of the series. It may still be suggested that as regards the other two columns the usual practice was followed and the left was cut before the right. But the order of the proxeny decrees on the monument of 'Αριστονίκη and Πτωίων makes it certain that the archonship of Στράτων was later than that of Διονύσιος. Possibly the intention was originally to inscribe only the stone at the left of the monument ('d' in Dittenberger's diagram); the mason who cut the Στράτων decrees naturally placed them near the already engraved inscriptions, and so with the Φιλόξενος and 'Αρτύλαος decrees. The result is that, for different reasons, the order of the decrees is the same as in the 'Αριστονίκη and Πτωίων monument. The sequence of archons is—'Ιππαρχος, Διονύσιος, Στράτων, Φιλόξενος, 'Αρτύλαος.

The order of the three archons in question is thus established, and in view of the number of cases in which their names occur in conjunction on the same monuments, it is probable that they succeeded one another immediately.

In *IG. VII. 298*, in a proxeny decree in favour of Φορμίων of Byzantium, passed in the archonship of Διονύσιος, there is a clause which runs—ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς πολεμάρχους ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως τῶν εἰκόνων τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης 'Αρσινόης. On the identification of this Ptolemy depends the date of Διονύσιος. There are two possibilities—Ptolemy II Philadelphus (B.C. 283–246) and Ptolemy IV Philopator (B.C. 221–203). Dittenberger accepts the first without question; Holleaux decides in favour of the second.<sup>32</sup> His arguments are the following:

(A) Στράτων appears to be the immediate successor of Διονύσιος. But Στράτων is later than Δαμόφιλος, because in the year of office of Δαμόφιλος 'Επικράτης was priest of Amphiarus, in the year of Στράτων 'Επικράτης II.<sup>33</sup> Therefore it is probable that the whole Φίλων–Διονύσιος–Στράτων group is later than Δαμόφιλος. But Δαμόφιλος held office after 'Ονάσιμος,<sup>34</sup> whose archonship has been shown to fall between B.C. 222 and 199.

<sup>29</sup> *IG. VII. 295, 296.*

<sup>30</sup> *IG. VII. 293, 294.*

<sup>31</sup> *IG. VII. 289–292.*

<sup>32</sup> *REG. VIII. 183 ff.*

<sup>33</sup> 'Εφημ. 1892, 38, no. 65 and *IG. VII. 293.*

<sup>34</sup> c. Dittenberger's note ad *IG. VII. 3180.*

(B) From the monument of Διόδωρος<sup>35</sup> it is obvious that the archonships of Φίλων, Διονύσιος and Στράτων were later than the year when Διόδωρος was priest of Amphiarus; that is, than the archonship of Χαρίδαμος. But the proxeny decrees inscribed on the base of the 'Monumentum Pisonis' show that the priesthood of Διόδωρος was later than the archonship of Δαμόφιλος.<sup>36</sup> Thus this second line of reasoning yields precisely the same result—that Φίλων, Διονύσιος and Στράτων were successors of Δαμόφιλος.

These two main arguments are confirmed by the following observations:

(A) Ἀμφίνικος Πυθίωνος proposed *IG. VII. 304* during the year of office of Στράτων, and *IG. VII. 308* during that of Ποτιδάιχος. Ποτιδάιχος was a successor of Ἀριστοκλείς<sup>37</sup> (B.C. 216–193).

(B) Πίργης Ἀρχιππίδου put to the vote *IG. VII. 303*, which also dates from the archonship of Στράτων. He also proposed the decree in favour of Demetrius of Bargylia published in Ἐφημ. 1892, 46, no. 75. But in this year Ἀθανόδωρος was priest of Amphiarus. The decrees published in *IG. VII. 309–317* show that the priesthood of Ἀθανόδωρος was later than the archonship of Θεότιμος (B.C. 215–192).

Holleaux' two main arguments depend on the identity of the archonship of Δαμόφιλος mentioned in Ἐφημ. 1892, 38, no. 65 and that mentioned in *IG. VII. 3180*, and of the Ὀνάσιμος of *IG. VII. 3179* and 3180 with him of the Aegosthena lists. In view of the number of cases where men held the archonship twice, or where no distinction is made between archons of the same name, these identifications should not be taken for granted. But the very strong probability established by Holleaux may be reinforced by the following considerations. First and foremost comes a later discovery. In Ἐφημ. 1919, p. 80, Leonardos reports that above the second decree in the left-hand column on the 'Monumentum Pisonis' there stand ἀραιοτάτοις γράμμασι the words ἐπ' ἱερέως Φιλίππιδου. Now Φιλίππιδης was priest of Amphiarus in the archonship of Θεότιμος.<sup>38</sup> That it is the same Φιλίππιδης and the same year in question here is put beyond all doubt by two inscriptions from Hyettus, where on the same stone we find the names of Νικίας and of Θεότιμος again in conjunction.<sup>39</sup> Thus we may safely assume that Νικίας was the predecessor (and probably the immediate predecessor) of Θεότιμος. Further, Δαμόφιλος and Χαρίδαμος and consequently Φίλων II, Διονύσιος and Στράτων are all later than Θεότιμος. As Δαμόφιλος has already been shown to be later than an archon of the period of Megarian subjection to Boeotia (Ὀνάσιμος), it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Θεότιμος is the archon of the Aegosthena lists, who held office at earliest in 215. That Δαμόφιλος belongs to the same period is put past all lingering possibility of doubt by yet another independent line of argument. For the two decrees from his archonship published in Ἐφημ. 1892, p. 38, no. 64 and p. 43, no. 71 were

<sup>35</sup> i. p. 76 (A).

<sup>36</sup> i. p. 76, note 27.

<sup>37</sup> *IG. VII. 27* and 28.

<sup>38</sup> *IG. VII. 310, 312.*

<sup>39</sup> *IG. VII. 2821, 2822.*

put to the vote by Ζενίας Ἐμμόνω Θεισπιεύς. Now this man is pretty certainly the son of the Ἐμμονος Ζενέα Βοιώτιος who is one of the ἄνδρες χορευταί mentioned in the Soteria list<sup>40</sup> from the year of Nicodamus, dated by Beloch to B.C. 250–49.<sup>41</sup> Thus the activity of his son would naturally fall in the last quarter of the third century. We may, then, consider it established that the year of Δαμόφιλος falls within the period at which Megara belonged to the Boeotian League, and consequently that the Ὀνάσιμος with whom he is connected is the Ὀνάσιμος of the Aegosthena lists. Many other indications connect the Φίλων, Διονύσιος and Σπράτων group with the period. The following may be given as a sample: of the two archonships of Δαμάτριος mentioned in *IG. VII. 2825, 2826*, one is almost certainly to be identified with that of the Aegosthena lists (*IG. VII. 220*; date, B.C. 224–194); the second of the two cannot therefore be earlier than B.C. 224. But this second archonship of Δαμάτριος is very closely connected with archonships of the Φίλων–Διονύσιος group. Φιλόστρατος Τελεσίππω is polemarch under Δαμάτριος II and secretary under Διονύσιος,<sup>42</sup> i.e. at latest in B.C. 246, according to Dittenberger's reckoning. Νικασίων is archon under Δαμάτριος II; Νικασίων Θυνάρχω under Διονύσιος and Νικίας,<sup>43</sup> who cannot, according to Dittenberger's reckoning, have been earlier than B.C. 251. Πουθογένεις Δαμονίκω is polemarch under Δαμάτριος II and under Νικίας, and secretary to the polemarchs under Ἀριστόμαχος,<sup>44</sup> another predecessor of Φίλων II. These dates have been arrived at by setting Διονύσιος and his predecessors as late as possible and Δαμάτριος II as early; but even so we have the unlikely result that of the five eponymous magistrates of Hyettus in the second archonship of Δαμάτριος one had held office twenty-two years earlier and two twenty-seven. The improbability of this conclusion tells strongly against the system of dating on which it depends.

We can, then, accept without any misgiving Holleaux' dating of the archonship of Διονύσιος to the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, not to that of Ptolemy Philadelphus—that is, to between B.C. 215 (the earliest date for the marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoe) and B.C. 203. On this assumption Holleaux was able to fix the dates of seven archons of the Boeotian League as follows:

Καφισίας B.C. 223–209, Ὀνάσιμος B.C. 222–208, Δαμόφιλος B.C. 221–207, (Priest of Amphiarauus, Ἀσώπων) B.C. 220–206, Χαρίδαμος B.C. 219–205, Φίλων II B.C. 218–204, Διονύσιος B.C. 215–203. (The *terminus post quem* of Διονύσιος is corrected in accordance with Holleaux' note in *BCH. XXX. p. 474*, the *termini ante quos* of Διονύσιος and his predecessors in accordance with note 2, p. 473 of the same issue.) We have already noticed that the order of decrees on the 'Monumentum Pisonis' shows that Δαμόφιλος and Χαρίδαμος held office later than Θεότιμος. Given that the *terminus post quem* of Θεότιμος is B.C. 215 and the *terminus ante quem* of Διονύσιος is B.C. 203, the

<sup>40</sup> *GDI. 2565*.

<sup>41</sup> *Gr. Gesch. IV. ii. p. 400*. Pomtow, in his last arrangement of Delphian archons, fixed Nicodamus' date as B.C. 254 (*Klio, XVIII. p. 308*).

<sup>42</sup> *IG. VII. 2817*.

<sup>43</sup> *IG. VII. 2821*.

<sup>44</sup> *IG. VII. 2810*.



dates of all the archons concerned can be fixed more exactly and will stand as follows:

Καφισίας.	B.C. 223-217
Ὀνάσιμος.	222-216
Ἴππίας.	221-215
. . . . ἰλλος.	220-214
. . . . ονίδας.	219-213
Χαρίλαος.	218-212
Μνάσων.	217-211
Ἀριστοκλεῖς.	216-210
Νικίας.	215-209
Θεότιμος.	214-208
Δαμόφιλος.	213-207
? (Priest of Amphiaraus Ἀσώπων)	212-206
Χαρίδαμος.	211-205
Φίλων II.	210-204
Διονύσιος.	209-203
Στράτων.	208-

Another archon who as a successor of Ἀριστοκλεῖς must be placed in the second half of our list is Ἴππαρχος. This may be inferred from the four military lists of Hyettus inscribed on one stone and published in *IG. VII. 2813-2816*; the first dates from the first archonship of Φίλων; *IG. VII. 2814* from the year of Ἴππαρχος; *IG. VII. 2815* from the second archonship of Φίλων; *IG. VII. 2816* from the year of an archon whose name begins with A, followed by a space which Girard, the original editor, reports as allowing room for ten letters and Dittenberger for nine; that is to say, a space which -ιστοκλεῖος would exactly fill. Dittenberger refused to make the identification on the score that *IG. VII. 2816* is closely connected with inscriptions from the years of Φίλων and Ἴππαρχος and other archons of the group both by its position on the stone and by names occurring in it; for instance, Εὐμείλος Δάσωνος was polemarch in this year and under Ἀρτιούλας,<sup>45</sup> Προππίδας Δαμοξένω polemarch here and secretary under Φίλων I,<sup>46</sup> Καλόνικος Κλισθένιος polemarch here and under Ἀπολλόδωρος and Φίλων I.<sup>47</sup>

If the Φίλων-Διονύσιος group be dated as Dittenberger would have it, the objection is valid; but according to Holleaux' system of dating this all becomes an argument for, not against, the identity of the archon of *IG. VII. 2816* with the Ἀριστοκλεῖς of the Aegosthena and Megara inscriptions. It is, however, unlikely that these four archons are to be arranged in the order given above. An examination of the stone will suggest that Ἀριστοκλεῖς was the second, not the last, of the series. On the left at the top of the stone is inscribed *IG. VII. 2813* (Φίλων I), an inscription containing on an average thirty-one letters in a line. At the

<sup>45</sup> *IG. VII. 2816, 2812.* 'Ἀρτιούλας' is the Boeotian form for the 'Ἀρτύλαος' found in the inscriptions from Oropus.

<sup>46</sup> *IG. VII. 2816, 2813.*

<sup>47</sup> *IG. VII. 2816, 2809, 2813.*

right is *IG. VII. 2816*, the inscription in question; irregularly engraved in short lines containing on an average nineteen letters in a line. Beneath come *IG. VII. 2814* and *2815*, with an average of fifty-one letters to the line. *IG. VII. 2816* contains eighteen lines, *2813* eleven; thus the last lines of *2816* project into the space to be occupied by *2814*. These last lines gradually decrease in length, the last but one containing only seventeen letters, the last only eleven. Corresponding with this gradual decrease is a gradual increase in the length of the first lines of *2814*; the first line contains thirty-three letters, the second twenty-five, the third thirty-six, the fourth forty-four, the fifth forty-seven; then come long lines of fifty-three and fifty-four letters. It is clear that *IG. VII. 2814* was engraved in the slightly irregular space left after *2813* and *2816* had been cut on the stone.<sup>48</sup> Thus the chronological sequence of the archons will be Φίλων I, Ἀριστοκλείς, Ἱππαρχος, Φίλων II; and the date of Ἱππαρχος will be B.C. 216–205. In all probability the Δημόστρατος who was priest of Amphiaras in his archonship was the same who proposed *IG. VII. 273* in the year of Διονύσιος. It is worth noting that this dating is supported by Pappadaki's observation that the inscription which he published in *Δελτ.* 1923, 205 suggests a date at least a generation later than the end of the third century, to which period he felt compelled by the arguments of Dittenberger to assign the archonship of Ἱππαρχος.

On the monument of Ἀριστονίκη and Πτωίων ('B,' p. 76) are found the names of two archons who held office before Φίλων II, namely, Ἀριστόμαχος and Νίκων. It looks at first sight as if these archonships must be placed considerably earlier than those from which date the other inscriptions on the stone; for Hyettian inscriptions show a Φανάξανδρος Διωνιουσόδωρ as an ephebe under Ἀριστόμαχος and a man of the same name as polemarch under Καφισότιμος;<sup>49</sup> and it is natural to assume that the two are to be identified; thus Ἀριστόμαχος will have held office before B.C. 224; even worse, a Διωνιουσόδωρος Φανάξανδρ was polemarch under Εὐμαρίδας;<sup>50</sup> and Εὐμαρίδας will presently be shown to have held office little, if at all, after the end of the third century. If the son was thirty or more round about B.C. 200, the father can scarcely have attained his twentieth year later than B.C. 235. But it is impossible to fix so early a date for the archonship referred to in *IG. VII. 254*; for all six inscriptions on the base of this monument follow one another without

<sup>48</sup> It is no obstacle to the proposed arrangement that *2815* and *2816* show for the letters ε, σ and ω the forms derived from the cursive (ε, σ, ω), while *2813* and *2814* have Ε, Σ, Ω; for at Hyettus these forms are found in the same inscription (*IG. VII. 2822*, the second half having the cursive forms, the first the more ordinary ones).

<sup>49</sup> *IG. VII. 2810*, *2829*. It is safe to accept Perdrizet's identification of the archon of this Hyettian inscription with the archon of his sixth list of Acraephian ephebes (*BCH. XXIII. 198*), who held office between B.C. 221 and 214 (v. p. 75); Pappadaki in *Δελτ.* 1923, 217 vouches for the

name (ὁ ἄρχων ἀγαγιώσκεται σαφῶς Καφισότιμος); and names occurring in the inscription show that it must be assigned to just about this period. For instance, Πρῶπιδας Δαμοξένω is archon here and under Ἀριστόκλεις (*IG. VII. 2816*) and secretary in the first year of office of Φίλων; Φανάξανδρος Διωνιουσόδωρ and Δαμάγαθος Μνασίππω are polemarchs here and in the second year of Φίλων (*IG. VII. 2815*); Ἀριστόκριτος Ἀρίστωνος is probably the brother of Ἀριστοκλείς Ἀρίστωνος who was an ephebe in the year of Ἱππαρχος (*IG. VII. 2814*).

<sup>50</sup> *IG. VII. 2819*.

a break, in lettering of precisely the same character. Moreover, the bottom four refer to archons who probably succeeded one another immediately—to Φίλων, Διονύσιος and Στράτων. Is it likely that between these four inscriptions, referring to three or four years, and the two above them, there should be an interval of thirty or more years? The improbability appears even greater when we observe that the decrees of the archonships of Ἀριστόμαχος and Νίκων (*IG.* 254 and 251) were proposed by the same man who moved *IG.* VII. 255 in the second archonship of Φίλων; and that this same Ὠρωπόδωρος Θεοζότου in all probability was priest of Amphiarus under Ποτιδάιχος,<sup>51</sup> an archon of the period of Megarian incorporation in Boeotia, whose year must fall between B.C. 202 and 192.<sup>52</sup> Again, Πίργης who was priest of Amphiarus under Ἀριστόμαχος<sup>53</sup> was probably the Πίργης Ἀρχιππίδου who moved under Στράτων the decree *IG.* VII. 303; it would be difficult to imagine a more suitable proposer than an ex-priest of Amphiarus for a decree concerned like this one with the temple treasures of the Amphiarum. In addition, the name is exceedingly rare in Boeotia; the only other example quoted in the indices of *IG.* VII. being Ἀριστομήδης Πίργου, who may well be the son of our Πίργης. Then too, as Dittenberger suggests, the Θεόφιλος Φαιδίου Ἀθηναῖος who was made proxenus of Oropus under Νίκων was most probably the brother of the Χαρίτης Φαιδίου Ἀθηναῖος<sup>54</sup> who was made proxenus under Στράτων. All this looks as if there could be but a short interval between the archonships of Ἀριστόμαχος and Νίκων and that of Φίλων II. It would, it is true, be possible to suppose that *IG.* VII. 2810 belongs to an earlier archonship of Ἀριστόμαχος; this is actually done by W. Schönfelder,<sup>55</sup> but on what grounds is not clear, since he assigns approximately the same date to both archonships—‘vor 224.’ But the supposition creates greater difficulties than it solves; for this inscription is closely connected with others from later archonships; for example, Πουθογένεις Δαμονίκω is secretary in *IG.* VII. 2810 and polemarch under Νικίας (B.C. 215–209)<sup>56</sup> and Δαμάτριος II,<sup>57</sup> Καφισίας Πολιουμείλω an ephebe in *IG.* VII. 2810 and secretary in 2826, under Δαμάτριος II. Again, there is nothing in the dialect or script of *IG.* VII. 2810 which suggests a date before the end of the third century; the latter resembles that of the inscriptions from the years of Ἀρτιούλας and Διωνιούσιος; the former affords no single example of the patronymic adjective, while the -οις form in ‘Βοιώτοις’ is likely to be the effect of κοινή influence, not the survival of the early Boeotian form. (The same form is found in *IG.* VII. 2811, 2812, 2817, from the years of Φιλόξενος,<sup>58</sup> Ἀρτιούλας<sup>58</sup> and Διωνιούσιος respectively.) Thus it appears likely that the archonship of Ἀριστόμαχος must come close to that of Φίλων II. If this is so, the Φανάξανδρος Διωνίουσοδώρω who was an ephebe in the year of Ἀριστόμαχος should probably be considered the son of the Διωνίουσοδώρος Φανάξανδρω

<sup>51</sup> *IG.* VII. 308.

<sup>52</sup> *l.* pp. 86–87.

<sup>53</sup> *IG.* VII. 254.

<sup>54</sup> *IG.* VII. 276.

<sup>55</sup> *Die städtischen und Bundesbeamten des griechischen*

*Festlandes vom 4. Jahrhundert vor Chr. Geb. bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, p. 26.

<sup>56</sup> *IG.* VII. 2821.

<sup>57</sup> *IG.* VII. 2826; *v.* pp. 75, 87.

<sup>58</sup> B.C. 196–189 (c.); *v.* pp. 88–93.

who was polemarch not long afterwards under Εὐμαρίδας (B.C. 201–193; *v.* pp. 86, 87) and secretary under Ἀρίστων (B.C. 201–190; *v.* pp. 94, 95).<sup>59</sup> The Φανάξανδρος Διωνιουσοδώρω who was polemarch under Φίλων II and Καφισότιμος (B.C. 221–214) may well be the grandfather of the ephebe of the year of Ἀριστόμαχος; if so, he will have held office very shortly before his son, an occurrence of which there are several examples in *IG. VII.* This all strengthens the presumption that the archonship of Ἀριστόμαχος must be placed very little before that of Φίλων II; otherwise we shall make the first Φανάξανδρος Διωνιουσοδώρω too old at the time of his last archonship. It is, of course, conceivable that the elder Φανάξανδρος Διωνιουσοδώρω may be no relation or a distant relation of the younger; but this will involve little change in the argument, since there will then be nothing to set against the natural assumption that Ἀριστόμαχος and Νίκων preceded Φίλων II either immediately or after a short interval—except, indeed, that we shall have to admit the existence of two men called Νίκων Πασίωνος<sup>60</sup> within the one small city of Hyettus at the same time. Such duplications of names are surprising, but not unexampled; for in the inscriptions of Hyettus we find an Ἀσώπιχος Ἀμινοκλείος mentioned as an ephebe under Ἀριστοκλείς and again under Δαμάτριος II.<sup>61</sup> Now the two archons cannot possibly be two generations apart, so that here too we find the same name used twice in the same city at the same time—probably in two different branches of the same family. We may, then, take it as established that the archonships of Ἀριστόμαχος and Νίκων were not long before that of Φίλων II. That being so, they are probably to be placed in the gap between the archonships of Χαρίδαμος and Φίλων II; for that there is a gap is suggested by the consideration that it is scarcely likely that Διόδωρος died, his son erected a monument to him, and the state of Ōropus started inscribing that monument with decrees, all within a year of the archonship of Χαρίδαμος, when Διόδωρος had been priest of Amphiaras. In the same gap may well fall the year of Ἰππάρχος; his name is found immediately preceding those of Φίλων II, Διονύσιος and Εὐμαρίδας,<sup>62</sup> which suggests that his archonship was not long before that of the earliest of the three, Φίλων II. Even if all these three archonships should not be placed between the years of Χαρίδαμος and Φίλων II, it is practically certain that one should; thus we may fix the *terminus ante quem* of Χαρίδαμος as B.C. 206, of Ἀσώπων as B.C. 207, and so on.

It has already been mentioned that the three archonships of Ἀθανίας, Καφισότιμος and Ἀγαθοκλείς belong to this period, falling between the years B.C. 222 and 213. Λυκῖνος, too, has been proved by Holleaux to have held office between B.C. 215 and 203.<sup>63</sup> Thus for the twenty-one years 223 to 203 we have a full list of archons. But more follows; the only available place for the archonship of Λυκῖνος is the year when Ἀσώπων was priest of Amphiaras; thus his dates will be B.C. 212–207. But if Λυκῖνος was archon at latest in B.C. 207, Ἀγαθοκλείς cannot have

<sup>59</sup> *IG. VII.* 2819, 2824.

<sup>60</sup> *IG. VII.* 2810, 2817.

<sup>61</sup> *IG. VII.* 2816, 2826.

<sup>62</sup> *IG. VII.* 2814, 295, Δελτ. 1923, 205.

<sup>63</sup> *REG. XIII.* 187 ff.

held office after 217, since, as has already been mentioned, Φιλοκλίδας Ἀσκληπίνω<sup>64</sup> was an ephebe under the latter and secretary to the polemarchs of Hyettus under the former. The latest possible date for Ἀθανίας will thus become B.C. 219, for Καφισότιμος 218. In the seven years from B.C. 223 to 217 there is room for only four archons besides the three we have just mentioned—that is, for the first four archons of the Aegosthena list. The *terminus post quem* of Χαρίλαος will therefore be B.C. 215, that of Μνάσων 214, of Ἀριστοκλείς 213, and so on.

The complete list of the archons who held office between B.C. 223 and 203 will be found on pp. 112–3. Immediately below the last of these archons, Διωνιούσιος, we may with a fair degree of confidence set the name of Στράτων, as having held office in B.C. 202; for since his name in no less than three instances follows that of Διωνιούσιος (*v.* pp. 76 and 77, A, B, C), he must be regarded as his immediate successor.

#### ΦΙΛΩΝ I, ΚΤΕΙΣΙΑΣ, AND THEIR PREDECESSORS

We will turn for the moment to the archons immediately preceding the period just discussed. First, Φίλων I. It has already been asserted<sup>65</sup> that Φίλων I was earlier than Νικίας, because in the archonship of Φίλων I, Θρασούλαος was archon of Hyettus, in that of Νικίας Θρασούλαος ὁ οὐσπερος. It may, of course, be objected that the absence of any distinguishing mark does not necessarily mean that the Θρασούλαος of the year of Φίλων I was the first of his name to hold the archonship of Hyettus during this period; the Hyettians may have been as careless about distinguishing their archons as the Oropians about the priests of Amphiaraus. It must be admitted that there is some force in this objection, although in the inscriptions of Hyettus there is another case of an archonship being distinguished from that of an earlier archon of the same name (Τιμασιθίω τῷ δευτέρῳ, of *IG. VII. 2814*). But another line of argument yields the same result; for if we accept Dittenberger's restoration of Φίλωνος in *IG. VII. 300*, where the name of the archon is broken away but Θεόδωρος is priest of Amphiaraus, it becomes clear that the first year of Φίλων preceded that of Καφισίας, since *IG. VII. 300* is engraved on the stone which bears lower down *IG. VII. 302*, an inscription from the year of Καφισίας. The restoration has in its favour the fact that Θεόδωρος is a rare name at Oropus, no other example from anywhere near the same period occurring in *IG. VII.* If the first archonship of Φίλων was earlier than that of Νικίας, let alone than that of Καφισίας, it must have been before B.C. 223, since there is no year vacant for it between 223 and 203. It may be urged that it is improbable that so long an interval should separate the two archonships of Φίλων, as inscriptions from both are found on the same stone<sup>66</sup>; but on the contrary, the Oropus inscriptions give good ground for believing that some time did elapse between the two years, since the character of the scripts used is different; in the inscriptions from the earlier year (*IG. VII. 247, 300*) the form □ is used exclusively

<sup>64</sup> *BCH. XXIII.* 199, vii and viii.

<sup>65</sup> *P.* 76.

<sup>66</sup> *IG. VII.* 2813–2816.

and  $\epsilon$  alternates with  $\sigma$ ; in the later year (*IG. VII. 255, 278*)  $\pi$  and  $\sigma$  are used (in 278  $\Upsilon$ ). Again, 2809 which dates from the archonship of Ἀπολλόδωρος, not long before the first archonship of Φίλων,<sup>67</sup> appears to be considerably older than the other military lists of Hyettus; it is the only one where a patronymic adjective is found. Thus we may safely fix the *terminus ante quem* for the first archonship of Φίλων as B.C. 224.

The names of the predecessors of Φίλων may be ascertained from the inscriptions on the monument of Servilius Isauricus<sup>68</sup>; on the front of the stone are decrees from the years of Ἑρμαῖος, Ἀμείνιχος and Πρωτόμαχος; on the right-hand side, decrees passed under Ἀπολλόδωρος and Φίλων I. The order of the five archons is, then, Ἑρμαῖος, Ἀμείνιχος, Πρωτόμαχος, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Φίλων I. All five should be brought down as low as possible, since Εὐβουλος Ἀμύντου, who proposed the decree from the year of Ἑρμαῖος and Ὠρωπόδωρος Θεοζότου, who moved *IG. VII. 246* in the year of Ἀπολλόδωρος, both proposed decrees in the second archonship of Φίλων.<sup>69</sup> Ὠρωπόδωρος, in view of the rarity of his name, is probably to be considered the same as the priest of Amphiarus in the archonship of Ποτιδάιχος. The proposed date is confirmed by indications in *IG. VII. 3178* that Πρωτόμαχος was close in date to Ὀνάσιμος (B.C. 222–217) and Δαμόφιλος (B.C. 210–208).<sup>70</sup> Moreover, a Σώφιλος Δημητρίου moved both the decree from the year of Ἀμείνιχος and *IG. VII. 263* in the year when Ἀσώπων was priest of Amphiarus (B.C. 209–207; probably 209); he was probably the father of the Δημήτριος Σωφίλου who proposed *IG. VII. 319–321* at a date some time after the archonship of Θεότιμος (B.C. 211–209). Καλλόνικος Κλισθένης, again, was polemarch under Ἀπολλόδωρος, Φίλων I and Ἀριστόκλεις.<sup>71</sup> All this fits in excellently with the hypothesis of a date a little before B.C. 224 for Φίλων I, provided that the five archons succeeded one another either immediately or at any rate with no long intervals between them.

An archon who held office about this time is Κτεισίας. His year of office and those of Πρωτόμαχος and Ὀνάσιμος cannot be far apart; for under Πρωτόμαχος, Καλοκλίδας Φιλομείλω was secretary to the polemarchs of Orchomenus and under Κτεισίας he acted as witness to an agreement;<sup>72</sup> and, as Dittenberger points out, in *IG. VII. 3173*, which dates from the year of Κτεισίας, it is stipulated that an agreement be deposited παρ' Ὀνάσιμον Θιογίτονος, who is mentioned as the guarantor of a debt in *IG. VII. 3172*, from the year of Ὀνάσιμος. Further, Δαμόνικος Ἀριστολάω and Καλλιχάρεις Ἐπιτόμω were polemarchs of Hyettus under both Κτεισίας and Ἀριστόμαχος;<sup>73</sup> Εἰρμύχος Πιθιούλλω was polemarch of Hyettus under Κτεισίας, and Πιθιούλλος Φαρμίχω, almost certainly his son, an ephebe under Ποτιδάιχος, whose year falls between B.C. 201 and 192;<sup>74</sup> Εὐμείλος Δάσωνος was secretary of Hyettus under Κτεισίας and polemarch under Ἀριστοκλείς (B.C. 213–211) and Ἀρτιούλας (a successor of Διονύσιος; *v. p. 77*), while

<sup>67</sup> *v. infra.*

<sup>68</sup> Ἐφημ. 1892, p. 46, nos. 76–78, *IG. VII. 245–247*.

<sup>69</sup> *IG. VII. 272, 255*.

<sup>70</sup> *v. Dittenberger ad IG. VII. 3178.*

<sup>71</sup> *IG. VII. 2809, 2813, 2816.*

<sup>72</sup> *IG. VII. 3178, 3173.*

<sup>73</sup> *IG. VII. 2830, 2810.*

<sup>74</sup> *IG. VII. 2830, 2820; v. pp. 86, 87.*

his son was polemarch under Ἀρίστων (probably B.C. 201–190).<sup>75</sup> All these references connect Κτεισίας with considerably later archonships and make it clear that his year of office should be set as late as possible—either in B.C. 224 or very little before. Earlier than Κτεισίας, but how much earlier it is impossible to say, was Χηρώνδας.<sup>76</sup>

For the years immediately before the period of Megarian membership of the Boeotian League, we have, then, the following list:

Ἑρμάϊος	B.C. 229 (c.)
Ἀμείνιχος	228 (c.)
Πρωτόμαχος	227 (c.)
Ἀπολλόδωρος	226 (c.)
Φίλων I	225 (c.)
Κτεισίας	224 (c.)

#### THE ARCHONS OF B.C. 201 TO B.C. 192

The date of Ποτιδάϊχος must be discussed together with that of Εὐμαρίδας, since the name of Εὐμαρίδας occurs above that of Ποτιδάϊχος on a stone from Hyettus (*IG. VII. 2819, 2820*). Εὐμαρίδας was a successor of Ἴππαρχος, as is proved by the military lists and proxeny decrees of Thespieae published in *Δελτ.* 1923, 205, where Ἴππαρχος is mentioned as archon of the League on the front of the stone and Εὐμαρίδας on the side. Since the full twenty-two archons of the period B.C. 223–202 are known, Εὐμαρίδας as well as Ποτιδάϊχος must have held office between B.C. 201 and 192. This dating is confirmed by a number of observations which connect the years of these two archons with those of the Διωνιούσιος-group; thus, Θιόδωρος Δαμονίκω was polemarch of Hyettus under Εὐμαρίδας, and his son, Δαμόνικος Θιοδώρῳ, ephebe under Φίλων II,<sup>77</sup> Σίμων Ἐτεάρχῳ<sup>78</sup> polemarch under both Εὐμαρίδας and Ἴππαρχος, Τίμων Καπίωνος polemarch under Διωνιούσιος and his son, Καπίων Τίμωνος, ephebe under Εὐμαρίδας,<sup>79</sup> Ἀμφίνικος Πουθίωνος, who proposed *IG. VII. 308* under Ποτιδάϊχος, proposed *VII. 304* under Στράτων. Again, Δαμοχαρίδας Πολιουχάριος was an ephebe under Εὐμαρίδας, his father, Πολιουχάρεις Δαμοχαρίδαο, secretary in the first archonship of Φίλων (B.C. 225 c.).<sup>80</sup> Δαμοχαρίδας himself was secretary to the polemarchs of Hyettus under Ἀγαθαρχίδας<sup>81</sup>; since Ἀγαθαρχίδας held office about B.C. 185 (*v. p.* 93), the archonship of Εὐμαρίδας should clearly be placed at the beginning of the nine years' period open to it. It need not be considered a difficulty that Διωνιουσόδωρος Φαναξάνδρῳ was polemarch under Εὐμαρίδας and his father, Φανάξανδρος Διωνιουσόδῳ, polemarch (not, as Dittenberger says, ephebe) under Φίλων II,<sup>82</sup> two archons who must have held office at very nearly the same time; for we have examples of father and son holding office in the same year.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *IG. VII. 2830, 2816, 2812, 2824.*

<sup>76</sup> *IG. VII. 3173.*

<sup>77</sup> *IG. VII. 2819, 2815.*

<sup>78</sup> *IG. VII. 2819, 2814.*

<sup>79</sup> *IG. VII. 2819, 2817.*

<sup>80</sup> *IG. VII. 2813.*

<sup>81</sup> *IG. VII. 2823.*

<sup>82</sup> *IG. VII. 2815.*

<sup>83</sup> *v. p.* 74.

Ποτιδάιχος, too, must have been archon little later than B.C. 201; for, as we have mentioned above, his year must not be too far separated from that of Κτεισίας.

The last two archons of the Aegosthena lists are Δαμάτριος and Κόμμαδος. Both archonships must fall later than B.C. 202, since there is no year vacant for them before; Κόμμαδος can have held office at latest in B.C. 193, as his name is followed on the list *IG. VII. 220-222* by that of another archon;<sup>84</sup> Δαμάτριος at latest in B.C. 194. It has already been mentioned that there were two archonships of Δαμάτριος; whether the one of the Aegosthena list be the first or second it is impossible to decide; but even if it be the first, it is exceedingly probable that the second also falls within these ten years, since, as was pointed out on p. 79, it is very closely connected with archonships of the Φίλων-Διωνιούσιος group.

Thus we have the following list of archons: Εύμαρίδας B.C. 201-193 (probably 201 or soon after), Ποτιδάιχος B.C. 200-192 (probably 200 or soon after), Δαμάτριος I B.C. 201-194, Κόμμαδος B.C. 200-193, Δαμάτριος II B.C. 200-192 (?).

To the same period must belong Εύεργος. There are two reasons for placing his year early in it. First, the inscriptions from the same stone, *IG. VII. 237-242*, associate it with that of Χαρίδαμος. Second and more cogent, in one of these same decrees (241), proxeny and the other customary honours are granted to Σωσίστρατος Θεοφίλου Ἀθηναῖος; now this Σωσίστρατος Θεοφίλου is known to have won a victory as a παῖς χορευτής in the Soteria of the year of the Delphic archon Nicodamus;<sup>85</sup> and Nicodamus is dated by Beloch to B.C. 250-49.<sup>86</sup>

An archon who probably held office between B.C. 201 and 192 is Στροτόφαντος. The name (only the letters .τ.στ..α.τ. are left) occurs on the same stone as those of two archons of Acraephia, thus:

<i>IG. VII. 2718</i>	Ἀγασσιγίτων	(Archon of Acraephia).
„	2719 Στροτόφαντος	(Archon of the League).
„	2720 Ἀρίστων	(Archon of Acraephia).
„	2721 ?	(Archon of Acraephia).

The inscriptions are military lists of Acraephia, which are perhaps less likely than, for example, proxeny decrees to be separated by any very long intervals; and in point of fact the date we should assign to Ἀγασσιγίτων from references in *IG. VII. 2718* is just about the same as that which we should give Ἀρίστων from references in *IG. VII. 2720*. Thus we may safely date Στροτόφαντος by establishing the dates of the two Acraephian archons.

Ἀγασσιγίτων was later than Καφισότιμος (B.C. 221-218), since under the latter Καλοκλίδας Μαντιξένω was an ephebe, under the former a polemarch.<sup>87</sup> As for Ἀρίστων, he was a generation later than Καφισίας (B.C. 223), since Καφισόδωρος Διοδώρω was an ephebe under Καφισίας and his son, Διόδωρος Καφισοδώρω under Ἀρίστων; and he may be con-

<sup>84</sup> The archon of *IG. VII. 222*; his name is lost.

<sup>85</sup> *GDI. 2563*.

<sup>86</sup> *op. cit. IV. ii. p. 399 ff.*

<sup>87</sup> *IG. VII. 2718, BCH. XXIII. 198, no. vi.*



nected with one of the archons who held office after B.C. 192; for Μένανδρος Ἀντιγένιος was polemarch under Διωνίουσόδωρος,<sup>88</sup> and it is tempting to recognise the same man in the Μενά[νδρω . . . . .]ιος who is mentioned as a polemarch in *IG. VII. 2720* in which Ariston figures as archon. Again, *IG. VII. 2721* is clearly not much later than 2714, since in the first inscription Θιοτέλεις Μνασίππω is an ephebe, in the second chief 'τῶν Φαρετριτάων.' But 2714 was cut at the same time as 2715; and 2715 is a generation later than the archonship of Καφισίας, since in *BCH. XXIII*, p. 197, iv, Ξενάντιχος Εἰρωνος is an ephebe and in *IG. VII. 2715* his son, Εἰρων Ξεναντίχῳ (Perdrizet vouches for the 'ν,' whereas Dittenberger has Ξεναρτίχῳ).<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, Ἀρίστων must not be too far separated from Καφισότιμος, as the same man, Θαρσόμαχος, was archon under both; <sup>90</sup> thus he is unlikely to have held office much later than, say, B.C. 190. When we come to consider the date of the archonship of Δόρκυλος we shall find good reason to put Στροτόφαντος as late as possible; it seems, therefore, that he must have held office somewhere about B.C. 190.

Either within or very shortly after this period must fall the years in which Φιλόξενος and Ἀρτύλαος (or Ἀρτιούλας) were federal archons. The two archonships were almost certainly close together; for inscriptions from both are found cut in one column on a stone in the Amphiarium (*IG. VII. 289-292*), and the Μνασίνοσ Πολιουκλείος of Hyettus who was an ephebe in the year of Ἀρτιούλας was the son of Πολιουκλείς Μνασίνω, secretary to the polemarchs of Hyettus under Φιλόξενος.<sup>91</sup>

At first sight, indeed, it looks as if these archonships should be assigned to the second half of the third century, for the following reason. *IG. VII. 289*, a proxy decree of our series, was proposed by Ἀρίστων Νικοστράτου, who proposed 287 and 288 also; these two inscriptions are on the same stone and were clearly inscribed at the same time. The presumption that all three decrees were nearly contemporary is borne out by the similarity of the script. Now in *IG. VII. 287* the recipient of proxy is Ἀδάμας Δίωνος Αἰτωλὸς ἀπὸ Μελιτείας; in *IG. VII. 288* Πολεμοκράτης Ζωίλου Θ. . . . . ας τῆς Φθιώτιδος. Dittenberger's restoration, 'Θηβαῖον ἐξ Ἀχαιίας' (or 'ἀπ' Ἀχαιίας'), must clearly be accepted. It is true that this type of nomenclature is not particularly common—nothing like as common as the type where the name of the state precedes that of the city; but, not to mention the numerous cases where cities of the same name are distinguished by the addition of the name of a district or geographical feature (e.g. Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Δάφνης, Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Κύκνου, Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Πυράμου<sup>92</sup>), we have an exact parallel in Θεόδωρος . . . δίκου Ἀρεθούσιος ἐκ Χαλκιδικῆς<sup>93</sup> (fourth century) and in Πολυκράτης Μνασιάδα Ἀργεῖος ἀπ' Ἀχαιίας,<sup>94</sup> Ἑρμιόνη Πολυκράτου Ἀργεῖα ἀπ' Ἀχαιίας, Φίλιστος Καλλισθένους Ἀργεῖος ἀπ' Ἀχαιίας (first half of the second century). In the last three

<sup>88</sup> *BCH. XXIII*, 193, 1. i. p. 93.

<sup>89</sup> *Id.* 202.

<sup>90</sup> *IG. VII. 2820*, *BCH. XXIII*, 193, no. vi.

<sup>91</sup> *IG. VII. 2812*, 2811.

<sup>92</sup> *IG. II. 966*, 963.

<sup>93</sup> *BCH. XXI*, p. 106, no. ii.

<sup>94</sup> *IG. II. 966 b*, *IG. IV. 1403*.

examples the purpose of the addition is obviously to distinguish Argos from other places bearing the same name; for instance, Amphilocheian Argos. It is absurd to suggest with Dittenberger and Keil,<sup>95</sup> that Ἀρχαία is the name of some unrecorded place in the Argolid. Apart from the intrinsic improbability of the existence of such a place, names of this type are characteristic of federations, *e.g.* Achaea, Aetolia, Arcadia, Acarnania, Doris, Epirus, Lycia, Locris, the Perrhaebi, and above all, Thessaly. The one conspicuous exception is Macedon, which was never in any real sense a κοινόν or league. Yet, as Tarn points out,<sup>96</sup> the mention of a κοινὸν Μακεδόνων in *SIG.*<sup>3</sup> 262 suggests that at any rate in the reign of Philip V this may have been the correct technical designation of the Macedonian state.

Dittenberger's restoration must, therefore, be accepted. That granted, it remains to find for the two inscriptions a date when Melitaea belonged to the Aetolians and Thebes did not. These conditions are fulfilled by the years between B.C. 232 and 228; for between the Delphic archonship of Callicles in the autumn of 236 and that of Herys in the autumn of 232, western Achaea Phthiotis was, according to Beloch's very cogent reasoning,<sup>97</sup> incorporated in Aetolia; and between B.C. 232 and 228, when Callias was Delphian archon, the Aetolians added eastern Achaea Phthiotis.<sup>97</sup>

Tempting as this date is, it is difficult to accept it in view of Leonardos' very strong arguments for placing the years of Φιλόξενος and Ἀρτιούλας after those of Διωνίουσιος and Στρότων.<sup>98</sup> This later date is consonant with indications in the inscriptions themselves; for instance, the Πολιουκλείς Μνασίνω who was secretary to the archons of Hyettus under Φιλόξενος was polemarch under Ἀγαθαρχίδας (B.C. 185 *c.*; *v.* p. 93) and Θεότιμος II (B.C. 185 *c.*; *v.* p. 94), and was in all probability the son of the Μνασίνος Πολιουκλείς who was polemarch under Διωνίουσίος;<sup>99</sup> Καλλικλίδας Θάρσωνος<sup>100</sup> was polemarch under Φιλόξενος and Ἀρίστων (B.C. 201–195 (*c.*); *v.* pp. 94, 95); Εὐμείλος Δάσωνος was polemarch under Ἀρτιούλας and his son Δάσων Εὐμείλω ephebe under Θεότιμος II.<sup>101</sup> Further, the lettering of the Oropus inscriptions from these archonships exactly resembles that of inscriptions from the years of Διονύσιος and Στρότων and differs in several respects, particularly in the form of π (π as against ϖ), from that used in inscriptions of the third quarter of the third century; for example, *IG.* VII. 280 (archonship of Ἀντίγων; photograph in *Ἐφημ.* 1918, 79), *Ἐφημ.* 1918, 47, nos. 76–78 (archonships of Ἑρμάιος and Ἀμείνιχος), *IG.* VII. 245, 246 (Πρωτόμαχος and Ἀπολλόδωρος). The two Hyettian inscriptions, again, show late features, such as the use of cursive forms in 2811 and of ϖ in 2812. Thus the two archonships in question must be placed after B.C. 202, and, as it is all but impossible that *IG.* VII. 287 and 288 are separated from 289 by an interval of more than thirty years, it remains to discover a second period at which Melitaea may

<sup>95</sup> *SIG.* 1076, *AM.* XX, p. 414, n. 1.

<sup>96</sup> *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 55.

<sup>97</sup> *op. cit.* IV, ii, pp. 409 and 412–413.

<sup>98</sup> *Ἐφημ.* 1919, p. 82.

<sup>99</sup> *IG.* VII. 2811, 2822, 2823; *v.* p. 94.

<sup>100</sup> *IG.* VII. 2811, 2824.

<sup>101</sup> *IG.* VII. 2812, 2822.

have belonged to Aetolia and Thebes not. To do this we must consider the exceptionally tangled history of Achaea Phthiotis in the last years of the third century and the opening ones of the second.

It is clear that in the first half of his reign, one of the cardinal ambitions of Philip V was to wrest Achaea Phthiotis from the Aetolians, thus opening for himself a way south through the Othrys range. In B.C. 217, after a vain attempt on Melitaea, he captured Phthiotic Thebes, expelled the population and turned the place into a Macedonian colony under the name of Philippopolis; the original inhabitants were settled by the Aetolians in Thronium, and were still living there in B.C. 207.<sup>102</sup> In 210 he again made an unsuccessful attack on Melitaea,<sup>103</sup> but succeeded in capturing Echinus;<sup>104</sup> the mention of Xyniae in a fragment of the ninth book of Polybius suggests that Philip attacked it with or without success. Probably it was about the same time that he won Pteleon and Larissa Cremaste; the former clearly became Macedonian, since Attalus captured it from Philip in B.C. 200;<sup>105</sup> the latter was in 197 included by the Aetolians in their list of cities wrongfully in Philip's hands.<sup>106</sup> In the same list occurs the name of Pharsalus. We have no record of the capture of Pharsalus by Philip, but an incidental reference in Polybius speaks of it as already Macedonian in B.C. 217.<sup>107</sup> This is regarded by Beloch<sup>108</sup> as a mistake on the part of Polybius, because we know of an Aetolian hieromnemon from Pharsalus in the year of the Aetolian general Lattamus.<sup>109</sup> But precisely the same difficulty applies to Thebes; for in the Delphic archonship of Megartas<sup>110</sup> and in that of Philaetolus<sup>111</sup> we find *ἱερομνήμονες* from Thebes. Yet Thebes was undoubtedly Macedonian throughout the period—for a less likely hypothesis than Niese's unrecorded recovery of Thebes by the Aetolians and second capture by Philip is difficult to conceive. The solution has been found by F. Stählin.<sup>112</sup> At the peace of B.C. 206, he argues, Philip and the Aetolians partitioned Thessaly; they gave up their claim to Thessaliotis and Hestiacotis, he agreed to cede Achaea Phthiotis to them. But he never carried out his agreement. Thus it is that the Aetolians complained (in B.C. 197) not that he won Larissa and the other towns by treachery, but that his continued possession of them was unjustifiable—*τί δὲ λέγων κοτέχει νῦν . . . , eadem fraude habere . . .*<sup>113</sup> Thus too it becomes intelligible that the Aetolians, as titular lords of Achaea Phthiotis, continued to appoint Achaean *ἱερομνήμονες*, some from cities actually in their control, others from the body of exiles dwelling in their territory and regarded by them as the rightful citizen-body of Thebes. (There may have been several other such settlements of exiles in Aetolian territory; a trace of Pharsalian exiles who were harboured by the Aetolians exists, as Stählin points out, in *IG. IX. 2.238*.)

<sup>102</sup> Pol. V. 97-100. Livy, XXVIII. 7, x.

<sup>103</sup> Pol. IX. 18.

<sup>104</sup> Pol. IX. 41.

<sup>105</sup> Livy, XXXI. 46.

<sup>106</sup> Pol. XVIII. 3, 38.

<sup>107</sup> Pol. V. 99, iii.

<sup>108</sup> *op. cit.* IV. ii. 412-413.

<sup>109</sup> *SIG.* 539 = B.C. 216 (Pomtow).

<sup>110</sup> *SIG.* 564 = B.C. 201, H. v. Gaertringen, 205 (Pomtow).

<sup>111</sup> *Klio*, XIV. p. 202 = B.C. 202 (Pomtow).

<sup>112</sup> *Philol.* LXXVII. 199-206.

<sup>113</sup> Pol. XVIII. 3, xii; Livy, XXXII. 33, xvi.

Part at any rate of western Achaea Phthiotis did really remain in the hands of the Aetolians. Thaumaci was Aetolian throughout; one of the first episodes in the war which broke out anew in B.C. 200 was the unsuccessful siege of the place by Philip; <sup>114</sup> and when the Romans captured it in the Aetolian War they encountered a desperate resistance very different from the ready submission of the Thessalian cities.<sup>115</sup> Xyniae needed to be recaptured by the Aetolians in B.C. 198; <sup>116</sup> thus at some time they had lost it to Philip, probably in 210. But in 185 Philip speaks of it as admittedly an Aetolian city—Xynias quidem haud dubie Aetolicum oppidum sibi contribuisse eos.<sup>117</sup> Cyphaera, another of the towns recaptured by the Aetolians in 198,<sup>116</sup> had probably been lost at the same time. These towns were not included in the Achaea Phthiotis which was assigned by the Romans to the Thessalians in 196; in the case of Thaumaci this is clear, since the Romans had to capture it from the Aetolians in B.C. 191; in that of Xyniae, it is implied by Philip's words already quoted that he won it from the Aetolians in the Aetolian War.

It remains to discover to which section of Achaea Phthiotis Melitaea belonged—the Aetolian west or the eastern part which in the settlement of 196 was delivered from Philip and adjudged to the Thessalians. First of all it may be noted that Melitaea was twice attacked without success by Philip, and that there is no record of its capture. Secondly, a Μελιταιεύς is three times mentioned among the Aetolian ἱερομνήμονες.<sup>118</sup> It is true that not much weight can be attached to the argument once it is recognised that the Aetolians appointed ἱερομνήμονες from places not actually in their possession but formally claimed by them. But at the same time it may be noted that the ἱερομνήμονες of Achaea Phthiotis in this period were either from Thebes,<sup>119</sup> the mass of whose citizen body was settled in Aetolian lands, or from towns in the Aetolian sphere—namely, Thaumaci<sup>120</sup> or Cyphaera<sup>121</sup> before its capture by Philip. Further, neither Melitaea nor any of the other western towns of Achaea Phthiotis is included by the Aetolians in their list of cities wrongfully in the hands of Philip. Lastly, by her geographical position, Melitaea is clearly connected rather with the western Aetolian cities than with the cities of eastern Achaea Phthiotis so long in the hands of Philip. Lying as she does to the west of the central Othrys massif, where Gerakobouni, H. Elias and Massile all rise to a height of more than 1500 metres, and to the south of the Kassidiaris range, her natural lines of communication all lead to the west, to Thaumaci and the break in the Othrys range used by the modern road from Lamia to the north, not east to the Crocian plain. As might be expected, she seems to have preserved considerable independence: the monogram 'Αχ. is never found on her coins, and in the fifth century at any rate she seems to have stood in alliance with Pherae.<sup>122</sup> Thus it appears probable that Melitaea belonged to the section of Achaea

<sup>114</sup> Livy, XXXII. 4.

<sup>115</sup> Livy, XXXVI. 14. xii–xiv.

<sup>116</sup> Livy, XXXII. 13. xiv.

<sup>117</sup> Livy, XXXIX. 26. ii.

<sup>118</sup> SIG. 523, 538, 553.

<sup>119</sup> SIG. 564: GDI. 2529; *Klio*, XIV. 2.

<sup>120</sup> SIG. 539, 603 E: GDI. 2529.

<sup>121</sup> SIG. 523, 538.

<sup>122</sup> Hermann, *Z.Num.* XXXII. 33–47.

Phthiotis which Philip failed to win from the Aetolians. It needs no argument to show that this Aetolian territory was not included in the Achaea Phthiotis which the Romans assigned to Thessaly in B.C. 196. It is, however, improbable that Melitaea remained Aetolian after 189, though the first inscriptional evidence for its being Thessalian dates from B.C. 145-4;<sup>123</sup> when the Aetolians had lost Thaumaci and Xyniae,<sup>124</sup> it is scarcely conceivable that they retained their hold on Melitaea.

We turn now to the fortunes of Thebes. Thebes was persistently claimed by the Aetolians in the Second Macedonian War,<sup>125</sup> and Flamininus supported their claim—ὁ δὲ Τίτος τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν οὐδεμίαν (παραλαμβάνειν) Θήβας δὲ μόνον τὰς Φθιάς . . .<sup>126</sup> In the settlement of 197 Thebes, along with Pharsalus, was specially excluded from the Achaea Phthiotis which was assigned to the Thessalians.<sup>127</sup> Although, by a curious omission, nothing further is said of Thebes, its fate was almost certainly referred to the Senate along with that of Pharsalus.<sup>128</sup> That body disregarded the desire of the commission to hand over Oreus and Eretria to Eumenes;<sup>129</sup> it seems to have disregarded also Flamininus' informal promise of Thebes to the Aetolians; for in 185 the Thessalians imply that Philip had ceded Thebes direct to them—et quae reddiderit coactus Thessalis, inutilia ut redderet curasse. Thebas Phthias. . .<sup>130</sup> The policy of the Senate was to give the Aetolians the bare minimum. The bulk of Achaea Phthiotis was freed; the Aetolians were denied even Echinus, on the borders of Malis. To except the capital of the territory and give this isolated enclave to the Aetolians would have been to slight geography and mar a liberal settlement of Greece, particularly as the Aetolian claims to Thebes were precisely the same as claims disallowed in the case of other cities, except for the fact that the Thebans had not surrendered voluntarily. It is conceivable that this aspect of the case did not weigh as heavily with the Senate as with Flamininus, in the irritation of his unsuccessful attempt on the city; moreover, though Thebes did not surrender, there was a pro-Roman party headed by one Timon,<sup>131</sup> and the obstinate resistance of the place may have been attributed to the presence of the Macedonian colonists. Again, the fact that Thebes played no part in the war of the Romans against Antiochus and the Aetolians suggests that it was not Aetolian.

This examination of the history of Achaea Phthiotis has shown that Melitaea was Aetolian and Thebes Macedonian from B.C. 217 to 197. But it is unlikely that our two inscriptions date from this period, because while Thebes was under Macedonian domination it must have been referred to as Philippopolis. On the other hand, the period from B.C. 196 to 189 appears to fulfil all our requirements, and it is accordingly to these years that we must assign the inscriptions *IG. VII. 287* and *288*. The

<sup>123</sup> *GDI* 2138.

<sup>124</sup> Thaumaci, as captured by the Romans in 191, would be forfeited by the Aetolians under the terms of the treaty of 189 (*Livy*, XXXVI. 14, XXXVIII. 11); Xyniae was captured and retained by Philip.

<sup>125</sup> *Pol.* XVIII. 3. xii, 38 iii; *Livy*, XXXII. 33.

<sup>126</sup> *Pol.* XVIII. 38. iv-v.

<sup>127</sup> *Pol.* XVIII. 47. viii; *Livy*, XXXIII. 34. vii.

<sup>128</sup> *Pol.* XVIII. 47. ix; *Livy*, XXXIII. 34. vii.

<sup>129</sup> *Pol.* XVIII. 47. x-xi.

<sup>130</sup> *Livy*, XXXIX. 25. viii-ix.

<sup>131</sup> *Livy*, XXXIII. 5. i.

archonships of Φιλόξενος and Ἀρτιούλας must therefore also belong to about this time. Indeed, since Εὐμείλος Δάσωνος, who was polemarch of Hyettus in the year of Ἀρτιούλας, had been polemarch under Ἀριστοκλείς and considerably earlier under Κτεισίας,<sup>132</sup> it is most unlikely that the archonship of Ἀρτιούλας was later than B.C. 189, and it is far more likely that it was some years earlier.

# ARCHONS WHO HELD OFFICE AFTER B.C. 192

In this period must clearly fall the years of Διωνιουσόδωρος and Ἀγαθαρχίδας, from whose archonships date the military lists of Acraephia published in *BCH.* XXIII, p. 193 ff. Both are, in fact, to be placed not early in the series of archons mentioned in these inscriptions, as Perdrizet suggests, but well after Καφισίας, Ἀθανίας, Καφισότιμος, Ἀγαθοκλείς and Λυκῖνος, whose names head the lists he numbers iv to viii—as indeed the character of the lettering would lead us to expect. For Ἀγαθαρχίδας this is proved beyond doubt by the following references:

(i) In *IG.* VII. 2817 (Διωνιούσιος; B.C. 203) Ζέναρχος Σωκράτιος is an ephebe;

In *IG.* VII. 2823 (Ἀγαθαρχίδας) Ζέναρχος Σωκράτιος is a polemarch.

(ii) In *IG.* VII. 2814 (Ἰππαρχος; B.C. 212–205: probably 207–205) Πουθάγγελος Πουθάρμω is an ephebe;

In *IG.* VII. 2823 (Ἀγαθαρχίδας) Πουθάγγελος Πουθάρμω is an archon.

(iii) In *IG.* VII. 2816 (Ἀριστόκλεις; B.C. 213–211) Δάμων Δάμωνος is an ephebe;

In *IG.* VII. 2823 (Ἀγαθαρχίδας) Δάμων Δάμωνος, presumably his son, is an ephebe.

(iv) In *BCH.* XXIII, 198, no. vi (Καφισότιμος; B.C. 221–218) Λιούσων Ἐπιχάριος is an ephebe;

In *BCH.* XXIII, 193, no. ii (Ἀγαθαρχίδας) Ἐπιχάριος Λιούσωνος, his son, is a polemarch.

The last two references suggest that the year of Ἀγαθαρχίδας cannot have been much before B.C. 185. On the other hand, Ἀντικράτεις Γόργω, who was an ephebe in the first archonship of Φίλων, was probably the father of Γόργος Ἀντικράτιος, an ephebe of the year of Ἀγαθαρχίδας,<sup>133</sup> so that Ἀγαθαρχίδας must not be placed too late. The few independent indications of the date of Διωνιουσόδωρος fit in excellently with the hypothesis that he held office about B.C. 185; for example, Ἀμεινοκλείς Θέμωνος was ephebe under Ἀθανίας, secretary to the polemarchs of Hyettus under Διωνιουσόδωρος and polemarch under Λυκῖνος;<sup>134</sup> Διωνιουσόδωρος was two generations after the archon of Δελτ. 1923, 201 (a Σάμιχος Μούρωνος is mentioned as ephebe under both), whereas Καφισίας and Ἀθανίας were only one generation later.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>132</sup> *IG.* VII. 2812, 2816, 2830.

Pappadaki, Δελτ. 1923, 217.

<sup>133</sup> *IG.* VII. 2813, 2823.

<sup>135</sup> *z.* p. 105.

<sup>134</sup> *BCH.* XXIII. p. 197 ff., nos. v, viii, i; *z.*

Above the military list of Hyettus from the archonship of Ἀγαθαρχίδας, on the same stone, is a list from the year of Καφισίας.<sup>136</sup> Intrinsically it is improbable that this archonship of Καφισίας should be the same as the one which we have placed about forty years earlier than the archonship of Ἀγαθαρχίδας; and the improbability is heightened by the character of the script, which shows cursive forms for ε, σ and ω. (The earliest example of the use of these forms in Hyettus belongs to the archonship of Ἀριστοκλείς.<sup>137</sup>) But the question is settled by the close connexion of this archonship with that of Ἀγαθαρχίδας; for instance, Τιμασίων Τιμασιθίω was polemarch of Hyettus under both; Δημοχαρίδας Πολιουχάριος was secretary under Ἀγαθαρχίδας and polemarch under Καφισίας. Again, this archonship of Καφισίας was clearly later than that of Εὐμαρίδας,<sup>138</sup> since in the latter year this same Δημοχαρίδας Πολιουχάριος was an ephebe; so too Καπίων Τίμωνος was an ephebe under Εὐμαρίδας and polemarch under Καφισίας. Thus there can be no doubt that *IG. VII. 2823* belongs to a different archonship of Καφισίας from that of the Aegosthena lists and that this second archonship is to be placed before, but not long before, that of Ἀγαθαρχίδας.

To the same period must belong Εὐκλίδας; he was a generation later than Ἰππαρχος (B.C. 212–205), since under Ἰππαρχος Διωνιουσόδωρος Καφισοδώρω was an ephebe and under Εὐκλίδας his son, Καφισόδωρος Διωνιουσόδωρω;<sup>139</sup> thus he is unlikely to have held office much, if at all before B.C. 185; and his year cannot be far distant from those of Ποτιδάιχος and Ἀγαθαρχίδας; for under both Ποτιδάιχος<sup>140</sup> and Εὐκλίδας Ἀθανόδωρος Φιλομελίδας was polemarch; and under Ἀγαθαρχίδας<sup>141</sup> Ἀριστογείτων Εὐμείλω was an ephebe, under Εὐκλίδας his father, Εὐμείλος Ἀριστογείτονος, a polemarch. All this suggests that Εὐκλίδας held office at about the same time as Ἀγαθαρχίδας, soon after B.C. 185.

The archonship of Θεότιμος from which dates *IG. VII. 2822* must be distinguished from his earlier archonship and assigned to this period. A number of references connect it with the archonships we have been discussing; for instance, Δάμων Μουκρίνω was polemarch under Θεότιμος II, Μουκρίνος Δάμωνος ephebe under Εὐκλίδας;<sup>142</sup> Πολιούκλεις Μνασίνω<sup>143</sup> was polemarch under Θεότιμος II and Ἀγαθαρχίδας and secretary under Φιλόξενος, while his son, Μνασίνος Πολιουκλείς,<sup>143</sup> was ephebe under Ἀρτιούλας; the Μνασίνος Πολιουκλείς<sup>143</sup> who was archon under Διωνιούσιος may be the father of Πολιούκλεις Μνασίνω. Again, in view of the rarity of the name, Ἐπιχάρεις Ἰθιούλλιος, who was an ephebe in the year of Θεότιμος II, is probably to be considered the brother of Θιόδωρος Ἰθιούλλιος of the year of Καφισίας II.<sup>144</sup> The Πουθόδωρος Ἑρμαιώνδας who was an ephebe in the archonship of Θεότιμος II will be a grandson of the secretary to the polemarchs of Hyettus in the year of Φίλων II.<sup>145</sup>

If Θεότιμος II is to be placed somewhere about B.C. 185, Ἀρίστων

<sup>136</sup> *IG. VII. 2818, 2823.*

<sup>137</sup> *IG. VII. 2816.*

<sup>138</sup> *IG. VII. 2819.*

<sup>139</sup> *IG. VII. 2814, 2827.*

<sup>140</sup> *IG. VII. 2820.*

<sup>141</sup> *IG. VII. 2823.*

<sup>142</sup> *IG. VII. 2822, 2827.*

<sup>143</sup> *IG. VII. 2822, 2823, 2811, 2812, 2817.*

<sup>144</sup> *IG. VII. 2818.*

<sup>145</sup> *IG. VII. 2815.*

should be set little later than 200–190; for under Ἀρίστων the Θύναρχος Ἀμυνίω who was secretary in the year of Θεότιμος II was an ephebe.<sup>146</sup> The suggested date is confirmed by references which connect Ἀρίστων with archons who held office at the end of the third century or the beginning of the second; thus, Καλλικλίδας Θάρσωνος was polemarch under him, under Νικίας and under Φιλόξενος;<sup>147</sup> Λίλεις Θάρσωνος was polemarch under him and under Ἰππάρχος, while his son was polemarch under Ποτιδάιχος;<sup>148</sup> which suggests, though it does not prove, that Ἀρίστων preceded Ποτιδάιχος. Διωνιουσόδωρος Φαναξάνδρῳ was polemarch under Εὐμαρίδας and secretary under Ἀρίστων.<sup>149</sup> There remains one difficulty—that a Δάσων Εὐμείλῳ was an ephebe under Θεότιμος II and polemarch under Ἀρίστων. But it is most unlikely that they are the same; the second is in all probability the son of the Εὐμείλος Δασώνος who was secretary of Hyettus under Κτεισίας (B.C. 224 c.), polemarch under Ἀριστοκλείς (B.C. 213–211) and Ἀρτιούλας (B.C. 196–189 c.); the younger Δάσων was probably a cousin.

Fairly certainly, the archonship of Πολιούστροτος should be dated to about this time. It was two generations after the archonship from which dates the inscription published in Δελτ. 1923, p. 201 (B.C. 250 c.);<sup>150</sup> thus it was pretty certainly a generation later than the years of Καφισίας (B.C. 223) and Ἀθανίας (B.C. 222–219), and about the same time as those of Ἀγαθαρχίδας and Διωνιουσόδωρος. The same result is reached by working from the mention of Ἀθανίας Πουθίωνος as an ephebe under Καφισότιμος (B.C. 221–218),<sup>151</sup> while his son, Πουθίων Ἀθανίαο, was polemarch under Πολιούστροτος; to judge by this reference, Πολιούστροτος cannot have held office long before B.C. 180. Again, as van Gelder suggests,<sup>152</sup> the Ἀπολλόδωρος Φασάνδρῳ who was polemarch under Πολιούστροτος is in all probability the same as the Ἀπολλόδωρος Φισάνδρῳ who was an ephebe when Ἀρίστων<sup>153</sup> was archon of Acraephia (B.C. 190 c.). If Πολιούστροτος be rightly placed not far from B.C. 180, Holleaux' dating of the inscriptions referring to the institution or renewal of the Ptoia<sup>154</sup> is confirmed; for the Πυθίων Ἀθανίαο who was prophet of Apollo and served as one of the Acraephian delegates to neighbouring states will be the same as the Πουθίων Ἀθανίαο who was polemarch of Acraephia under Πολιούστροτος. Now in B.C. 180 this man would still be comparatively young, since his father was an ephebe between 221 and 218; so that we have every reason to suppose that he was not prophet of Apollo until well after B.C. 180. Thus the series of inscriptions probably falls between B.C. 170, say, and 146, which Holleaux assigns as the lower limit. Our inscription is also connected with an inscription which Holleaux has assigned to the same period as the decrees referring to the institution or renewal of the Ptoia; for the Θιόδωρος Τιμάρχῳ who was an ephebe under Πολιούστροτος is mentioned as polemarch in IG. VII. 4132, the decree in honour of Ξενοκλέας Ἀρκεσιλάου.

<sup>146</sup> IG. VII. 2824, 2822.

<sup>147</sup> IG. VII. 2824, 2821, 2811.

<sup>148</sup> IG. VII. 2824, 2814, 2820.

<sup>149</sup> IG. VII. 2819, 2824.

<sup>150</sup> *v.* p. 105.

<sup>151</sup> BCH. XXIII. p. 198, vi.

<sup>152</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XXVII.

<sup>153</sup> IG. VII. 2720.

<sup>154</sup> IG. VII. 4135–4142; BCH. XIV. p. 28 ff.



It may possibly be objected that it is difficult to place Πολιούστροτος so late in view of the character of the script, which Perdrizet says seems earlier than that used in the inscriptions which he numbers iv–vii, dating from the years of Καφισίας, Ἀθανίας, Καφισότιμος and Ἀγαθοκλεῖς. It is, however, difficult to endorse this view; the script of the Πολιούστροτος inscription appears to resemble closely that of *IG. VII. 2719*, from the archonship of Στροτόφαντος, which is undoubtedly later than those of Καφισίας, Ἀθανίας, Καφισότιμος and Ἀγαθοκλεῖς.

We turn now to two archonships which must have been fairly close together but cannot be dated exactly; it is even impossible to decide whether they should be set before or after B.C. 192. The first of these archons, Εὐάρεστος, held office later than Θεότιμος I, and therefore later than B.C. 202 (see the series of decrees from the same stone, *IG. VII. 310–324*; Στέφανος and Ἀθανόδωρος were both priests of Amphiarus in the interval between Θεότιμος and Εὐάρεστος). The priesthood of Στέφανος probably fell some time after that of Ἀσώπων (B.C. 209–206), since under the latter Σώφιλος Δημητρίου was active in Oropus and under the former his son, Δημήτριος Σωφίλου;<sup>155</sup> the archonship of Εὐάρεστος, as being later than the priesthood of Στέφανος, is likely to have been well after B.C. 202. On the other hand, it must not be placed too late, for the Ἀριστόνικος Εὐφήρου who proposed *IG. VII. 322*, one of the inscriptions which date from this year, proposed also *IG. VII. 241* during the priesthood of Ὀλύμπιχος; and Ὀλύμπιχος was a predecessor of Ἀθανόδωρος, whose priesthood was not far removed from the archonship of Στράτων. (The Πίργης Ἀρχιππίδου who proposed *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892*, p. 46, no. 25 was probably priest of Amphiarus under Ἀριστόμαχος and proposed *IG. VII. 303* under Στράτων.) The Μητρόδωρος Ἑρμῶνος who proposed *IG. VII. 317*, another proxeny decree of the year of Ἀθανόδωρος, is in all probability the Μητρόδωρος who was priest of Amphiarus under the second of our two archons. This archon's name occurs on the left of a stone which bears on its front an inscription from the year of Διωνιούσιος; thus he was later than Διωνιούσιος, and may have been considerably later. Dittenberger originally (ad *IG. VII. 299*) read Ἡράκλειτος; on p. 744 he corrects this to Μνασάρετος; Leonardos in *Ἐφημ. 1919*, 56 (a) gives as the true reading Ν[ικ]ασαρέτου.

To this same period belongs the archonship of Ἀνδρόνικος. His name occurs in a fragment of the great inscription dealing with the building of the temple of Zeus at Lebadea.<sup>156</sup> Fabricius<sup>157</sup> argues, and his argument is accepted by Wilamowitz and Wilhelm, that the funds for the rebuilding were provided by Antiochus IV Epiphanes; it must therefore be dated between 175 and 168—not, as Wilhelm says, 171, for it is by no means certain that the Boeotian League was dissolved in B.C. 171. Swoboda, for instance, takes the opposite view. The literary evidence is inconclusive, but the best interpretation would seem to be that the Romans did not formally dissolve the κοινόν, but took every opportunity of

<sup>155</sup> *IG. VII. 263*: 319–321.

<sup>156</sup> Published by Wilhelm, *AM. XXII*, p. 179.

<sup>157</sup> *De architectura Graeca*, p. 15.

weakening it by encouraging independent action on the part of the individual cities. In favour of the view that the κοινόν lingered on is the fact that the coinage appears to be federal; at any rate no issues of the individual cities are known for the period between B.C. 171 and 146.<sup>158</sup> But it was a mere shadow of its former self. Thus Perseus could send envoys to the separate cities;<sup>159</sup> thus, too, disputes between Acraephia and her neighbours were referred for arbitration to Larissa, not settled by the League;<sup>160</sup> so, too, in the earliest of the Mouseia lists published in *BCH.* XIX, p. 333 ff., the name of the federal archon, Λυκῖνος, is given; in the later ones (viii–xi), which must fall before B.C. 146 because of the mention of an Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ Σικύωνος, the Thespian archon alone is named.

It seems likely that two fragmentary inscriptions (*IG.* VII. 2831 and 2832) date from just after B.C. 171. They obviously belong to about the same time, since the secretary of the first (Ξενοκλίδας Τίμωνος) and a polemarch of the second (Φιλόκριτος Τίμωνος) were both ephebes under Θεότιμος II,<sup>161</sup> and since Ἐπαμινώνδας Φαρμίχῳ is polemarch in both (the restoration Φαρμίχῳ in 2831 is almost certainly right). These two references suggest a date not before 170. That *IG.* VII. 2831 was not much later than this is suggested by the mention in it of Εὐμείλος Καφισίας as an ephebe; he, as Dittenberger points out, was almost certainly the son (though probably not the eldest son) of Καφισίας Πολιουμείλῳ, who was an ephebe under Ἀριστόμαχος (B.C. 206 c.).<sup>162</sup> Again, Ἀρίστων Ἀριστοκλείος is an ephebe in 2831, his father Ἀριστοκλείς Ἀρίστωνος under Ἰππάρχος (B.C. 212–205).<sup>163</sup> On the other hand, if the Διωνιουσόδωρος Διωνιουσοδώρῳ of 2831 be the son of the Διωνιουσόδωρος Διωνιουσοδώρῳ who was an ephebe in the year of Ἀγαθαρχίδας,<sup>164</sup> 2831 can scarcely be earlier than B.C. 165. *IG.* VII. 2832 may possibly be a few years earlier; but it was a generation later than the archonship of Ἀρτιούλας, since in it Ἀντιγένεις Εὐδῶρῳ is an ephebe and in *IG.* VII. 2812 his father, Εὐδωρος Ἀντιγένειος; the Πάτρων who is archon in it is probably the same as the Πάτρων Διωνιουσοδώρῳ who is mentioned as an ephebe in the military list of Hyettus from the year of Εὐκλίδας (soon after B.C. 185); the Θάρσων Λίλειτος who is secretary in 2832 is the son of Λίλεις Θάρσωνος, polemarch in the archonships of Ἀρίστων and Ἰππάρχος.<sup>165</sup> We may, therefore, with some confidence assign to *IG.* VII. 2832 the year B.C. 170 as *terminus post quem*.

The latest of all our archons is Ἰππόνικος. He belongs to the shadowy revival of the League after B.C. 146 (v. Dittenberger ad *IG.* VII. 2871). It is quite clear that he was a federal archon, not an archon of Acraephia, for the formula ἄρχων ἐν Ἀκραϊφίῳς finds its parallel in the regular ἄρχων ἐν Ὀγχεῖστῳ and no such formula is ever used of the archons of the individual states. (ἐπὶ δὲ πόλις is the usual phrase when they are contrasted with federal archons.)

<sup>158</sup> Head, *Coinage of Boeotia*, pp. 88–92: *Catalogue* xlv ff.; *Historia Numorum*, p. 353.

<sup>159</sup> Livy, XLII. 46.

<sup>160</sup> *IG.* VII. 4130.

<sup>161</sup> *IG.* VII. 2822.

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<sup>162</sup> *IG.* VII. 2810.

<sup>163</sup> *IG.* VII. 2814.

<sup>164</sup> *IG.* VII. 2823.

<sup>165</sup> *IG.* VII. 2824, 2814.

ARCHONS WHO HELD OFFICE EARLIER THAN THE LAST QUARTER  
OF THE THIRD CENTURY

We will now turn to the earlier archons of the League. Earliest of all we know was Θιοτέλεις.<sup>166</sup> As Köhler points out,<sup>167</sup> the inscription which dates from his year (*IG. VII. 2407*) cannot be far removed in date from *IG. VII. 2408*, since Ἰππίας and Αἰτώνδας are boeotarchs in both. But in this second inscription Μαλεκίδας and Διογίτων are mentioned as boeotarchs and they must be the same as Plutarch's 'Μάλκιτος' and Διογείτων who led the expedition which was sent to Thessaly to avenge the death of Pelopidas.<sup>168</sup> Thus the two inscriptions obviously belong to years not far distant from B.C. 364. Köhler attempts to date them more exactly, assigning *IG. VII. 2408* to B.C. 363 and 2407 to B.C. 366 or 365. But as Cary shows in *JHS. XLII*, 190, the whole ingenious argument rests on the assumption that Μαλεκίδας and Διογίτων can only have been boeotarchs together once; and yet these very inscriptions show that that assumption is false, since Ἰππίας and Αἰτώνδας are boeotarchs in both.

Ἀριστίων, Νικόλαος and Ἀγείσινικος held office during the Sacred War (v. *IG. VII. 2418*).

Ἰσμενίας (Δελτ. 1923, 219). The inscription from the archonship of Ἰσμενίας is dated by Pappadaki to the end of the fourth century at latest, on score of dialect and lettering and also because νεώτεροι is used instead of the Attic word ἔφηβοι which is found in the other Thespian inscriptions. It is indeed likely to be rather earlier, since it was evidently engraved before 'ει' became the recognised spelling for the old Boeotian long ε—in two cases ει is used in this inscription, in one η, and in the rest ε; according to Bechtel,<sup>169</sup> this change in orthography took place in the middle of the fourth century. Pappadaki suggests that the Ἐπιτέλεις who was archon of Thespieae under Ἰσμενίας was probably the grandfather of the Ἐπιτέλεις who is mentioned as ἱερομνήμων of Boeotia in *BCH. XXVI*, 265, no. 16. This inscription, as showing fifteen Aetolian ἱερομνήμονες, should belong to the years between B.C. 226 and 222; in any case, the mention of Εὐρύβιος Λυκίσκου Μεγαλοπολίτης<sup>170</sup> the rhapsode shows that the inscription is not to be set far from the Delphic archonship of Callias, which Beloch fixes as B.C. 228. The second Ἐπιτέλεις may have been ἱερομνήμων at an advanced age, but on the whole it seems likely that four generations lie between the first and the second and that Ἰσμενίας should be dated not later than the third quarter of the fourth century.

ΗΣΧΡΩΝΔΑΣ, ΕΥΜΕΙΛΟΣ, ΤΡΙΑΖ AND ΦΙΛΟΚΩΜΟΣ.

In the inscription which dates from the archonship of Ἡσυχρώνδας (*IG. VII. 2724 b*) we find instead of the normal seven ἀφεδριατεύοντες, eight; and one of these is a Chalcidian (Περίπολος Μικιουλίου Χαλκιδεύς). Holleaux has shown in *BCH. XIII*, 7 ff. that the explanation is that for a

<sup>166</sup> The name is restored for-TEA

<sup>167</sup> *Hermes*, XXIV, p. 636.

<sup>168</sup> Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, XXXV.

<sup>169</sup> *op. cit.* p. 219.

<sup>170</sup> *SIG.*<sup>3</sup> 509.

short time at the end of the fourth century Chalcis belonged to the Boeotian League.<sup>171</sup> This period must have ended in B.C. 304, when Demetrius Poliorcetes drove the Boeotian garrison out of Chalcis.<sup>172</sup> In 1889 Holleaux fixed as the earliest possible date for the Boeotian conquest B.C. 312; but in *REG. X.* 155 he shows that the conquest cannot have taken place before the death of Polemaeus in B.C. 308; that adventurer did indeed free Chalcis from Cassander's soldiers in B.C. 312, but he seems to have retained it in his own hands and kept a garrison there. Thus the inscription from the archonship of Ἡσυχρώνδας belongs to one of the years B.C. 308–304.<sup>173</sup> But, as Holleaux points out, the archonships of Εὐμειλος, Τρίαξ and Φιλόκωμος cannot be very far distant in date from that of Ἡσυχρώνδας, since under all Ὀνούμαστος Νικολάϊος of Thespieae is prophet; further, Ἡσυχρώνδας is ἀφεδριατεύων under Τρίαξ, Τρίαξ under Εὐμειλος and Εὐμειλος under Τρίαξ. Φιλόκωμος, on the other hand, is not so closely connected with the other three, and, as Dittenberger argues in his note to *IG. VII.* 3175, probably did not hold office before B.C. 290.

Ἡσχυλος. The name of the Boeotian archon restored as 'Ἡσχυλος' (only 'Ἡσχυ' remains) is found in a Delphian inscription<sup>174</sup> recording a treaty made between the Boeotians on one side and, on the other, the Aetolians and 'Φωκεῦσι τοῖς μετ' Αἰτωλῶν.' Authorities are agreed that the inscription cannot be later than the first years of the third century—Bourget and Walek on the score of the general character of the lettering,<sup>175</sup> Pomtow because of the use of 'Ξ.'<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, the treaty shows the Aetolian federation as a neighbour of Boeotia and as including part of Phocis. It can scarcely, therefore, be much before B.C. 290, since it was at this time that Ozolian Locris and Phocis first came into the hands of the Aetolians.<sup>177</sup> Attempts have been made to fix the date more precisely. Walek, by a process of eliminating other dates, refers the inscription to the second rising of the Boeotians against Demetrius Poliorcetes, which was terminated by the siege of Thebes in B.C. 291. Against this De Sanctis argues that in neither the first nor the second rising were the Aetolians and Phocians 'either the sole or the most important allies of the Thebans,' as the treaty would lead one to suppose. If it refers to the first rising, why are the Spartans not mentioned? If to the second, it is certainly extraordinary that it contains no word of Pyrrhus, since he 'invase appunto la Tessaglia per fare una diversione a loro profitto'—a statement apparently based on Plutarch, *Demetrius*, XL, 1. 1.<sup>178</sup>

It must be admitted that De Sanctis' objection is not conclusive, though his own proposal, B.C. 280, certainly provides a suitable setting for such an alliance. The attack headed by Sparta on Aetolia in that year<sup>179</sup> would explain the absence of any reference to allies of either side, and the position of Antigonos, together with the fact that Boeotia apparently

<sup>171</sup> Eretria was at the same time a member of the League; v. Holleaux, *REG. X.* 157.

<sup>172</sup> Diod. XX. 100, v, and vi.

<sup>173</sup> From the period when Chalcis belonged to the Boeotian League comes *IG. XII.* ix. 912, probably a military list of Chalcis; it is headed 'ἀρχοντος ἐν Ὀν[χιστῶν].'

<sup>174</sup> *SIG.*<sup>3</sup> 366.

<sup>175</sup> *Rev. Phil.* XXXVII. 262.

<sup>176</sup> *Kho.* XV, p. 5, xxxiv.

<sup>177</sup> *Jahrb. Phil.* 1897, pp. 748, 786.

<sup>178</sup> *Atti R. Accad. di Torino*, 1914, p. 685.

<sup>179</sup> Justin, XXIV. 1. i–v.

recovered her independence precisely at this time,<sup>180</sup> the failure to mention Antigonus.

At the same time, in a period where our sources of information are so scanty and so unsatisfactory, it is impossible to decide with certainty between the two dates proposed.

Πολύξενος. In fixing the date of this archonship there is nothing to go on save the dialect and script of the inscription published in *Ἐφημ.* 1909, p. 56. The dialect is pure Boeotian; υ has not ousted οι; υ, in all probability the old Boeotian form, not the later one due to the κοινή, is used in Πολύξενος and ἀσυλία; there are no traces of κοινή influence, except in the use of ἐγγόνως instead of ἐγγόνως and in the fact that κατὰ suffers no apocope; on the first no stress can be laid, since examples appear from the beginning of the third century or possibly even earlier; the second is even less significant, for the phrase κῆ κατὰ γᾶν κῆ κατὰ θάλασσαν seems to have been imitated from the Attic use and with very few exceptions to have preserved the κοινή form. On the other hand, there is no single example of the old Boeotian long ε. The inscription is written στοιχηδόν. These features suggest that it dates from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third.

Ἐράτων. Novosadsky, in *AM.* X, p. 216, suggests that because the recipient of honours in the decree from the archonship of Ἐράτων was a Perrhaebian, the decree is to be assigned to the period when Boeotians and Perrhaebians were alike members of Antigonus Doson's league. The inference is obviously a risky one, and the dialect and character of the script suggest an earlier date. The first is pure Boeotian, showing no trace of κοινή influence and having οι, not υ forms; the second, as far as can be judged, has early letter forms (Novosadsky gives Ξ, while Dittenberger has Ξ). Thus it seems likely that the inscription is not later than the middle of the third century.

#### ΠΑΜΠΕΡΙΧΟΣ AND ΧΑΡΟΠΙΝΟΣ.

Dittenberger (ad *IG.* VII. 4260) conjectured that the archonships of Παμπείριχος and Χαροπίνος were not far apart; his suggestion was shown to be right by the discovery in the Amphiaräum of a large base bearing six proxeny decrees.<sup>181</sup> The two on the face were passed in the archonship of Παμπείριχος, the second one on the right side of the stone (which, according to the custom of Oropus, would be inscribed before the left), in that of Χαροπίνος. In two other widely separated places in the Amphiaräum decrees dating from the two archonships were found together; *IG.* VII. 4259, from the year of Χαροπίνος, was found together with two Παμπείριχος inscriptions (*IG.* VII. 4260 and 4261) on the south side of the conduit marked Δ on the plan in *Πρακτ.* 1884, about level with the end of the large περιβώμιον; the inscriptions *Ἐφημ.* 1919, p. 74, nos. 105 and 106 (Παμπείριχος) and 107 (Χαροπίνος) were found 'βορρᾶθεν τῶν βαθρῶν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ δωματίῳ.' Thus it is probable that Χαροπίνος was the

<sup>180</sup> Beloch, *op. cit.* IV. 1, p. 250, n. 1.

<sup>181</sup> *Ἐφημ.* 1919, p. 54, nos. 98-103.

immediate successor of Παμπερίχως; at any rate, there can have been no long interval between them.

The dates of the two depend on the mention of an Opuntian as the proposer of a proxeny decree in the archonship of Χαροπίνος—Διδύμων Ἐπαρμόστῳ Ὀποέντιος, who proposed *IG. VII. 393* and *Ἐφημ. 1919*, p. 75, no. 107.<sup>182</sup> On this fact as basis the most varied theories have been built. Holleaux originally argued that Opuntian Locris belonged to the Boeotian League between B.C. 234 and 198.<sup>183</sup> Later he treated his earlier arguments as insufficient and was inclined to refer the two inscriptions to a possible earlier period of Boeotian ascendancy over Locris at the end of the fourth century.<sup>184</sup> An advance was made when it was demonstrated from inscriptions found at Delphi that Opuntian Locris was won by Boeotia early in B.C. 272,<sup>185</sup> but it still remained doubtful how long the Boeotian domination lasted. Klaffenbach was inclined to accept Holleaux' view that the references in Livy and Polybius to Opuntian Locris during the Social War show that it was at that time a part of Boeotia; Beloch took the opposite view; and he is proved right by the mention in an inscription dating from the archonship of Λυκίνος of an Opuntian along with four Boeotians as victors in the Mouseia;<sup>186</sup> thus in one of the years between B.C. 209 and 206 Opuntian Locris was independent. No argument against this inference can be drawn from the fact that Halae was still Boeotian in one of the archonships of Φίλων<sup>187</sup> and Larymna at some time between B.C. 178 and 146 (c.);<sup>188</sup> for these two places remained permanently Boeotian.<sup>189</sup> Since there seems to be no obvious occasion on which Boeotia could have lost control of Opus had she possessed it at the time when she freed herself from the yoke of Aetolia, it seems natural to accept Beloch's contention that Opus remained a member of the Boeotian League until B.C. 245; in that year she passed under Aetolian domination along with Boeotia, and escaped from it at the same time, but remained independent from B.C. 236 to the beginning of her second and more lasting subjection to Aetolia in B.C. 198. But this theory, too, must be modified, and again owing to a Delphian inscription; for in the Soteria list<sup>190</sup> dating from the archonship of Aristagoras, placed by Beloch in B.C. 254, a Εὐχαρίδης Ἐπιχάρου Ὀπούντιος is mentioned as victorious τραγῳδός. Thus the subjection of Opus to Boeotia can have lasted only until B.C. 254. The following observations confirm the theory of a date between B.C. 272 and 255 for the archonships of Παμπερίχως and Χαροπίνος. First, a decree which has survived in two all but identical copies from the archonship of Παμπερίχως<sup>191</sup> was proposed by Ἐνδιος Τηλεγόνῳ Πλατταίευσ. This is the sole example of the name 'Ἐνδιος' which occurs in *IG. VII.* Accordingly, it is exceedingly likely that it is the same Ἐνδιος who was ἱερομνήμων of Boeotia in the Delphic archon-

<sup>182</sup> These two inscriptions are all but identical copies of the same decree.

<sup>183</sup> *BCH.* XVI. pp. 466-470.

<sup>184</sup> *REG.* X. p. 178.

<sup>185</sup> *SIG.* 417-419; *Κlio*, XIV. p. 282; Klaffenbach, *Κlio*. XX. p. 76; Beloch, *op. cit.* IV. ii. 431 ff.

<sup>186</sup> *BCH.* XIX. p. 332, no. vi.

<sup>187</sup> *AJ.A.* XIX. p. 445.

<sup>188</sup> Plut. *Sulla*, XXVI; Strabo, IX. 405; Paus. XXIII. 7, XXIV. 5.

<sup>189</sup> *IG.* VII. 4137.

<sup>190</sup> *SIG.* 424.

<sup>191</sup> *IG.* VII. 4261 and *Ἐφημ.* 1919, 54, no. 99.

ship of Pleiston, dated by Beloch to B.C. 265.<sup>192</sup> Again, the Locrian who proposed *IG. VII. 393* and Ἐφημ. 1919, 75, no. 107 was called Διδύμων (or Διδύμων, as the name is spelt in the second inscription). Once more, no other example of the name is mentioned in the indices of *IG. VII.*; it is, therefore, almost irresistible to identify this Διδύμων with the ἱερομνήμων Διδύμων<sup>193</sup> of the archonship of Athambus (B.C. 268, according to Beloch). It need cause no surprise that an Opuntian could play so prominent a part in the country which had absorbed his own; for we have the example of the Opuntian Νικασίχορος, who was twice boeotarch and once hipparch—

δῖς γὰρ ἐνὶ πολέμοις ἀγήσατο τὸν ἀσάλευταν  
νίκαν ἐκ πατέρων τηλόθεν ἄρνύμενος  
καὶ τρίτον ἱππῆων.<sup>194</sup>

It is fortunate that it has proved possible to date these two archonships with comparative accuracy; for the inscriptions from them furnish a welcome and in some respects an unexpected picture of the Boeotian dialect in the first half of the third century. One striking fact is that there is no single example of a patronymic adjective—though this is the less surprising in that there is in the decrees no example of the context where these adjectives survived the longest—namely, a list of names in the genitive. Apart from this absence of patronymic adjectives and from the neglect of the digamma in writing οἰκίας, one of the inscriptions, from the year of Χαροπίνος, is written in pure Boeotian dialect, completely uninfluenced by κοινή—except, indeed, in the formula κῆ κατὰ γὰρ κῆ κατὰ θάλασσαν, where, as almost invariably, the characteristic Boeotian apocope of the preposition is absent. The old Boeotian οἰ is used throughout.<sup>195</sup> Early letter forms are used (*e.g.* Ξ), and the inscription is engraved στοιχηδόν. It was this inscription in particular, together with the military list from Lebadea, *IG. VII. 3068*,<sup>196</sup> which suggested to Holleaux a fourth-century date for Χαροπίνος.

The other inscriptions show the most remarkable diversity of forms, especially in the writing of υ for the older οἰ. For example, *IG. VII. 393* has τῷ δάμυ, τῷ κύνω, but αὐτοῖ; Ἐφημ. 1919, no. 101 τοῖ δάμοι, τῷ κυνῶ and αὐτῶι; *IG. VII. 4260* τοῖ δάμοι, αὐτοῖ, but τῷ κυνῶ; 4261 τῷ δάμυ, but τῷ κυνῶ; Ἐφημ. 1919, no. 98 ‘οἰ’ forms consistently; 99 ‘υ’ forms with the exception of τοῖς προσένοις. Marks of κοινή influence are numerous; Ἐφημ. 1919, no. 101 has καὶ twice; no. 99 has εὐεργέταις (though, according to Buttenwieser, this spelling is found only in verbal endings and in the words καί, δίκαιος and Πλαταιεύς); *IG. VII. 4261* has ἰσοτέλειαν and εἰράνας (the latter occurs also in Ἐφημ. 1919, no. 107), Ἐφημ. 1919, no. 101 has εἰρήνης and γῆν; *IG. VII. 4260*, Ἐφημ. 1919,

<sup>192</sup> *BCH. XXVI.* 250.

<sup>193</sup> *SIG.*<sup>3</sup> 482.

<sup>194</sup> *IG. IX. i.* 270.

<sup>195</sup> Dittenberger reads Φικίας, but Leonardos in Ἐφημ. 1919, 79 maintains that the first letter of the word is κ and a mere stonemason's mistake for ο.

<sup>196</sup> It may, however, be noted that *IG. VII. 3068*

has the form ἀπεργασάντο, and that hitherto it has been doubtful whether this form occurs before the middle of the third century. The inscription from Copae, which is apparently the earliest of the inscriptions in which it is used, cannot be dated exactly (*IG. VII. 2781*); *v.* Buttenwieser, *op. cit.*; Sadée, *op. cit.* 22.

106 have Παμπιρίχῳ, *IG.* VII. 4260, 4261 and probably Ἐφημ. 1919, 99 Παμπειρίχῳ; *IG.* VII. 4260 has ἐώσας. In the two words οἰκίας and ἰσοτέλιαν, the cases where the digamma is written about equal those where it is omitted. In most cases κῆ κατὰ γᾶν κῆ κατὰ θάλατταν is written, without apocope of the preposition; in one (*IG.* VII. 4260), κῆ κατὰ γᾶν κῆ κατ θάλατταν.

The following table may give some idea of the varieties of spelling in the different inscriptions. 'X' is used to represent the normal usage in any one inscription.

	Old Boeotian. οι	Later Boeotian. υ	Boeotian. η	κοινή. αι	Boeotian. ι	κοινή. ει	Older Boeotian. ου	Later Boeotian. υ	F	F omitted.
<i>IG.</i> VII. 4259.	X		X		X		X		—	1
„ 4260	X	1	✓		X		X		2	
„ 4261	<sup>5</sup> + - φ	2	✓	1	✓	2		1		2
„ 393	1	X	X		X		X		1	1
Ἐφημ. 1919. no. 98	X		X		2	3	—	—	1	1
„ „ „ 99	2	7	X	1	3	2		1	2	
„ „ „ 101	<sup>1</sup> + - φ	2	X	2	2	2	—	—	—	1
„ „ „ 105	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ „ „ 106			✓		✓		?		1	1

Some of the examples of κοινή influence should perhaps be ascribed to the carelessness of Oropian stonecutters used to engraving inscriptions in the κοινή spoken in their native town.

Ἀντίγων. A decree in the year of Παμπειρίχῳ and one in that of Ἀντίγων were proposed by a Λύσανδρος Μειλίχῳ Ὠρώπιος;<sup>197</sup> on the other hand, the year of Ἀντίγων is connected with the second archonship of Φίλων by the fact that Εὐβουλος Ἀμύντου Ὠρώπιος, who proposed two decrees in the former, also proposed one in the latter.<sup>198</sup> At first sight it seems possible that the second Λύσανδρος might be a grandson of the first and that the archonship of Ἀντίγων might fall rather later than the second year of Φίλων; but this appears unlikely when we observe that Εὐβουλος Ἀμύντου was active long before Φίλων II, having proposed a decree under Ἐρμάϊος in B.C. 229 at latest. We must therefore suppose

<sup>197</sup> *IG.* 4260, 280.

<sup>198</sup> *IG.* VII. 281, 282, 273.



that the archonship of Ἀντίγων fell about half-way between the year of Παμπείριχος and the second year of Φίλων and that the political activity of Λύσανδρος also extended over a considerable period. It follows that the archonship of Παμπείριχος is in all probability to be placed towards the end of the period B.C. 272–255; otherwise the careers of the two politicians will be made improbably long.

Ἰαροκλείς. As Pappadaki shows, Ἰαροκλείς mentioned in Δελτ. 1923, 228 as ex-archon of the League and commander of the victorious Thespian contingent to the Pamboeotia is the same as the Ἰαροκλείς of *SIG.*<sup>3</sup> 457 who went on an embassy to the τεχνῖται when the Mouseia were converted to an ἄγων στεφανίτης; he also went to Athens on the same errand.<sup>199</sup> Jamot<sup>200</sup> argued that the reorganisation of the Mouseia cannot have taken place before B.C. 246; but his argument is invalid, since it depends on the assumptions that the federal archon Λυκῖνος held office before B.C. 246 and that Opus belonged to Boeotia between B.C. 234 and 198. All that can be inferred from the mention of Λυκῖνος as archon in the Mouseia list published in *BCH.* XIX, p. 332, no. vi is that the reorganisation took place before B.C. 206. Pappadaki, indeed, argues that general probability is in favour of the reorganisation and extension of the games having taken place before the great disaster of Chaeronea in B.C. 245; and it may be freely admitted that his theory is strongly supported by Polybius' description of the state of affairs in Boeotia in the half-century after Chaeronea. But however strong a probability, it remains a probability, not a certainty; and as far as our inscription goes, it is difficult to date it before the middle of the third century, in view of the complete absence of patronymic adjectives, the consistent use of υ for οι forms and the admixture of late letter forms in the script—both ξ and ζ are found, Α and Α, Ξ (once) and Ξ, Ϟ and Ϟ. There may, of course, have been a considerable interval between the time when Ἰαροκλείς served as envoy announcing the enlargement of the Mouseia and the time when, as ex-federal archon, he commanded the Thespian contingent to the Pamboeotia.

Ἐμπεδιώνδας. Dialect and script alike, as Pappadaki points out, mark the inscription from the archonship of Ἐμπεδιώνδας as belonging to the third century. He himself is inclined to assign it to the second half of the century on the grounds that ἔτος is spelt without a F and that an Aetolian form such as Χορσείσις is impossible before the battle of Chaeronea and the ascendancy of Aetolia over Boeotia; the second of these grounds fails to carry conviction; the borrowing of a grammatical form does not imply political subjection and may well have taken place during the earlier part of the century. As for the first, in the inscriptions which date from the years of Παμπείριχος and Χαροπίνος, before the turn of the century, we have noted several cases of the neglect of the digamma. There is, then, no really valid reason for denying that this inscription may belong to the first half of the third century—to which its dialect and script, as Pappadaki

<sup>199</sup> *IG.* VII. 1735.

<sup>200</sup> *BCH.* XIX, 311.

himself says, are entirely suitable; though we cannot deny that it may belong to the second half of the century.

We come now to three archonships which have already been mentioned more than once incidentally—those of Δόρκυλος and the archons of Δελτ. 1923, pp. 200 and 201, whose names have perished. The two last inscriptions are found on the same stone from Acraephia with three others; on the front of the stone is the inscription printed on p. 201, on the right side that on p. 193 (the remission of a debt to the city by one Φρούνιχος), on the left side first the military list printed on p. 200, then the inscription Δ from p. 197, then Β from p. 190. It is natural to assume that the front of the stone was inscribed first and the sides not long after; and the assumption is confirmed for the inscriptions on the left side of the stone by the fact that Ἀριστοκλείς Πασιτίμιος is polemarch on p. 201 and Ἀριστοκλείς Πασιτίμω in Δ. Thus the three inscriptions, p. 200, p. 201 and p. 197 (Δ) may be regarded as of approximately the same age; though if the Πτωιοκλείς Δεξιλάω who is mentioned as an ephebe in the military list on p. 200 be the same as the one who is named among the ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τὸς λάχας in Δ (he may be his grandson), there will probably be some little interval between these two inscriptions. Now the inscriptions printed on pp. 200 and 201 of Δελτ. 1923 (for shortness I shall refer to these inscriptions as ‘200’ and ‘201’) both appear to belong to a period about a generation before the first archonship of Καφισίας (B.C. 223);<sup>201</sup> Καφισόδωρος Θέμωνος is an ephebe in ‘200’; Θέμων Καφισοδώρῳ under Καφισίας I; Πτωιοκλείς [Καλλικλ]εῖος polemarch in ‘201,’ Καλλικλείς Πτωιοκλείος under Ἀθανίας (B.C. 222–219). That Καφίσσει Κλίωνος is polemarch in ‘201,’ and his son, Κλίων Καφίσσιος, in the inscription<sup>202</sup> which is engraved next but one to that from the archonship of Στροτόφαντος (B.C. 190 c.), suggests that ‘200’ and ‘201’ can be very little earlier than B.C. 250. Again, these inscriptions are two generations earlier than those from the archonships of Ἀγαθαρχίδας (soon after B.C. 185), Διωνιουσόδωρος (B.C. 185 c.) and Πολιούστροτος (B.C. 180 c.); for Πτωίων Δαματρίω is polemarch in ‘200’ and his grandson, Πτωίων Δαματρίω, under Ἀγαθαρχίδας,<sup>203</sup> Μελίτων Εὐδάμω and Σάμιχος Μούρωνος, ephebes in ‘201,’ and their grandsons of the same names under Πολιούστροτος and Διωνιουσόδωρος.<sup>204</sup> These references all point to a date about B.C. 250.

Not far removed from these archonships is that of Δόρκυλος, for Ἀριστογείτων Ζενώνιος is secretary in ‘201’ and polemarch in *IG. VII.* 2716, from the archonship of Δόρκυλος; but clearly Δόρκυλος is the earliest of the archons in question, since in *IG. VII.* 2716 the old term θυρεοφόρος is used, in ‘200’ and ‘201’ the later πελοτοφόρος. A date about B.C. 265 will be found to suit all the conditions best. First, Πτωιοκλείς Ἀθανοδώριος was polemarch under Δόρκυλος, and his grandson of the same name under Καφισότιμος (B.C. 221–218);<sup>205</sup> then Νίκων Μελίσσω was an ephebe of Acraephia under Δόρκυλος, and his grandson, Νίκων Μελίσσω, under

<sup>201</sup> *BCH.* XXIII, 197, no. iv.

<sup>202</sup> *IG.* VII. 2720.

<sup>203</sup> *BCH.* XXIII, 193, no. ii.

<sup>204</sup> *BCH.*, p. 195, no. iii and 193, no. i.

<sup>205</sup> *BCH.* XXIII, 198, no. vi.

Ἀγασσιγίτων,<sup>206</sup> who held office in Acraephia before Στροτόφαντος, was archon of the League (B.C. 190 *c.*). Θρασώνδας Μνασίαο was an epebe under Δόρκυλος, and his great-grandson, Μνασίας Θρασωνδάο, under the archon of Acraephia from whose year of office dates *IG. VII. 2721*; <sup>207</sup> this archon was at least two years later than Στροτόφαντος. This last reference suggests that the archonship of Δόρκυλος is unlikely to have been later than B.C. 265; the two following considerations show that it cannot have been much earlier. Πατροκλείς Μαντίας was an epebe under Δόρκυλος, while his son, Μαντίας Πατροκλείος, was secretary under Ἀγαθαρχίδας (soon after B.C. 185).<sup>208</sup> Secondly, an Ἀργίλιος Λαονίκιος is polemarch of Acraephia in *IG. VII. 2716*, and a man of the same name is mentioned in the list of Orchomenians who served as cavalry under Alexander.<sup>207</sup> Both names are so rare that it would be trusting too much to coincidence to deny all connexion between the two men who bore them. To identify them would be to set the archonship of Δόρκυλος far too early to satisfy the conditions of the references we have quoted. We must therefore suppose that the second Ἀργίλιος was the grandson of the first. But if so, he is unlikely to have been polemarch before B.C. 265.

It is impossible to attach any weight to Van Gelder's <sup>209</sup> suggestion that the archonship of Δόρκυλος must be put back to the end of the fourth century or very beginning of the third, because the polemarch Ἀργίλιος must be identified with the Ἀργίλιος of the Orchomenian inscription. He gives his own case away when he writes 'nisi forte nepos potius intellegendus est titulo nostro, vel pronepos.' (Apart from the difficulty of dates, it is more probable that a descendant of an Orchomenian should hold high office in Acraephia than an Orchomenian who had migrated to Acraephia at a mature age.<sup>210</sup>) On this arbitrary assumption as to the date of Δόρκυλος Van Gelder bases his whole framework of dates for the Boeotian archons; the argument, though ingenious, is throughout based on insufficient evidence and embodies results so improbable as the dating of Καφισίας to B.C. 180, while Καφισότιμος is placed in B.C. 240, although his name comes in an inscription to the *right* of that from the archonship of Καφισίας on the Acraephian stone described in *BCH. XXIII. pp. 198 ff.*

Ἀχέλων. In the inscription printed on p. 200 of Δελτ. 1923 a certain Πτωιοκλείς Δεξιλάω is mentioned as an epebe; it may be the same man or conceivably his grandfather, who is one of the ἐπαγγελμένοι τὰς λόχας in Δελτ. 1923, 197. The name is also found as that of an ἀφεδριατεύων in the inscription of the federal dedication from the archonship of Ἀχέλων. This inscription appears from its dialect to be later than the three inscriptions we have been discussing; there are, as Holleaux points out, no patronymic adjectives, though in a list of names in the genitive these adjectives are often found at a period when they are going out of general use—'molestae genitivorum cumulationis vitandae causa,' as Dittenberger

<sup>206</sup> *IG. VII. 2718.*

<sup>207</sup> *BCH. XXIII. 193, no. ii.*

<sup>208</sup> *IG. VII. 3206.*

<sup>209</sup> *Mnemosyne, XXIX. 281.*

<sup>210</sup> To get over this difficulty, Van Gelder suggests

that the three polemarchs who are mentioned in so many of the public documents of Boeotian towns are not the polemarchs of the individual cities, but of the League!

says. Again, an inscription like the present is just the place where we should expect to find operating the other factor which has been adduced to explain the survival of these patronymic adjectives—namely, the conservatism which retains old forms in the nomenclature of officials, particularly in a religious context.<sup>211</sup> Another feature which would make it difficult to date the inscription long before the middle of the third century is that the older Boeotian *οι* has been displaced by *υ*. Thus the dedication gives the impression of belonging to a rather later period than Δελτ. 1923, 200 and 201; accordingly, if the Πτωιοκλείς Δεξιλάω of '200' be not the same as the one of p. 197, it is the first and younger of the two who is to be identified with the official of *IG. VII. 2724 (c)*, the inscription from the archonship of Ἀχέλων. In any case the latter is probably the Πτωιοκλείς who was ἱερομνήμων in the Delphic archonship of Callias (B.C. 228, according to Beloch). The archonship of Ἀχέλων is, however, unlikely to have been later than, say, B.C. 230, since under him Θιογίτων Ὀνάσιμω was secretary to the ἀφεδριατεύοντες; he must have been the father of the Ὀνάσιμος Θιογίτωνος of the Nicareta inscription,<sup>212</sup> and this Ὀνάσιμος was a contemporary of the federal archon Ὀνάσιμος. (There is no adequate ground for identifying the two, as Holleaux does in *BCH. XXIII. 14*; the name 'Ὀνάσιμος' is a fairly common one in Boeotia.)

The same mixture of patronymic adjectives and genitives<sup>213</sup> as we have noted in the Δόρυκλος group of inscriptions characterises *IG. VII. 1795*, from the archonship of Πούθων,<sup>214</sup> and suggests that it belongs to the same period in the middle of the third century, though it is impossible to date the inscription more precisely.

In discussing the dedications of the Boeotian League, Holleaux groups with the two just mentioned others from the years of Λουσίμναστος, Σαμίας Ἰσμενικέτας and Μνάσων. But the grounds he adduces do not necessarily show really close temporal relationship. The last-named archon, Μνάσων, needs no discussion; he is clearly the archon of the Aegosthena lists; and held office between B.C. 214 and 212. The dialect (in particular the *υ* forms which have displaced the old Boeotian *οι* forms) and the script of the inscription in question are entirely suitable to this date.

As for Σαμίας, his archonship is probably to be assigned to the second half of the third century. He is mentioned as archon of the League in *IG. VII. 3207*, as ἱερεὺς τῶν Καβίρων in *IG. VII. 2420* and 2477 and also in 2463. In 1673 a son of Ἰσμενικέτας, whose name is not legible on the stone, is mentioned as ἀφεδριατεύων. It is natural to restore the lost name as Σαμίας, for it is clear that the inscription is of the same date as *IG. VII. 3207*, since in both Δινίας Ἐροτίωνος Θεισπιεύς is prophet. The natural restoration cannot, however, be right, as the last two letters of the name are according to Lolling -κω; thus it must be a brother of Σαμίας and not

<sup>211</sup> Pappadaki, Δελτ. 1923, 200.

<sup>212</sup> *IG. VII. 3172*; also 3173, 3181, 3178.

<sup>213</sup> Lolling's readings show that Holleaux was mistaken in saying that the inscription contained no patronymic adjectives.

<sup>214</sup> The first letters of the name are lost; Dittenberger restored Που]θωνος; in any case it appears improbable that the name can be 'Μνάσων,' as Holleaux thought.

Σαμίας himself. In this whole set of inscriptions the only indication of date apart from dialect and script is that in *IG. VII. 3207* a Πούθων Καλλιγίτονος ὠρώπιος is one of the ἀφεδριατεύοντες. Now a Πύθων Καλλιγίτονος was prominent in Oropus at the beginning of the second century; he proposed decrees in the years when Μόλοττος, Ὀλύμπιχος and Κτησιφῶν were priests of Amphiarauus<sup>215</sup> and not long before the priest-hoods of Σπίνθαρος<sup>216</sup> and Ἑρμοκράτης.<sup>217</sup> The date of the archonship of Σαμίας depends on whether the Πούθων Καλλιγίτονος of *IG. VII. 3207* be considered the same as the Πυθίων of the Oropus inscriptions or as his grandfather; the different spelling is, of course, of no significance, as *IG. VII. 3207* is an inscription of the League, written in dialect, while the Oropian inscriptions in which all other mentions of members of this family occur are in κοινή. If we decide to make the identification we must place the archonship of Σαμίας after B.C. 202, because there is certainly no space for it between B.C. 224 and 202, and probably none between B.C. 230 and 224; to set it earlier than this would make Πούθων too young to be an ἀφεδριατεύων. We have, therefore, to choose between two periods, after B.C. 202 and before B.C. 230 (not necessarily long before, since it is not unlikely that a man should be ἀφεδριατεύων at an advanced age; so that there need be by no means two full generations between the archonship of Σαμίας and the period of the activity of Πύθων Καλλιγίτονος in the politics of Oropus).

In deciding the question we must take into consideration the inscription published in *BCH. XXIII. 588*. In this inscription the two priests are Φοξίνος Ἀθανοδώριος and Ἰσμενικέτας Σαμίης. The latter is almost certainly either the father or the son of our Σαμίας Ἰσμενικέτας; that he is the son is suggested, as Homolle points out,<sup>218</sup> by the fact that Φοξίνος appears to take precedence of him, whereas the name of Σαμίας precedes that of Φοξίνος in the three inscriptions printed in *IG. VII. 2420*; 'la règle du collège,' says Homolle, 'devait être comme à Delphes, que le plus ancien des deux prêtres occupait le premier rang; le deuxième y montait à son tour quand son ancien venait à mourir ou quittait sa place.'<sup>218</sup> There is one slight difficulty—that there are in our inscription three Cabirarchs, whereas in the last inscription of *IG. VII. 2420* there are two. According to Dittenberger's suggestion (ad *IG. VII. 2428*) the college was gradually reduced, from four to three and from three to two; thus the *BCH.* inscription should be earlier than *IG. VII. 2420*. But the

<sup>215</sup> *IG. VII. 333* and *335, 342, 348* and *365*.

<sup>216</sup> Σπινθαρος held office at least two years later than Ἀσώπων, i.e. than B.C. 209–207 (v. *IG. VII. 263–265, Ἔφημ. 1892, 50, no. 79*); since all the priests of Amphiarauus for the years between B.C. 207 and 202 are known, he must have been after B.C. 202. Ὀλύμπιχος was later than Σπινθαρος (*IG. VII. 340, 341*). Μόλοττος was earlier than Σπινθαρος (*IG. VII. 335, 336*), but no long interval can separate them, since decrees from both years occur in the series on the monument of Curio (*IG. VII. 337–343*); these inscriptions give the impression of having been engraved at the same period, and are further

bound together by the repeated mention of Πύθων and Ἀρίστανδρος Καλλιγίτονος as proposers. Ἑρμοκράτης was about the same period as Ὀλύμπιχος, since Πλουταρχίδης Φιλίστου moved decrees under both (*IG. VII. 360, 361, 343*), and Πύθων Καλλιγίτονος proposed the decree which is engraved immediately before those from the year of Ἑρμοκράτης (*IG. VII. 357*). Thus it seems likely that all these priests held office at the beginning of the second century.

<sup>217</sup> *IG. VII. 338, 357*.

<sup>218</sup> *BCH. XXIII, p. 588*.

argument, although ingenious, is based on too slight a foundation to be compelling; all the evidence of the three inscriptions at our disposal warrants us in saying is that the number of Cabirarchs varied at different times. Nothing can be inferred from the fact that patronymic adjectives are used consistently in this inscription and only twice in *IG. VII. 2420*, for the use was an unconscionable time in dying, and sporadic instances occur long after genitives had become the usual practice—*e.g.* the proxeny grant by Orchomenus to the minister of Ptolemy IV.<sup>219</sup> On the other hand, genitives were used as early as B.C. 319–304; witness Ἡσυχριῶνδος Θιομνάστω and Ἡρόδωρος Εὐκώμω in *IG. VII. 2724 (b)*. At the same time, there is no example of the use of a patronymic adjective later than the end of the third century, so that we may perhaps regard this date as the lower limit for our inscription. The second half of the third century is the date suggested by other features of the dialect, in particular by the consistent use of υ forms in place of the older οι forms. The evidence of script tells the same way; the lettering, says Homolle, ‘paraît indiquer la deuxième moitié du troisième siècle. Θ, Ο, Ω plus petits, l’oméga varie de dimension de même de forme, Α avec la barre arrondie, Μ droit et très ouvert, Ν à jambages inégaux, Β, Ρ, Κ très allongés. Extrémités des lettres fleuronées ou du moins évasées.’

If Samias’ son was priest of the Cabiri in the second half of the third century, the question is settled; Samias’ archonship must fall before B.C. 230. This dating is supported by the evidence of script and dialect in the case of four of the five inscriptions in question. *IG. VII. 2477* we will leave out of account; it differs from the other three inscriptions in its lettering and in being written in κοινή. Τιμόκριτος and not Φοξίνος is the fellow-priest of Σαμίας, and the name ‘Τιμόκριτος’ comes second, so that even if other evidence permitted it would be difficult to regard him as the predecessor of Φοξίνος. These three considerations make it seem likely that the Σαμίας in question is a later member of the same house, possibly the son of the Ἰσμενικέτας of *BCH. XXIII* and grandson of our Σαμίας. The other four inscriptions, *IG. VII. 1673, 2420, 2463* and *3207*, are all written in lettering appropriate to the middle or third quarter of the third century, and on the whole the evidence of dialect tells the same way. *1673* appears indeed at first sight to be obviously late, but such forms as Διί and κατά in Dittenberger’s text are restorations; in Πύρραλος we have, it is true, a spelling due to κοινή influence; but the inscriptions from the years of Παμπίριχος and Χαροπίνος have shown us how strong this influence could be even before the turn of the century. *2420*, on the other hand, is free of κοινή influence, and contains such genuine old Boeotian forms as τρεπεδδίτας. The οι forms of *2420* and *3207* are of little help in dating; they might be the old forms surviving or the newer ones introduced from the κοινή; but it would be surprising to find an inscription of the last quarter of the third century where they were used consistently. *2420* contains a rare form in τρις; according to Bittenwieser, this is a late form only found after the end of the third century; but there is another

<sup>219</sup> *IG. VII. 3166*.

instance in the Nicareta inscription (*IG. VII. 3172*, l. 155); and according to Bechtel<sup>220</sup> it is an old Boeotian form to be compared with the Cretan τρίνς. There is, however, an undoubtedly κοινή feature in the ν ἐφελκυστικόν of l. 35. In 3207 it is noticeable that there are no patronymic adjectives, and, further, that the κοινή word ἰαραπεύω is used instead of the Boeotian ἰαράδδω; this feature possibly makes a date much before B.C. 230 unlikely. On the other hand, the lettering appears to be more appropriate to the third than the second century.

Thus both dialect and script support the dating of the archonship of Σαμίας Ἰσμενικέταο to the third quarter of the third century.

With Λουσίμναστος, the third archon of the group, as with Σαμίας, there are two possible dates—either the twenty years or so after B.C. 250 or the beginning of the second century; for, as Pappadaki points out, the Μαντίας Νικοκλείδαο who is one of the ἀφεδριατεύοντες under Λουσίμναστος<sup>221</sup> hails from Acraephia, not Anthedon; and a Μαντίας Νικοκλίδας is polemarch in the military list of Acraephia (*Δελτ.* 1923, p. 201), which we have already dated to about the middle of the third century. If they are the same, Λουσίμναστος must have held office at the earlier of the two possible periods; if the first be a grandson of the second, at the later. Again, script tells in favour of the first alternative; the evidence of the dialect is more difficult to assess. As in the Σαμίας inscriptions, the οἱ forms are used. There are two κοινή forms—the use of Δί for the Boeotian Δι and κατὰ without apocope before τάν; but neither tells strongly against the earlier date; for, according to Bittenwieser, Δί is found from the middle of the third century on and κατὰ towards the end of the third century. No stress can be laid on the ε in Δωρόθεος Ἀριστέας Πλαταιεύς, since Plataea, like Thespieae, Thisbe and Chorsiae, kept ε before vowels when the rest of Boeotia had ι.<sup>222</sup> Νικοκλείδαο does show the κοινή influence; the same name is spelt in *Δελτ.* 1923, p. 201 with the Boeotian ι. But this form is common at all times after the first half of the third century. The dialect, then, offers no obstacle to the placing of Λουσίμναστος where the script of *IG. VII. 1672* and the mention in it of Μαντίας Νικοκλείδαο suggest—not long after the middle of the third century.

Φαστίας. The letter forms of *IG. VII. 3083* seem to suggest that it dates from the end of the third century. The dialect is unaffected by κοινή—its use of υ, not οἱ, forms and the digamma in Φαστίας and Φετία suggest the same date, or at any rate one not later than the beginning of the second century. No inference as to date can be drawn from θοσιής; these ο forms are found occasionally from the beginning of the third century on; e.g. *IG. VII. 3125*, l. 25 (σομφόρω).

Σώστροτος. This archon's name occurs in an inscription of Chorsiae (*IG. VII. 2390*). Since the stone is lost and there is no record of letter

<sup>220</sup> *op. cit.* I, p. 241.

<sup>221</sup> *IG. VII. 1672*.

<sup>222</sup> Bittenwieser, *op. cit.*

forms, and since none of the persons mentioned are known from other references, we have only the dialect to rely on in dating the inscription. To judge from this, it can scarcely be earlier than the middle of the third century, for three of the other inscriptions on the same stone have the newer υ forms for the more usual οι ones; nor long after the end of the century, since in *IG. VII. 2388* the initial digamma is written in the word Φυκία.

Two archons, Σωτήριχος and Ἀρσιφρώνδας, are mentioned in unpublished ephebe lists from Thespieae in the museum at Thebes. Both appear to belong to the second half of the third century.

NOTE ON THE AGE QUALIFICATION FOR THE OFFICES OF POLEMARCH  
AND SECRETARY TO THE POLEMARCHS IN THE BOEOTIAN CITIES

In this paper it has been assumed, as is mentioned on p. 73, that thirty was the minimum age for a polemarch or secretary to the polemarchs in the cities of Boeotia. I have treated this as a mere assumption because there is no external evidence bearing on the point. There is plenty of evidence in the inscriptions themselves; but, as I have pointed out, there are few cases in which it is possible to fix the date of an archon of the Boeotian League with perfect certainty. If, however, Holleaux' dating of Λυκίνος and the dates of Καφισίας, Ἀθανίας, Καφισότιμος and Ἀγαθοκλείς be accepted (there is, I think it will be admitted, an exceedingly strong probability in favour of both), there are clear cases of men of under forty holding office as polemarchs and secretaries; for Φιλοκλίδας Ἀσκληπίνω was an ephebe under Ἀγαθοκλείς (B.C. 220-217) and secretary under Λυκίνος (B.C. 209-207);<sup>223</sup> and Ἀμεινοκλείς Θέμωνος was an ephebe under Ἀθανίας (B.C. 222-219) and polemarch under Λυκίνος.<sup>224</sup> Then there is Καφισίας Πολιουμείλω, who was an ephebe under Ἀριστόμαχος (B.C. 206 c.) and secretary under Δαμάτριος II (B.C. 200-192?).<sup>225</sup> Ἐπιχάρεις Λιούσωνος must have been well under forty in the year of Ἀγαθαρχίδας (not long after B.C. 185), when he was polemarch of Acraephia; for his father, Λιούσων Ἐπιχάριος, was an ephebe under Καφισότιμος (B.C. 221-218).<sup>226</sup> These cases are perhaps exceptional; the career of Πολιουκλείς Μνασίνω was probably more typical (he was secretary in the year of Ἀρτιούλας; in the archonship of Φιλόξενος, which was close to that of Ἀρτιούλας, his son was an ephebe, so that Πολιουκλείς must have been well over forty during his secretaryship; he was polemarch about B.C. 185 under Ἀγαθαρχίδας and Θεότιμος II, when he must have been over fifty<sup>227</sup>). So too Θιόδωρος Δαμονίκω must have been about fifty when he was polemarch in the archonship of Εὐμαρίδας (B.C. 200), for his son was twenty in B.C. 204 (Φίλων II<sup>228</sup>). Καλοκλίδας Μαντιξένω was an ephebe under Καφισότιμος (B.C. 221-218) and polemarch shortly before B.C. 190, when Ἀγασσιγίτων was archon of Acraephia.<sup>229</sup> Καπίων Τίμωνος would be well over forty in B.C. 203 (Διωνιούσιος) when he was polemarch, since his son was an ephebe about B.C. 200 (Εὐμαρίδας).<sup>230</sup> However, though these and many similar cases shew that the eponymous magistrates of the Boeotian towns were often men of fifty and more, the instances quoted above are sufficient to show that the minimum age of both polemarchs and secretaries must not be placed higher than thirty.

<sup>223</sup> *BCH. XXIII.* 199, no. vii, 200, no. viii.

<sup>224</sup> *BCH. XXIII.* 197, no. v, 200, no. viii.

<sup>225</sup> *IG. VII.* 2810, 2826.

<sup>226</sup> *BCH. XXIII.* 193, no. ii, 193, no. vi.

<sup>227</sup> *IG. VII.* 2811, 2812, 2822, 2823.

<sup>228</sup> *IG. VII.* 2819, 2815.

<sup>229</sup> *BCH. XXIII.* 198, vi; *IG. VII.* 2718.

<sup>230</sup> *IG. VII.* 2817, 2819.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARCHONS OF THE BOEOTIAN LEAGUE

In the following table the order of the archons is to some extent conjectural. A line connecting the names of two archons means that the second is known to have been later than the first. The names of those archons whose dates can be fixed only vaguely have been put to the right of the main column.

2	The second century.	3 <sup>m</sup>	The middle of the third century.
3	The third century.	3 <sup>1/2</sup>	The second half of the third century.
3 <sup>1/2</sup>	The beginning of the third century.	3 <sup>1/4</sup>	The end of the third century.
3 <sup>1/4</sup>	The first half of the third century.		
Θιοτέλεις	Not far from B.C. 364.		
Ἀριστίων	B.C. 355-348.		
Νικόλαος	B.C. 354-347.	Ἰσμενίας,	4 <sup>m</sup> .
Ἀγείσινικος	B.C. 353-346.		
Ἡσυχρώνδας	B.C. 308-304.		
Εὐμείλος and Τρίαξ	About the same time (308-304).	Πολύξενος,	4 <sup>1/2</sup> or 3 <sup>1/2</sup> .
Φιλόκωμος	B.C. 290 (c).		
Ἡσχυλος	B.C. 293-292 or 280.	Ἐράτων,	3 <sup>1/2</sup> .
Δόρκυλος	B.C. 265 (c).	Ἐμπεδιώνδας,	3
Παμπείριχος	Not long before B.C. 255.		
Χαροπίνος	B.C. 272-255 (probably little before 255).		
Ἀχέλων	B.C. 250-230 (c).	Ἰαροκλεῖς,	3 <sup>m</sup> .
Λουσίμναστος	B.C. 250-230 (c).	Πούθων,	3 <sup>m</sup> .
Σαμίας Ἰσμενικέταο	B.C. 250-230 (c).		
Ἀντίγων	B.C. 230 (c).		
Ἑρμάιος	B.C. 229 (c).	Σώστροτος	3 <sup>1/2</sup> .
Ἀμείνιχος	B.C. 228 (c).	Σωτείριχος	3 <sup>1/2</sup> .
Πρωτόμαχος	B.C. 227 (c).	Ἀμείνιχος	3 <sup>1/2</sup> .
Ἀπολλόδωρος	B.C. 226 (c).		
Φίλων I	B.C. 225 (c).	Χηρώνδας	Before B.C. 224.
Κτεισίας	B.C. 224 (c).		
Καφισίας	B.C. 223.		
Ὀνάσιμος	B.C. 222-217.	Ἀθανίας	B.C. 222-219.
Ἰππίας	B.C. 221-216.	Καφισότιμος	B.C. 221-218.
Ἰλλος	B.C. 220-215.	Ἀγαθοκλεῖς	B.C. 220-217.
-ονίδας	B.C. 219-214.		
Χαρίλαος			

Χαρίλαος	B.C. 215-213 (probably 215).		
Μνάσων	B.C. 214-212 ( „ 214).		
Ἀριστοκλείς	B.C. 213-211 ( „ 213).		
Νικίας	B.C. 212-210 ( „ 212).		
Θεότιμος	B.C. 211-209 ( „ 211).		
Δαμόφιλος	B.C. 210-208 ( „ 210).		
Λυκῖνος (P. of A. Ἀσώπων)	B.C. 209-207 ( „ 209).		
Χαρίδαμος	B.C. 208-206 ( „ 208).		
Ἱππαρχος	212-205 ( „ 207-205).		
Ἀριστόμαχος			
Νίκων		Φαστίας	3 <sup>rd</sup> . or 2 <sup>nd</sup> .
Φίλων II	B.C. 204.		
Διωνιούσιος	B.C. 203.		
Στράτων	B.C. 202.		
Εὐμαρίδας	B.C. 201-193 (probably 201 or soon after).		
Ποτιδάχης	B.C. 200-192 (probably 200 or soon after).		
Εὐέργος	B.C. 201 (c).		
Ἀρίστων	B.C. 201-190 (c).		
Δαμάτριος I	B.C. 201-194.		
Κόμμαδος	B.C. 200-193.		
Δαμάτριος II	B.C. 200- ?.		
Φιλόξενος	B.C. 196-189 (c).		
Ἀρτιούλας	B.C. 196-189 (c).		
Στροτόφαντος	B.C. 190 (c).		
Διωνιουσόδωρος	B.C. 185 (c).	Καφισίας II	B.C. 185 (c).
		Εὐκλίδας and Θεότιμος II	B.C. 185 (c).
Ἀγαθαρχίδας	Soon after B.C. 185.		
Πολιούστρτος	B.C. 180 (c).		
Ἀνδρόνικος	B.C. 175-168.		
Ἱππόνικος	After B.C. 146.		

## PRIESTS OF AMPHIARAUS MENTIONED IN THIS ARTICLE

PRIESTS.	FEDERAL ARCHONS.	
Αἰσχίνης	Ἑρμᾱίος	B.C. 229 (c).
Ἀρίστιππος	Πρωτόμαχος	B.C. 227 (c).
Ἀσώπων	Λυκῖνος	B.C. 209-207.
Γλαύκων	Ἀπολλόδωρος	B.C. 226 (c).
Δαμοκράτης	Διονυσίουσιος	B.C. 203.
Δημαίνητος	Φιλόξενος	B.C. 196-189 (c).
Δημόστρατος	Ἱππαρχος	B.C. 212-205 (probably 207-205)
Διόδωρος	Χαρίδαμος	B.C. 208-206.
Ἐξηκεστίδας	Νίκων	Not much before B.C. 205.
Ἐπικράτης I	Δαμόφιλος	B.C. 210-208.
Ἐπικράτης II	Στράτων	B.C. 202.
Ἑρμοκράτης	— (v. p. 108, note 216)	2 <sup>III</sup> .
Θεόδωρος	Φίλων I	B.C. 225 (c).
Κλεόμαχος	Καψίστας I	B.C. 223.
Μόλοττος	— (v. p. 108, note 216)	2 <sup>III</sup> .
Νίκιππος	Φίλων II	B.C. 204.
Νικολαίδας	Ἀμείνιχος	B.C. 228 (c).
Ὀλύμπιχος	— (v. p. 108, note 216)	2 <sup>III</sup> .
Πίργης	Ἀριστόμαχος	B.C. 206 or little earlier.
Πυροκλείδης	Ἀρτιούλας	B.C. 196-189 (c).
Σπίνθαρος	— (v. p. 108, note 216)	2 <sup>III</sup> .
Φάινιος	Νικασάρετος	2 <sup>III</sup> .
Φανόστρατος	Εὐέργος	B.C. 201 or soon after.
Φιλιππίδης	Θεότιμος I	B.C. 211-209.
Ὡρωπώδωρος	Ποτιδαίχως	B.C. 200 or soon after.

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CHRISTINA BARRATT.

## NOTES

### Hero's and Pseudo-Hero's Adjustable Siphons.

—In the first book of Hero's *Pneumatics*, chaps. 4-6, there is a description of a way in which it is possible to make water flow at a constant and adjustable rate. This is the old problem of the water-clock, in which the flow of water has to be constant during the day, but must be adjusted from day to day to suit the unequal length of the hours, which were reckoned from sunrise to sunset, and so were long in summer but short in

The adjustment is made by means of a screw, which determines the relative positions of the float and the siphon. The siphon is not fixed to the float, but passes through a tube, which is soldered to the top and bottom of the hollow float: on the top of the float he builds a contrivance like the letter Π, the siphon passing

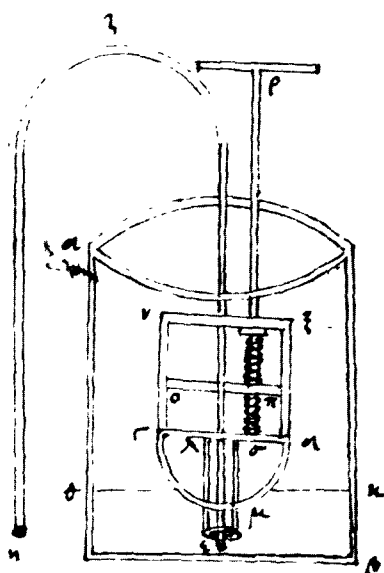


FIG. 1.—THOTTSKI SAMLING, 215 fol. Fol. 11 r.

The figure shows Hero's adjustable siphon. The siphon is carried by the float, but is not fastened to it directly: the cross-piece,  $\sigma\pi$ , to which it is made fast, is adjustable by means of the screw  $\rho$ .  $\gamma\delta\nu\xi$  is the Π-shaped frame carried by the float

winter. Hero solves the problem in the following way:—

In the container he places a siphon, through which the water flows: this siphon he places on a float, which sinks down slowly as the water drains out. The rate of the flow depends upon the depth of the outer end of the siphon below the surface of the water of the container: as the float follows the surface, the depth is constant, and so is the rate of the flow.

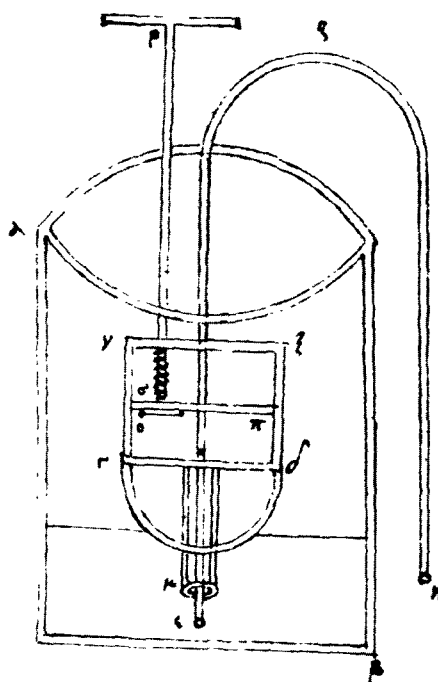


FIG. 2.—THOTTSKKE SAMLING, 215 fol. Fol. 10 r.

This is almost the same figure as Fig. 1, the only difference being in the placing of the screw.

The screw nut must be in the upper cross-piece,  $\nu\xi$ , while the sliding cross-piece,  $\sigma\pi$ , has a smooth hole. This construction is without foundation in the text.

freely through the cross-piece. The two uprights are slotted to guide a loose cross-piece, to which the siphon is made fast: a vertical screw goes through the upper cross-piece and rests on the top of the float: a sort of screw nut is contrived in the loose cross-piece. A drawing in a manuscript of Hero's *Pneumatics* in the Royal Library

in Copenhagen, Thottske Samling Nr. 215, fol., shows this construction plainly (see Fig. 1): in addition there is shown, on the screw, a washer just below the fixed, upper cross-piece. In another drawing in the same manuscript there is a slightly different construction (see Fig. 2): the screw stops short at a washer just beneath the loose cross-piece; this form, which has no warrant in the text, is possible; only the screw nut must then be in the fixed cross-piece. Hero's own construction is better, since the screw is guided at both ends.

Pseudo-Hero, the anonymous reviser of Hero's *Pneumatics*, whom W. Schmidt fixes at about the sixth century A.D., has given another construction of the same apparatus. He places the  $\Pi$ -shaped

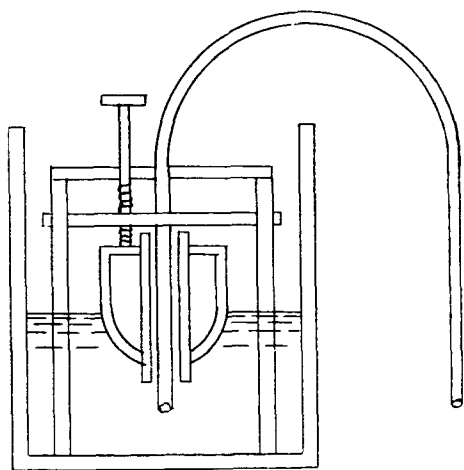


FIG. 3.—DIAGRAM OF PSEUDO-HERO'S ADJUSTABLE SIPHON.

The  $\Pi$ -shaped frame is standing on the bottom of the container: the lower cross-piece, carrying the siphon and the screw nut, slides freely in slots in the uprights. The height of the siphon is determined by means of the screw, which rests on the float. Both siphon and screw pass freely through the upper cross-piece.

frame on the bottom of the container, straddling over the float, without changing anything else (Fig. 3). There is an error in the text, however, to the effect that the siphon is soldered into the float. This, of course, would make any adjustment impossible. W. Schmidt, in his *Einleitung, Supplementhefte*, pp. 57 sqq., contends that, even if we disregard this as a mere faulty transmission, the whole construction is unsound, made at the writing-desk, and cannot work at all.

W. Schmidt's argument has failed altogether to convince me; to me the construction seems not only sound, but a distinct improvement. To try it out I have made two models, one of each

of the two instruments, and I have found out, not only that Pseudo-Hero's siphon will work quite well, but also, to some extent, why he made this change (Fig. 4).

Anyone who compares the drawing with the photograph of the model will see at once the enormous difference in the proportions. In the model the big, fat float can carry only a very small frame and the thinnest brass tube possible. This is because I wanted a stable equilibrium, which is borne out by the drawing, which shows no guide of any sort for the siphon. If an unstable equilibrium is used, the float can be made much smaller, but then the siphon must be guided in two places, or the float will pull it out of its true vertical position. Hero describes, chap. 6, a guide for the siphon, but only at one point. He writes:

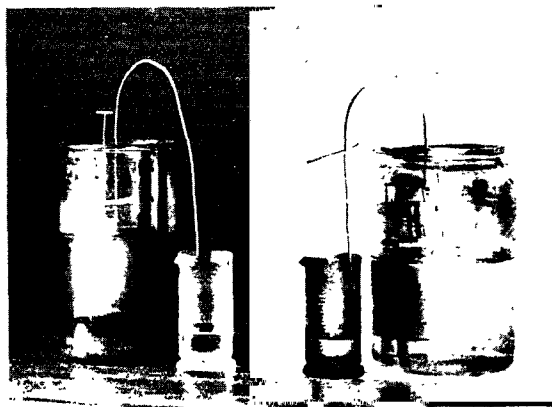


FIG. 4.—MODELS OF THE TWO CONSTRUCTIONS.

On the right is Hero's, on the left Pseudo-Hero's siphon. First Hero's siphon was adjusted to drip at a certain rate; then Pseudo-Hero's siphon was adjusted to drip at the same rate.

Δεῖ δὲ ὁρθὸν τὸν σίφωνα καταβαίνειν, εἰ μέλλοι τὸ δέον ποιεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἂν πρὸς τῷ χεῖλει τοῦ AB ἀγγείου δύο ὀρθοὺς κανόνας πῆξαντες τὸ ἐντὸς σκέλος τοῦ σίφωνος μεταξύ τούτων τάξωμεν ψαῦον ἑκατέρου αὐτῶν τῶν κανονίων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐντὸς σκέλει τοῦ σίφωνος τυλίον ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους συμφύεις ποιήσωμεν ψαῦον ἐντὸς τῶν κανονίων· οὕτως γὰρ οὔτε ἐπὶ τὰ πλάγια οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ὁ σίφων ἐγκλισιν σχήσει· ὁρθῶς δὲ ἀκριβῶς καταβήσεται προστριβόντων τῶν τυλίων τοὺς κανόνας.

The siphon must move vertically, if it is to do its duty. This will happen if we fix two upright sticks on the lip of the container and place the inner arm of the siphon between them so that it touches both of them, and make fast on either side of the inner arm of the siphon a peg touching the sticks on the inside. For then the siphon can neither incline to the sides nor

forward: so it must move absolutely straight, as the pegs rub against the sticks.' The construction is not quite clear. W. Schmidt, being misled by a drawing of the Pseudo-Heronian instrument, gives a translation not at all in keeping with the text. If the siphon is to touch the uprights all along its length, then the pegs cannot touch them on the inside also. But if we take the words τυλίον . . . ψαῦον ἐντὸς τῶν κανωνίων to mean that the inside of the peg touches the uprights, then the construction may have been as shown in Fig. 5. But even so this is only a guide for one end, or, rather, one point of the siphon: unless its lower end was guided too, it would not keep straight, but would jam in the guides, as long as the float was not in a state of stable equilibrium. In Pseudo-Hero's construction the siphon is

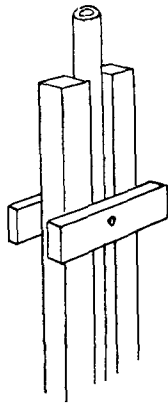


FIG. 5.—RECONSTRUCTION OF HERO'S GUIDE FOR THE UPPER END OF THE SIPHON.

The two cross-pieces are made fast on the siphon, and slide along the upright guides.

guided in two places, in the bridge and in the guide on top: this makes it far more manageable.

The question whether Pseudo-Hero's siphon will work seems a particularly idle one; but I have my own reason for being interested in Pseudo-Hero, and more especially in his siphon. I have mentioned that, in Hero's construction, 'a sort of screw nut' was used. It is a smooth hole, through which the screw passes, with a small peg, *τύλος*, thrust in from the side to engage the screw thread. This is the usual method, in Hero, for making small screw nuts: big screw nuts, for oil presses, he can make by means of an instrument made for the purpose, as described in his *Mechanics*, Book 3, chap. 21. But Pseudo-Hero writes straight away 'female screw,' *κοχλίαν ὀήλυν*. If we may take him at his word, this is the first mention of a screw nut of such small dimensions in antique literature. Unfortunately, though his siphon will work, and so is a real,

practical thing, this is no proof that he did not just mean a hole with a *τύλος* in it. But the point seems worth noting all the same.

A. G. DRACHMANN.

**Keftiu.**—In *JHS.* li, 286, Prof. Sayce published a note from which I am happy to find that I have his support for the main thesis of my article *Keftiu: Cete or Cilicia?* However, some of his remarks demand a word from me in reply.

Prof. Sayce still uses the word 'Keftiu' as if it were the name of the people and not that of the land. Like so many others he speaks of 'the Keftiu,' 'the Kastian,' etc. This assumes that the name of the land was 'Keft,' and that of an inhabitant a 'Kefti,' making its plural 'Keftiu' in the normal way. But this is not so. The name of the land itself was 'Keftiu,' and a native was called a 'Keftiu-i,' a form which actually occurs (Wainwright, in *LA.* vi, 82, No. 18). The plural of this, of which, however, no example survives, would be 'Keftiu-iu.' The land must, therefore, be called Keftiu, and the inhabitants 'the people of Keftiu' or 'Keftiuans' or by some similar epithet.

Prof. Sayce objects to my remark that the identification of Keftiu and Caphtor 'is no doubt correct,' yet it is a little difficult to see wherein his objection lies. He admits that Thothmes III's Hymn of Victory associates Keftiu with Asia or Cyprus. A few lines further back he has said 'Kaptara would be either Cyprus or part of the coast of south-eastern Asia Minor.' Thus, his position is that the names Keftiu and Caphtor were applied to the same district, but yet have nothing to do with each other. Of course anything is possible, but this seems scarcely probable.

I do not understand his statement, '*f* is not the same as *p*.' The position seems to be that already by 2700 B.C. cuneiform provides a name *Kaptara*, which Prof. Sayce admits is equivalent to the Hebrew *Caphtor*. Yet here in the words under discussion we have the equivalence he rejects. If the *p* of the cuneiform represents *f* in Hebrew it surely gives an *a priori* case for its representing the *f* in the Egyptian Keftiu. An original Semitic *p* may turn up in Egyptian as both *p* and *f*, as may be seen in Burchardt, *Die altkanaanaischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, ii, Nos. 434, 442, where the one word is reproduced both as *pdr* and *ftr*. In No. 439 the Semitic *p* again becomes the Egyptian *f*. The ancient use of *p* in the name Kaptara strengthens my suggestion that the *pp* of Cappadocia is another reproduction of the same root *k*, *f* (*p*), *t* (*d*). Another name has been met in the

study of Keftiu, which bears on this question. It is Ziklag, the Philistine city whose king had the Keftiuan name of Achishi. Zikl-ag seems to be formed of the tribal name Zakkal and an ending -ag, and so to be similar in construction to Καππαδ-οκ-ια.

Prof. Sayce mentions the pair of Kom Ombo lists. These date from the latest Ptolemaic or even early Roman times, and are merely a heterogeneous collection of misspelt names written at a time when the hieroglyphs were practically a dead script. They are an attempt to imitate the splendours of the great Pharaohs of twelve and fifteen hundred years earlier. Of what value is a discussion of the names they include? They only form collections of names with no information about any of them. All that can be said is that one of the lists includes *Kptar* and the other a name which by courtesy has been read 'Keftiu' (Wainwright, in *op. cit.*, p. 82, No. 25), although Prof. Sayce says it is not included. Of these *Kptar* is new to Egyptian records, and its neighbour *Prs* (Persia?) is not much older.

Prof. Sayce speaks of 'Asia Minor, where no tin is found (contrary to Mr. Wainwright's statement).' I have no recollection of having stated that it is found there. On the contrary, I am very conscious that the absence of tin from Asia Minor emphasises a major lacuna in our knowledge of early international trade. Prof. Sayce thinks of Spain or perhaps Tuscany as the source. Trade down the Danube from Saxony and Bohemia is perhaps less improbable. But in view of recent discoveries concerning early trade and influences in Babylonia, the tin deposits of northern Persia seem to offer the most likely solution of the difficulty. At least one commodity is already well known as coming in from the East and from still further away. This is lapis-lazuli, which had been traded from Afghanistan long before tin was required for bronze-making.

Whether the Keftiuan name *Nzy* can be the Hittite -*nazi* or not, which only forms the second part in a compound name, makes very little difference. The fact still remains that, in Greek times at any rate, there was an independent name Νησις, Νησιος, Νησιων, in the territory which Keftiu had included. On the other hand, the suggestion is valuable that the second name on the writing board might represent the Syro-Hittite Iskharā, as is the further suggestion that the *kpp* of the incantation probably represents the Asianic goddess Κυρήνη. Others have already drawn my attention to this probability. Both of these are further pointers to an Asianic situation for the land of Keftiu.

Finally, one can only agree that it is indeed a mystery that hitherto no sign should have been found in the Hittite inscriptions of a name like Keftiu. But time no doubt will explain the difficulty.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

#### On the Occurrence of Tin in Asia Minor and in the Neighbourhood of Egypt.—

I have read with great interest Prof. Sayce's discussion on the home of the Keftiu in the previous part of the *JHS.*, and I am glad to see that on the whole he shares Mr. Wainwright's views, which I myself believe to be correct, if only we admit the possibility that Cretans may have been included under the term during a short period. Prof. Sayce definitely states, in opposition to Mr. Wainwright, that no tin is found in Asia Minor. He seems not to be aware that in the *Sitzb. Kgl. Bayer. Ak. d. W., Ph. Hist. Kl.* 1911, 6, pp. 6 ff., I have quoted Hintze, *Handbuch d. Mineralogie*, I, pp. 1678 ff., where it is stated (p. 1702) that at Eskishehir, in Central Asia Minor, tin had been found quite recently and that the mines were exploited under the old Turkish government. Prof. Rothpletz, the well-known authority on alpine geology and mineralogy, at that time of the University of Munich, added that there was every chance of tin occurring as 'Seifenzinn' or 'Stromzinn' on Sinai and in the desert between Assuan and the Red Sea. This form of tin occurs only in comparatively small quantities, and is very easily obtained, as it lies right on the surface of the district where it is found. It may be interesting to remember that a tradition alluded to by S. Reinach in *R.I.* 1915, II, p. 244, connects Midas of Phrygia with the introduction of tin into the eastern Mediterranean, and the reports of tin occurring in Armenia, Persia and Aleppo (*JE.I.* XIV, p. 100) may after all be nearer to truth than some are prepared to admit. It seems that the question of the occurrence of tin in the eastern part of the Mediterranean world ought to be reconsidered by a capable geologist and mineralogist: at any rate, as far as our present knowledge goes, there seems to be good reason to suppose that tin was available without too much trouble to the peoples living on the southern coast of Asia Minor.

F. W. VON BISSING.

**The Orient and Greece.**—On p. 289 of the last volume of the *Journal* Dr. Roes refers to the discovery at Nineveh by Dr. Campbell Thompson of large quantities of 'the black-painted ware



the like of which is found in South Mesopotamia and Persia,' in Parthian houses erected among the ruins of the destroyed temple of Ishtar. She discourages Dr. Thompson's suggestion that they were part of the 'collection' of a Parthian antiquary and suggests that 'the discovery must mean that in the days of the Parthians the vases were still being made somewhere.'

I also feel sceptical about Dr. Thompson's Parthian antiquary, but think that Dr. Roes probably does not realise the peculiar nature of the site. Quvunjik is an immense mound rising about 100 feet above the bed of the Khosr that flows under it. There are two possible methods

of settling on a mound such as this: you may build houses on top or you may cut terraces in the side: the latter method plays havoc with the stratification, but it has certainly been employed by some of the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, Nebbi Yunus. On a site where the prehistoric mound has been hacked and mutilated in this fashion it is not surprising that prehistoric vases should sometimes be found in Parthian houses. It is certainly surprising that so many pots should have been discovered intact, but the complete examples tended to be miniature in size.

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**The Early Age of Greece.** By SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY. VOLUME II, edited by A. S. F. GOW and D. S. ROBERTSON. Pp. xxviii + 747. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1931. £1 10s.

Five years have passed since Ridgeway κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων. Thirty elapsed between the publication of the first and second volumes of his chief work. These figures shew sufficiently how huge his project was, and how hardly realisable by any one man. This is not the continuation he had planned, but merely a collection of fragments from the vast heap of half-ready material which he left behind. It was well done to bring it out, even though parts of it shew all too clearly that they were written three decades ago; for there should be a monument of so notable a man.

One is reminded, in reading Ridgeway's work, of another outstanding figure whose abilities gained him knighthood, Sir Edward Marshall Hall. Scholarship, like law, has its learned judges who sum up impartially and its eloquent counsel who put forward one side of a case, not always the better, with persuasive tongues or pens. Both have their uses; Ridgeway was of the pleaders, not of the judges, and the cause he pled was, like most causes, neither wholly right nor wholly wrong. It was his strength that he saw all that could be urged on its behalf; his weakness, that he apparently could not see the arguments which made most strongly against it. Hence this book, like all he wrote, is a mixture of good and bad, of pages of enduring value and others to be forgotten or set down to the one-sidedness which goes with the pleader's eloquence. One fault it never has: sound or unsound, it is not dull.

The four chapters which, in the present work, follow a judicious and well-written introduction by A. J. B. Wace, deal with several aspects, and those not the least controversial, of Ridgeway's general theory, that in pre-Achaian Greece there lived a 'Pelasgian' people, which spoke a form of Greek, created the Mycenaean civilisation, had a social organisation characterised by mother-right and practised a religion in which the tendance of the dead and the cult of ancestors were prominent: and that the Achaians, who, like the later, Thrako-Illyrian, Dorians, came down upon them from the north, were a patrilineal people

who knew nothing of ghost-worship and resembled the Kelts, to whom they were akin, in their culture. Three hundred and fifty-four pages are devoted to handling 'Kinship and Marriage'; pp. 355-415 treat of 'Murder and Homicide'; next comes 'Fetish, "Totem" and Ancestor,' pp. 416-503; while over two hundred pages are taken up with a discussion of 'Ireland in the Heroic Age,' a subject dear to Ridgeway both as connected with his general theory of Achaian origins and on patriotic grounds.

The first chapter is a very good illustration of Ridgeway's barrister-like mind. Its object is twofold: to refute the proposition of M'Lennan, that the Greeks in general were matrilineal, and to confirm his own doctrine, that his 'Pelasgians' and their kinsfolk, the supposedly 'Aryan' peoples elsewhere in Europe, did practise polyandry and female succession, as he puts it (p. 35). While arguing against M'Lennan he shews the greatest acuteness in rebutting that writer's evidence; when pleading his own cause, he seems content to take as proof anything which a fertile imagination can twist into supporting his case. For example, on p. 50 he cites the ancient Welsh laws as shewing the former existence of female descent, not among the Kelts, who are, like the Achaians, patrilineal, but among the darker peoples whom they conquered. The laws in question say, firstly, that the *wergelt* (*galanas*) due from a man-slayer is payable to the extent of one-third by his mother and her kin; secondly, that the son of a Welshwoman and an *alltud* (alien, metic) can inherit (apparently) personal property, but not real estate, from his mother's kin. In other words, these laws, which as we have them are mediaeval, however remote the ultimate origin of some parts of them may be, recognise, at that comparatively late date, what all Europe had recognised for centuries, the fact that a child has two parents. If there are any who are still moved by 'proofs' of this sort (it is to be remembered that Ridgeway wrote the passage in question some thirty years ago), they will find in the thirtieth chapter of *Tristram Shandy* good evidence that mother-right lingered on among the lower classes in England, and even among some few of the country gentry, as late as the eighteenth century. "'Let the learned say what they will, there must certainly," quoth my

uncle Toby, "have been some sort of consanguinity between the Duchess of Suffolk and her son."—"The vulgar are of the same opinion," quoth Yorick, "to this hour." But I need not linger over this part of the book: since it was written, or at all events since it was drafted, we have come to understand a great deal more clearly what kinship means to peoples below the civilised condition.

A question far from being settled yet is, what precisely is meant by 'race.' It is difficult to tell what it meant to Ridgeway, and the reader is tempted to believe that he inclined towards whatever meaning would best fit the argument in hand. Thus, on p. 260, he argues acutely against some of the orthodox physical tests. 'This assumption' (viz. that 'similarity of type means identity of race') 'does not bear the test of scientific examination, for . . . it leaves altogether out of sight the effects of environment in changing racial types, and that, too, in no long time.' He goes on to cite perfectly correct and pertinent examples from America and Africa of the approximation by the white settlers to native build and features. 'The same law, as is well known, can be seen at work in Europe. Starting from the Mediterranean we meet in the lower parts a melanochrous race; but gradually, as we advance upwards, the population as a whole is growing less dark, until finally, along the shores of the Baltic, we meet the tallest and most light-complexioned race in the world. . . . The white race of the north is of the same proximate ancestry as the dark-coloured peoples of the northern shores of the Mediterranean.' If, then, Swede and Neapolitan may be mere differentiations from a common stock, we expect to find him producing some other criterion of race than stature and complexion, or head-shape, or eye-colour, which he elsewhere finds unsatisfactory (p. 275 sqq.). Language he, rightly, will not admit to be, by itself, a sufficient criterion: sociological characteristics he treats with scant courtesy (p. 275): 'we have already seen in the present chapter that succession through males is worthless as a test.' Yet a few pages later (p. 304) he is urging that 'language, when properly understood and used, must be included as a valuable criterion of race along with osteology, pigmentation and sociology, although, like these, it cannot by itself be regarded as an infallible test.' This is sane and reasonable: but it clashes with his eloquent proofs that the value of each of these tests is practically *nil*. The fact seems to be, that he started with a theory founded on an inadequate and over-simple idea of racial characteristics and then, as his knowledge increased to take in more modern researches, in

somatology especially, tried still to make it fit a mass of facts that tended to make its very basis unstable. So long as he could believe in the existence of two practically immutable races, one dark and the other light, he could profitably try to fit each with certain elements from the complex of customs known to have existed from proto-historic times in Europe: when the invariants of his equation proved to be variables, he still persisted in trying to solve it, with but indifferent success.

His excursions into philology are on the whole unhappy. He could shew the absurdity of a freakish theory in a delightful manner, as will be seen by a glance at p. 313: but he was ill-advised to attack serious philologists on their own ground. His ingenuity and sharpness of wit enabled him occasionally to score even here: he seems to have been the first to suggest (see p. 237) that the name Quirinus does not really contain a labio-velar sound, a theory since strengthened by the ingenious suggestion of Kretschmer that it is derived from *co* and the stem of *uiri-tim*: but when he deals, for instance, with the place-names having the suffix *-u-*, he seems (p. 316 sqq.) to think more of scoring points against his opponent (at this stage Professor Murray) than of facing the real issue. The non-Wiro character of the names in question does not rest on any theories as to the language spoken in early times at this or that point of the Mediterranean basin, but on the fact that they cannot be made to yield any sense by comparison with known Wiro words, and therefore are gravely suspect of being foreign, suffix and all.

Of his treatment of bride-price I will not speak here, since some of our best evidence concerning its real nature comes from researches on African soil made since his death: but a word must be said regarding his views on religion. They are summed up on p. 421: the higher ideas come from Central Europe, with the Kelt-like Achaïans; the lower, including what he conveniently, if inaccurately, called fetish-worship, were native Pelasgian. It says much for the strength of his influence that it has taken the learned world a generation to cast off this erroneous idea. It would serve no good purpose to treat of his arguments for it in detail: it is enough to mention one or two passages which are still instructive, because the mistake underlying them still prevails. To evaluate the testimony of any witness one must understand his language and, so far as possible, his mental background. This is especially necessary when he is so far removed from us in time as Herodotos, for example. Now Ridgeway (p. 421) cites Herodotos for an example of the degeneracy in

religion on the part of northern invaders which he wishes to establish. That author tells us that the Persians 'had from of old worshipped Zeus, the Sun, the Moon, Water and the Winds, and that it was only at a late date that they adopted from the Assyrians and Arabs the uncleanly cult of Mylitta' (Hdt. i. 131, paraphrased by Ridgeway). If Zeus is Ahura Mazda, Herodotos has hold of a certain amount of fact: but the value of his testimony is much impaired by his assuming that the Persians worshipped the powers of nature, which need mean no more than that they were barbarians (cf. Aesch., *Pers.*, 499; the reviewer takes this as describing specifically barbarian custom, although the objections of Groenboom *ad loc.* are not without force). A moment later, Herodotos identifies Mithra with Aphrodite, shewing how imperfect his knowledge really was. Such a witness is of little use. A few pages later, the worship of ἀργοὶ λίθοι is under discussion, and for the most part the examples are pertinent. But on p. 429 the Orphic *Lithika* and other works of late date are cited, quite unsuitably: for behind them lies, not primitive awe of a strange object in which *numen adest*, but generations of learned and sophisticated, if unscientific, speculation about natural magic and 'virtues.'

The reviewer, being neither a Keltologist nor an expert on the archaeology of the Bronze and Iron Ages, will not extend this already long notice by detailed criticism of the chapter on Ireland. It should be said, however, that it is very good reading: indeed the whole book, despite the lack of completeness inevitable in such a gathering of fragments, is always readable and often eloquent. More than this, and more than the numerous matters in which Ridgeway was certainly or probably right, are the two great virtues which would atone for worse faults than his. The first of these is the honest attempt to cover all the evidence, from archaeology and language, from tradition and history, and to interpret it all by relevant comparisons from other fields, when, as so often happens, its meaning is obscure in itself. The second is the constructive, we might almost say creative, imagination which makes every fact have a meaning and presents the student, not with ticketed museum specimens, but with the life of long-dead generations. When such qualities are present, it matters less than with most men whether the views of their possessor are right or wrong. His very errors point the way to truth, and those who will take example by him are filled, each according to his capacity, with the spirit of true research.

H. J. R.

**Zur Anthropologie der Prähistorischen Griechen in Argolis.** By CARL M. FÜRST. (*Lunds Univ. Årsskrift*, N.F. II. xxvi. 8.) Pp. 130; 40 plates. Lund: Gleerup, 1930.

This is by far the most important contribution hitherto to the study of the early population of Greece. To the skeletons from the Swedish excavations at Asine (which range in date from 'Early Helladic' to Hellenistic), and the *tholos* at Dendra, Dr. Furst has been able to add those from the British School's excavation of 'Late Helladic' chamber-tombs on the Kalkani site at Mycenae, and others from Mycenae, Tiryns, and Nauplia. The still earlier skulls from Dr. Blegen's work at Zygouries and elsewhere (p. 128) will be described separately hereafter. This is not the place for more than brief congratulation on the success of the difficult task of examining and classifying this fragile material, on the completeness of the description, and on the fine photographic reproduction of the more important specimens. What concerns us more is the positive contribution of Dr. Furst to our knowledge of the origins of the early population of Greece.

What is notable, in the first place, is the mixture of distinct breeds, even in the 'Middle Helladic' graves. One skull from Asine (p. 53), one from the Heraeum (p. 112), one from Mycenae (p. 147), are definitely 'armenoid' strangers: one Hellenistic skull, 'armenoid' or 'alpine' (p. 118); another (a stray, buried in the beach) is 'oriental' (p. 57); and others are more or less brachycephalic. On the other hand, one skull (24 FA) is of a typically Egyptian variety (p. 57). But typical 'mediterranean' individuals are not common, though a 'mediterranean' origin, more or less contaminated, may be presumed for the majority.

Even more striking is the difficulty which Dr. Furst finds in distinguishing some of these so-called 'mediterranean' varieties from well-known Swedish varieties of the later Stone Age. The difficulty is a familiar one, and has provoked much controversy. From several phrases, it would seem that Dr. Furst had found himself in the predicament of the prophet Balaam, expected to recognise 'nordic' intruders, *because* the archaeological evidence required their presence, or *because* it was (for some reason or other) common knowledge that such 'nordic invasion' had occurred about 1500 B.C. From this era, indeed, he twice calculates the length of time allowable for mixed marriages and the production of hybrid offspring (pp. 110, 111). But he resists the temptation: the material is insufficient (p. 99) and the 'nordic' and 'mediterranean' types are not clearly distinct (p. 107); *certain* skulls may be 'nordic,' *if* the archaeological

evidence requires it: but he 'cannot prove with the available material that the majority belong to a nordic race.' And very cautiously, at the end pp. 124-8) he reaffirms his well-known agreement with Stjerna's contention that the people who built the megalithic monuments of Sweden and are 'the basis of our Swedish population' were immigrants from somewhere further south, and themselves racially akin to the 'mediterranean' breed; though the history of this kinship, and the common source, is not yet made out. As the whole trend of recent archaeological research has been to reveal the northern megalith-culture as the result of continuous propagation along the Atlantic seaboard from the Iberian peninsula, if not from the shores of the western Mediterranean, the solution of Dr. Furst's problem may be simpler than he appears to suppose. This solution, however, leaves unanswered the question whence came, or where originated, the typical 'nordic' breed which, though far less common in Scandinavian countries than the textbooks and the propaganda-books would have us believe, is nevertheless a real and well-marked variety. And it is the real and regional existence of that 'nordic' type which gives significance to the rare individuals from ancient sites in the south who conform to it, such as the well-known skull from the 'Second City' of Hissarlik, and one of Dr. Furst's people (4FA), 'more like ancient northern than any other in the series' (p. 58), with a cephalic index of 71.8, and the massive, rugged aspect and (to ourselves) familiar features so well represented in Plate III. As this person was buried, very simply, with 'Early Helladic' pottery, he is earlier than most of the people from Asine: not, however, necessarily earlier than the 'nordic' man from Hissarlik, and probably susceptible of one and the same explanation; for the age to which both men belonged was one of widespread shift of populations.

An interesting point, which deserves more special study, is the relative frequency of broader-headed women, and longer-headed men. In Crete the converse was observed by Duckworth, and attributed to intrusion of more 'armenoid' people among longer-headed aboriginals. Here the men are of mixed 'mediterranean' descent, and if the women 'favour' the old population of peninsular Greece, that population should be generically 'alpine,' which is the European counterpart of 'armenoid' in Western Asia. It is indeed curious that Dr. Furst seems habitually to regard broad-headed individuals as derived from east of the Aegean. Only once (p. 118) does he use the word 'alpine,' and then about a skull of Hellenistic age.

It is greatly to be desired that, having made such instructive use of the material already entrusted to him, Dr. Furst should be enabled to make his survey of ancient Aegean humanity complete. Will not the Greek Department of Antiquities allow him (with the concurrence of excavators) to report on *all* the human remains which lurk in museums and private collections? At Athens, Professor Koumaris is certainly doing admirable work, by degrees; but a comparison of his data with those of Dr. Furst suggests that there would be much to be gained if all the material could be measured and described in the same laboratory.

J. L. M.

**Rassengeschichte des hellenischen und des römischen Volkes.** By HANS F. K.

GÜNTHER. Pp. 152; 83 illustrations and 3 maps in text, and 64 illustrations in plates. Munich: Lehmann, 1929. 8 m. (6.50).

To understand Dr. Gunther's thesis, that 'the history of Hellenic culture may be described as an adjustment (*Auseinandersetzung*) between the nordic spirit and the non-nordic' (p. 32), it is essential to understand his ethnology. For he distinguishes 'nordic' man both from his 'west-falian' tall, broad-faced breed, and from his 'east-baltic,' which is short, round-headed, with broad nose and high cheek-bones. He distinguishes 'western' and 'oriental' varieties of the long-headed *brunets* usually called 'mediterranean,' and also 'dinaric,' 'eastern,' and 'hither-asian' varieties of the short-headed 'alpines' and 'armenoids' of the textbooks. When he speaks, therefore, of 'nordic' features, ancestry, outlook, or manners, he means something quite specific (p. 23): in fact the 'classical' type familiar from Greek and Graeco-Roman sculpture, widely distributed also in peninsular Europe, and frequent among the predominantly blond folk of Scandinavian and other West-Baltic countries. A type which includes Pericles and Euripides, Demosthenes and Menander, Herodotus and Alexander, the Capitoline 'Aeschylus' and Plato, resembles a 'lesbian rule,' and Dr. Gunther would have strengthened his case if he had explained what are the particular proportions or even features in which he thinks they agree, and met the objection that their points of agreement are not those which characterise them as portraits. For if 'nordic' means what is common to Greek sculptures, he is comparing this with itself, or at most with Scandinavian or North German individuals who have what we call a 'Greek profile' and 'classical' features. It is all the more necessary to insist on this point, because Dr. Carl Furst, in the description of

ancient skulls from Argolis, reviewed on p. 123 of this Journal, confesses that he finds it difficult to distinguish neolithic individuals in Sweden not earlier than the spread of megalith builders of 'mediterranean' ancestry, from Bronze Age individuals in Greece, who are 'pre-hellenic' (p. 13) if not pre-'protoindoeuropean.' Dr. Gunther, indeed, *may* be comparing 'mediterranean' types in Greece with types which are no less 'mediterranean' in origin though they are 'influenced' as to hair- and eye-colour by cross-breeding with 'nordic' blonds, like the blond 'east-baltic' and 'westfalian' breeds which he distinguishes from the west-baltic 'nordic.'

Assuming thus what he might have been expected to start by demonstrating, Dr. Gunther summarises the work of many predecessors, from Bulwer Lytton onwards, and states an interesting case for Lord Beaconsfield's thesis that the question of race is the key to history. But he is sometimes wrong in his facts. On p. 12 he gives a wrong reference (Strabo, vii. 341) for what he calls the *Ruhelagei des Chronos*, and misquotes Herodotus to the effect that the Dorian 'home was in a land of snow.' His reasoning also is fallacious. He puts the cradle of the Hellenes in Eastern Hungary, because Boreas, being a 'mountain wind, blew from the Carpathians': why not from Olympus or Oeta? Then he identifies the Carpathians and the 'Thracian mountains.' Thence the Hellenes are argued to have moved eastward, because they gave the name *thalassa*, meaning 'sun-up,' to the Black Sea: why not to the Aegean? The 'proto-europeans' brought the *megaron*-house, timber-built, out of a forest-country: was there no timber in Pindus in the Bronze Age, and of what were (and *are*) ships built at Naupactus? With the *megaron*-house came full-length burial and *allerhand neue ornamentik*, and so 'very gradually Mycenaean culture grew out of Mediterranean': what does all this mean, especially the *allerhand neue ornamentik*? And what was the 'other such flood . . . still more nordic' which 'a thousand years later' occupied 'Boeotia, Attica, and Peloponnese except Arcadia'? And how does Dr. Gunther know that the first, or 'Ionian' wave, about 2000 B.C., 'brought down their families *und selbst die Schweine* on ox-carts' (p. 13)? To the Dorians, with the Dipylon style he ascribes the colonisation (among other parts) of the coasts of the Black Sea (p. 16) and an addiction to millet-porridge which demonstrates their recent emergence from a 'nordic' home. Greek helmets, he says, were made to fit long heads, but larger than the 'mediterranean' type: did not Greek armourers allow for the lining, even after

supplying holes into which to stitch it? On the way through 'dinaric'-peopled districts the Hellenes picked up some 'dinaric' traits: and Thersites and Cleon, the 'forerunner' and 'consummator' of Athenian popular government, were 'hither-asian,' which is not the same thing: but where does Thucydides compare Cleon with Thersites (p. 20, note: no reference)? On the general question of portraiture, it is true that white marble was just the thing for portraits of blonds: but were there no portraits in bronze? It would be interesting to have Dr. Gunther's list of portraits showing (through their hair) the prominent occiput of the 'nordic' skull, and his explanation of the numerous short-haired and very short-headed men in the vase-paintings. The marble head (Fig. 31) which he figures as Plato he admits to be rather 'dinaric': a sad misfit, like the soul and body of the 'hither-asian' Socrates, if Plato's soul was as 'nordic' as Dr. Gunther believes. That there was a well-marked blond strain, among the Greeks of the great centuries, is as certain as it is also that there were both 'mediterranean' ('western') and 'armenoid-alpine' ('dinaric' and 'hither-asian') elements: but Dr. Gunther's almost total neglect of the evidence for 'mediterranean' types, and his restriction of 'armenoid' types to buffoons and demagogues, reduces his sketch to a caricature.

For early Italy the archaeological evidence is so much more abundant and intelligible, that there is the less excuse for exaggeration. That there was a large blond element, and that its source was trans-alpine, needed no further proof: but what Dr. Gunther quite fails to do is to prove that there were ever 'nordic' folk, in his own special meaning of the word, in the Danubian region at all. The occupants of the early cist graves were long-headed, and may have been blond: but had they come from the north, and if not, do they rank as 'nordic,' even if their skulls qualified them? And at all later periods till Roman times there are mixed populations there, with very little 'nordic' immixture. What Dr. Gunther admits as *leichter dinarischer Einschlag* (Pls. X–XVI) often overwhelms what is physically 'nordic,' and in particular gives us straight-backed heads like Pls. X, *b*; XI, *a*; XIV *a*, *b*.

These deliberately-selected reproductions from Aindt and Brunn are the most disappointing part of this book: for instead of anthropological characterisation, Dr. Gunther has been content with superficial thought-reading:—*eine helle, reinliche, seelische Landschaft ualtet um diesen Kopf* (Pl. VI, *a*): *Neigung zu dumpfer Betrachtung* (Pl. XIII, *a*): *Nordischer Talmensch, matter-of-fact Schlag, etwas deß im Empfinden*. That is not *Rassengeschichte* but *Schwärmerei*. J. L. M.

**Aegyptiaca : a Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area.** By J. D. S. PENDLEBURY. Pp. 120: 5 plates, 3 maps. Cambridge University Press, 1930.

This is the class of book which is so necessary to the student—a monograph on a special branch of our subject. It is also of the class that is becoming so essential with the widening knowledge of the civilisations of the ancient world. Hitherto each man's work has been limited to the study of a single country, but there now awaits research much evidence of the interactions of one culture with another. Mr. Pendlebury's book is perhaps the first of its sort linking up two of the most important ancient civilisations. A great deal of scattered literature has arisen about the artistic influences of the one upon the other, but here we have a classified collection of the tangible antiquities which had crossed the frontier of the one and entered the other. This volume collects together the Egyptian objects which at present are known to have been imported into the Aegean world, and we are promised a companion volume of 'Minoica' treating of the Aegean imports into Egypt.

The difficulties of making a compilation such as the present are very great. Many of the objects are not published, but have to be sought in widely scattered museums. Then, again, when he has found them the author has to work through quantities of literature which is unfamiliar to him in order to establish dates and comparisons. Here he has often to depend not on his own judgment, but upon that of others, as he is dealing with the products of a civilisation which is not that in which he has specialised. Hence, any criticisms that have to be made as regards the Egyptology of the book in no way reflect upon the author, but only upon the authorities in whom he puts his trust.

The first thing that gives pause to the Egyptologist is No. 52. Is it possible that this figure can be of Egyptian manufacture? Offhand one would have denied it, and this is an opinion the reviewer has had confirmed. In Egypt an attitude of this sort is so rare as to be unknown to several well-qualified Egyptologists, but on following up Mr. Pendlebury's references the present writer has found two figures of this kind. Unfortunately, however, they both have a characteristic which is lacking to No. 52. It is that the foot of the leg lying on the ground is crooked in behind the heel of the other. In No. 52, on the other hand, it lies in front of the body and alongside of the other foot. This definite fact gives substance to the general feeling that the features are un-Egyptian as well as the pose of the body and the carving of the knee, at

least so far as can be judged from a photograph. The utmost that could be said would be that whoever made the object was inspired by a type which is not absolutely unknown in Egypt. Probably the same remark applies to No. 53, but it would be difficult to speak without having handled the figurine itself. In any case it is less un-Egyptian than its neighbour.

No. 161 would be a find of first-class importance, if it really belonged to Men-kheper-ra of the XXIst Dynasty. But this cannot be so. This king ruled over the Upper Country and at a time of complete chaos. His energies were taken up with fortifying his northern frontier against the Libyans in Lower Egypt, and in hurrying back to Thebes from his outposts to deal with rebels and their banishment. Only one scarab of his seems to be known, and only very rarely does he put his name in a cartouche as here. The scarab bears the title 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,' a dignity which he never attained. Hence quite correctly he never used the title, but regularly that of 'High Priest of Amon-ra,' which *per contra* does not appear on the scarab. Why then should Dr. Hall have described his scarab as XXIst Dynasty after having suggested parenthetically Thothmes III rather than Men-kheper-ra? It seems to be a perfectly normal scarab of XVIIIth Dynasty type.

Scarab No. 71 belongs to a type which in early days eluded dating, and was thought to be XIXth Dynasty, as stated here. Increasing knowledge of the dark periods of Egyptian civilisation has proved these scarabs to be of Hyksos age. In describing No. 165 a slip of the pen has written North instead of South as the reading of the hieroglyph *nesut*. The pair of 'shells' forming the back of scaraboids Nos. 58-61 must be very rare. One suspects that they are really the pair of hands which is not unknown. One of the most important Egyptian objects is the statuette of Amon-ra from the Dictaeon Cave. The tie at the girdle of the kilt should be noted, for, though by no means unknown, it is very rare. It is worth noting that Ramesses II is not represented by antiquities in the Aegean area, although at home his scarabs are probably the next most common after those of Thothmes III. Yet we know that the North was by this time advancing on the South. As is to be expected, the antiquities consist mostly of small, easily portable objects of some artistic merit. They are very much what still crosses the sea to-day; small alabaster vases, beads, faience figurines or amulets, and above all scarabs, especially in the later period.

We welcome the photograph, No. 90, of the

helmeted warrior's head from Mycenae. Although not strictly an *Aegyptiacum*, its interest has been derived from Egyptian sources. Schuchhardt compared the helmet to those of the Shardana, a people at present only known from the Egyptian monuments. His comparison would have been well founded if his drawing (*Schliemann's Excavations*, Fig. 198) had been more accurate, but the photograph shows that in reality any such comparison is far-fetched.

Specialising in a single subject, as Mr. Pendlebury has, brings out a number of interesting details. One is that Egyptian trade overlooked Hierapetra, which would superficially seem to be the most suitable port. On the contrary, it went to Komò near Phaestos. The modern traveller between Egypt and Italy well knows the splendid mountain mass, which, rising from the sea afar off, represents Crete for him. This is no doubt the great angle in the southern coast of the island, and it is just behind here that the port for the Egyptian trade lay. Did not the Egyptian sailors make for this towering landmark in antiquity?

Mr. Pendlebury has put all students of the Egypto-Aegean limbo under an obligation to him. The present work whets our appetite for the 'Minoica' which is promised, as well as the study of the Egyptian material in Rhodes.

G. A. W.

**Minoan Art.** By E. J. FORSDYKE. (*Annual Lecture on aspects of Art: Henriette Hertz Trust of the British Academy*, 1929.) From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XV. Pp. 30: 13 plates. London: Humphrey Milford, 1932. 6s. 6d.

The study of art necessarily advances in two stages: a first stage of archaeological discovery and publication, and a second of aesthetic appreciation and criticism. Mr. Forsdyke is already known for his work as a discoverer and classifier in the field of Aegean archaeology, and in this too-short pamphlet he appears as a pioneer in the artistic evaluation of Minoan Art.

This second stage needs great gifts to be added to the learning, insight and accuracy that are needed in the first: a philosophical outlook, a poetic imagination and a keen sense of beauty. With all these Mr. Forsdyke is endowed. His analysis of 'the romantic spirit at its first entry into the world, at least in Europe,' is a perfect instance of scientific knowledge advancing to the next stage, when the data are known and classified and their artistic implications can be considered apart from their purely archaeological significance. Fortunately the Minoan epoch is as important in the history of pure art as it is in

the history of human civilisation, and it provides enough material for the historian of art to fill a larger canvas than circumstances gave to Mr. Forsdyke. But short though his study is, his appreciations have a final quality. They will come to the mind at each fresh view of the objects of which they define the impression. He writes, for example, of a gem: 'A study of three swans beside a river has an air of tranquillity made more intense by the curiously smooth plastic style in which the stone is cut. The birds are scarcely conscious of their own existence.' Never has the marine style been so well analysed as in this paper: the description is too long to quote, but it will remain classical. And who now looking at the Hagia Triada fresco will forget the 'sly, laborious cat'?

Mr. Forsdyke, in conclusion, finds the roots of the love of nature revealed in the art of Crete in the nature-worship that dominated Minoan religion. 'Its sanctuaries were in mountain solitudes, like Buddhist monasteries, but untouched by man: gorges or caves where pure water springs, and holy trees are nurtured by the divine element which clothes Cretan valleys in the flowers of Paradise. Spiritual devotion in such surroundings must have led, as in mediaeval China, to an intimate and emotional understanding of life and beauty in all the works of nature.' In this Mr. Forsdyke finds a reason for the apparent contrast between Minoan romanticism and Greek idealism: and leaves us waiting for a further study from his pen that shall illuminate the transition and renew our vision of the art of classical Greece.

J. E.

**Études crétoises: I. Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Premier Rapport (1922-1924).**

By F. CHAPOUTHIER and J. CHARBONNEAUX. Pp. 60: 35 plates and map, 19 figs. 1928.

**II. Les écritures minoennes au palais de Mallia.** By F. CHAPOUTHIER. Pp. 99: 8 plates, 36 figs. 1930. Paris: P. Geuthner.

In these two pleasant volumes, issued under the auspices of the French School at Athens, we have a clear account with abundant illustration of the excavations at the palace of Mallia in Crete. For a full discussion of the best of the small finds—the superb bronze sword with its handle of gold and rock crystal and the carved axe-head—we must refer to M. Charbonneaux's paper in *Monuments Piot*, vol. 28, otherwise the story both of structure and of accompanying objects is complete. Our notice of the first volume is somewhat belated, but in the interim the Hellenic



Society has been informed of the latest developments by the fortunate explorer, M. Chapouthier, in person. Knowledge of the site and of its arrangement has been increased, but the historical conclusions here presented remain unaltered and in many ways confirmed.

The second volume contains the complete publication of the 'Hieroglyphic Deposit' which the Palace yielded to its excavators in 1923, and which included no less than thirty-six inscriptions, thirty-three in hieroglyphic characters and three in 'Linear Script A.' The mixture of systems is one of the reasons which lead M. Chapouthier to place the deposit at the end of the Middle Minoan period, whereas the similar deposit at Knossos has been dated by Sir A. Evans to M.M. 2. Out of sixty hieroglyphs, forty-one recur at Knossos and there are three groups common to both palaces, suggesting identity not only of script but of language. On the other hand, no less than nineteen of the signs at Mallia are new, so that our inventory of the hieroglyphic system is probably still far from perfect. A further link with Knossos is provided by the mason's marks, which are studied in the appendix: among these the Knossian double-axe is frequent, while the trident, the favoured sign at Phastos, only occurs three times. In a concluding chapter M. Chapouthier suggests that the Cretan signs form the missing link in a development from Egyptian hieroglyphs to the alphabet of Phoenicia.

**Minoans, Philistines and Greeks.** By A. R.

BURN. Pp. xv — 273: 16 plates and 2 maps. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1930. 15s.

This is an attempt to put into narrative form what is known and what may fairly be deduced from what is known about the course of events in the Aegean in the period 1400-900 B.C. The first 66 pages are critical: the extant documents, archaeological remains and legend are reviewed and finally the 'Aryan' problem and the chronology are discussed. In a survey of this kind much suppression and selection are inevitable and the author is often obliged to treat as settled what is far from being so. For instance, the Transylvanian origin of Dimini ware (p. 38) is not by any means generally accepted nor the Danubian origin of the black-polished wares (ΓΙα). To say that Minyan ware 'makes its appearance in Thessaly in or about the twenty-fourth century' (p. 36) does not convey Childe's meaning or represent the state of things. The most one can say is that the forms and, to some extent, the fabric of Minyan are implicit in the

pottery of the latter half of the Early Macedonian period, which spread to Thessaly about 2300 B.C., where it is known as Γ3. It is not easy to understand why Mr. Burn thinks that 'late in the twelfth century' is the earliest date 'archaeologically possible' for the Trojan war (p. 54). Archaeologically, the traditional date (1190 B.C.) fits quite as well as the date 1100 B.C. which he proposes.

The second part is narrative. The chapters on the rise of the Aegean civilisation, the golden age of Crete, the destruction of Knossos, Mykenai and her neighbours are excellently done. There are some inaccuracies, e.g. the ceremonial battle-axe from Mallia is not of bronze but of stone (p. 74). The term 'Minoan' is used throughout, where 'Mycenean' (L.H. III) is meant.

Then follow chapters devoted to the Sea-raiders and the great migrations: three adventure stories: the cruise of the *Argo*; a picture of the Aegean world under the Achaeans and a narrative description of the Trojan war. These too are well done.

Chapter XI deals with the Iron Age. Mr. Burn takes the view that the Lausitz invaders of Macedonia were the Dorians. The archaeological evidence scarcely warrants this, since they cannot be traced further than Thessaly.

That they were indirectly the cause of the shift of the Dorians, already in Doris, is, however, likely enough, as Myres has suggested. Mr. Burn is rather vague on the pottery of this period. If the destruction of the granary at Mycenae was due to the Dorians, then we have a valuable fixed point in the evolution of the pottery. The Salamis group, the vase-group from the cave at Polis in Ithaca (1931) and some others must be post-invasion, though not necessarily Dorian, and for this phase the term 'sub-mycenean' should be used, representing a short period interposed between the 'granary' class (including the 'close' style) and Proto-geometric, of which the distinctive feature is the compass-drawn concentric circle or semicircle. Mr. Burn uses 'sub-mycenean' for pre-invasion pottery; for this he can hardly be blamed, since the diacritics of the various phases are only now beginning to be appreciated, while he ignores Proto-geometric altogether.

The last chapter is entitled 'Darkness and Dawn.' This is the least satisfactory part of the book. The antithesis between the Greek and the mediaeval mind has been overworked in the past, and Mr. Burn's handling of it is rather laboured.

In most respects, an admirable book.

W. A. H.

**De Oorsprong der Geometrische Kunst.**

By ANNA ROES. Pp. 148, with 2 plates and 149 figures in the text. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1931.

This monograph is an attempt to trace the origin of the Geometric art of Greece during the Early Iron Age. In her first chapter the author gives a comprehensive sketch of previous theories. Conze, writing before Schliemann's discoveries, considered the decoration of Greek Geometric to be 'purely Arvan.' Furtwangler attributed its introduction to the Dorians, while Wide suggested that it was only a renaissance of the 'peasant art' that had been characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age. Some authorities, such as Studniczka, Dümmler, Ridgeway, and Mackenzie, connected the rise of Geometric art with the coming of the Achaeans. Among the 'evolutionists' were Dugas, who tried to derive it from the Bronze Age pottery of the Cyclades, and Wace and Thompson, who connected its rise with material from sites in Thessaly. Some, notably Helbig, tried to derive Geometric art from the East, while Schweitzer tried to combine the virtues of both the 'evolutionary' and 'Dorian' schools by dividing Geometric into a 'Circle Style' evolved chiefly from the Sub-Mycenaean, and an 'Angle Style.'

The author then proceeds to point out the close parallels between Mycenaean and Geometric vase-shapes.

At the beginning of her second chapter she lays down an admirable principle for the comparative analysis of Geometric ornaments: 'For a comparative study of motives simple Geometric ornaments are, by themselves, practically worthless. Lozenges, triangles, circles and zigzag lines do not give the slightest indication about their origin: they may be taken over, but they may equally well be invented by a people independently, since they lie ready to hand.' . . . With this canon to guide her the author proceeds to compare some of the more peculiar motives on the vases or bronzes of the Greek, Italian, and Hallstatt cultures during the Early Iron Age, and traces them through Syrian and other sources to the Proto-Elamite cultures of Susa (not, however, without many missing links, both chronological and geographical).

In her third chapter Dr. Roes points out similarities between the Geometric figurines of Boeotia and Argos on the one hand, and those of Syria and Elam on the other. Finally, there is a short summary in French, in the course of which the author makes the following claims: 'The only explanation possible is that Mycenaean art, towards its close, and Geometric art have undergone the same influence, coming from the

East, that the pottery of Phylakopi had itself felt at an earlier date. . . . One may consider the Phoenicians as those who have communicated the artistic traditions of the East to the Greeks of the Geometric age: since this transmission must be the work of a people who also maintained relations with Italy, seeing that Villanovan art also experienced, though in a lesser degree, the same influences as Greek Geometric art.'

If her classification is sound, we must assume that this Oriental influence invaded Greece in three waves. The first wave reached the Cyclades about 2000 B.C.: the second was contemporary with the 'folk-wandering' that culminated in the raids on Egypt by the 'peoples of the sea': the third wave, transmitted from Syria and Phoenicia perhaps by Phoenician merchantmen, arrived in Greece about 900 B.C., and influenced all Greece, all Italy (especially the northern part) and the Hallstatt cultures of Central Europe.

How was this influence conveyed? We may safely rule out all contact with Susa I vases, since the only Greek pottery contemporary with them does not resemble them in the slightest degree. The influence of Susa II seems to be visible in some of the Middle Bronze Age wares from Palestine and may have reached Phylakopi from that source. An intermediate link is provided by the painted wares of Quyunjik (as the author remarks), and also by those of Tepe Gaura, and by the different but probably contemporary sherds from Samarra.

The second contact (1300?-1200? B.C.) is more difficult to tie down. The only Mesopotamian ware with which we can compare the Late Mycenaean vases is a fabric found on certain sites in Assyria, for example at Ashur (where it was assigned by the excavators to the thirteenth century), at Nuzi (where it could be dated between 1650 and 1400), and at Quyunjik (context not exactly datable but certainly earlier than the reign of Tiglath Pileser I. This fabric is marked by certain ornaments such as the returning spiral, that appear, superficially, to be Aegean rather than Mesopotamian. At Ashur this ware was contemporary with imported examples of Mycenaean faience, and at Quyunjik with two Mycenaean beads and with a grey bucchero identical in fabric with grey Minyan (though with quite different vase forms). In Palestine we have the Philistine pottery, largely a provincial version of Late Mycenaean vases but embodying a good many motives inherited from the mixed Semitic Susa II tradition.

For our third wave of Oriental motives in the ninth century it is difficult to find ceramic sources, except perhaps the Late Hittite wares and their Phrygian descendants. It is, however,

not unlikely that the new influences, if they came from the East, were transmitted by the Syrian figurines and the Syro-Hittite seals. Direct ceramic contacts between Greece and Mesopotamia at this period seem to be scanty. At Quyunjik was found one sherd of Sub-Mycenaean type, one Proto-Geometric, and one Rhodian. Another field of inquiry is opened up by some remarks of Mr. Payne in his *Necrocorinthia*; whereas the lions on Proto-Corinthian vases have obviously been derived from Hittite sources, those of the Corinthian style of the seventh century have been derived from Assyrian prototypes. This replacement of Hittite by Assyrian art types had been already pointed out by Hogarth in his account of the sculptures at Carchemish, and is a natural consequence of the expansion of the Assyrian empire under Sargon and his successors.

How far do these miscellaneous contacts justify Dr. Roes? We may say that she makes out a very good case for the Oriental character of certain motives in Greek Geometric, but it is nevertheless significant how consistently Mycenaean are the Geometric vase-forms, and how closely the 'Angle Style' seems to develop out of the Proto-Geometric. It is a serious fault that Dr. Roes makes no distinction between the terms Sub-Mycenaean and Proto-Geometric. Thus of the vases illustrated on Pl. II, one seems definitely Mycenaean, about two-thirds Sub-Mycenaean and the remainder Proto-Geometric. Similarly in dealing with the Mesopotamian wares Dr. Roes treats Susa I, Susa II, Quyunjik and Samarra pottery collectively as if there were no more difference between them than between Dipylon and Argive Geometric.

I believe that what the author has really done is to prove the 'evolutionist' theory of Greek Geometric, since she has provided a satisfactory origin for those peculiar designs which have proved a stumbling-block to the 'evolutionists' and have constituted the main argument of the pro-Dorian archaeologists. The whole question certainly needs further discussion, and we shall wish the author luck in her search for the Geometric needle in the Mesopotamian haystack (the metaphor is perhaps bad: her chief difficulty may be that she will find too many needles).

R. W. H.

**Zur Chronologie der frühgriechischen Kunst : die Artemistempel von Ephesos.** By E. Lowy. (*Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsber.* 213, 4.) Pp. 41: 1 plate. Vienna and Leipzig: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky A.-G., 1932.

It is common knowledge that as the result of

the excavations of 1904-5 Hogarth proposed to recognise three structures preceding the 'archaic Artemision' at Ephesus: A, assigned to the years 700-660 B.C.; B, built about 650; and C, built about 600 and succeeded in its turn about 550 by D, the Croesus temple. His conclusions have been generally accepted, almost the only dissentient being Weickert, who a few years ago suggested that the story had been over-simplified and that, instead of three, four or even five primitive strata were to be recognised. Lowy goes to the opposite extreme. A and B are inseparable parts of one great foundation-dépôt, and contemporary with C, which in its turn represents nothing more than the foundation-walls for the internal dispositions of D. Consequently no structural remains earlier than the Croesus temple have come to light on the site.

The attractiveness of this revolutionary view is that it avoids some of the difficulties accompanying Hogarth's scheme. If A, B, and C were buildings with an independent history, it is strange that not one scrap of architectural moulding or roof-tile came to light among the packing of the lower strata. Again, Head was unable to assign a higher date than 610 B.C. to no less than 27 out of the 49 coins definitely recovered from the lowest level, while few would nowadays be unwilling to follow Rumpf in bringing the ivory figurines down into the sixth century (incidentally Hogarth himself proposed the date of 550 B.C. for the silver inscription). Nor are we bound to begin the history of the Croesus temple at 550 B.C.; in that year the building was so far advanced that its outer colonnade was in active process of erection. On the other hand, it is precisely in his interpretation of the architectural evidence that Lowy is least convincing. The complex of foundations and walls lends itself more naturally to Hogarth's theory of rebuildings: nor is it an insuperable objection to the theory that on this waterlogged and disturbed site the stratification of the small finds could not always be observed with precision.

**Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia, 1926-30 (Vols. I-IV).** Rome: Palazzo Taverna. Annual Subscription, 100 lire.

**L'opera della Società Magna Grecia nei primi 10 anni.** By U. ZANOTTI-BIANCO. From *Annales Institutorum*, 1931. Rome: Palazzo Ricci, 1931.

A general review of all these four volumes may be pardoned, for although the Società Magna Grecia is reclaiming one of the most fertile and least explored fields of ancient habitation, only six copies of the *Atti* find their way yearly to England, and the name of the journal is hardly known

outside Italy. Lenormant is out of print and out of date: Dr. Randall MacIver's recent book, however practical for the traveller, is not intended to satisfy the student, who should seek its acknowledged sources in these reports.

Up to 1921 Locri was the only excavated site in Calabria. Sicily had received more attentions, among which were a factory built over the τέμενος of the temple of Himera and daily robberies of stone from Acragas. The first care of the Society was to protect such monuments: the Doric columns of the Temple of Athene were uncovered from beneath the modern decorations of the Duomo at Syracuse, and at Metapontum a trench took the place of the unsightly wall round the Tavole Paladine. At the same time it set itself to answer the first questions in the archaeology of the region. Who were the Lucani, the Bruttii, the Sicels? Where were Sybaris, Medma, Laos, and Leontini? What more could a season's digging reveal to us of Elea, Hipponium, Acragas, Crimissa and Himera?

Within the first year, Prof. Quagliati discovered at Taranto the Greek tomb which fills three cases of the museum with some of its finest vases, both black- and red-figured, dating from the time of transition between the two (*Dedalo*, 1921). If this was hardly new ground, Orsi's discovery of Hipponium (Vibo Valentia) in the same year held out hopes of recapturing the history of the Greek colonies. The 300 metres of the excavated wall are our best example of their fortifications, and exhibit the semicircular towers and round torrione at the gate which have since reappeared at Paestum. Byvanck dated them to 379, when the Carthaginians demanded a reconstruction of the walls: but there are two periods detected by Orsi, and the later, to judge by the tight joints of the masonry, should be older than the semicircular towers of Messene and the fourth-century work at Eleusis. Since the tower at Athens belongs to the fifth century and those of Paestum are perhaps earlier, there is no reason to reject Orsi's date (end of the fifth century), although Crispo in *Atti*, 1928, exaggerates their antiquity. Crispo's reconstruction of the history of Hipponium is exhaustive if conjectural. The traces of a pre-Locrian colonisation are rather dubious. Strabo does not know of it and the Sybarite colonies prove that the influence of Rhegium in the neighbourhood was not uncontested, whether or no "Locri si sentiva da tanto" immediately after the battle of the Sagra, and whether or no Rhegium would have objected to such a counterblast to Crotoniate influence at Terina as her new ally Locri wished to found.

The discovery of an Ionic temple as well as a

Doric one on the site is a striking confirmation of Orsi's earlier conclusions. The Ionic temple excavated at Locri in 1890 was then unique in South Italy, and Oldefather had traced the hand of Samian emigrant craftsmen in its finds: since then, the only other Ionic building found is this at Locri's colony, whither Samian οἰκιστᾶι had presumably gone from the metropolis.

Velia is a site of greater extent over both space and time. It is most competently described (except for the strange omission of any sort of plan) by its excavator Maiuri (*Atti*, 1926-7). In its position sloping down to the ancient coast-line and strongly defended against inland natives, it suggests the sites of other Phocæan or Massiliote colonies in Spain; but the earliest building is a terrace with an altar of the fifth century, and the great rectangular πύργος in the N.E. section of the wall dates from 100 years later. The blocks are marked ΔΗ <ῥοσιον?>, and it is notable that the same letters recur on the bricks of the first century. The large temple of the same period is archaistic in style, for the speech and traditions of the *civitas foederata* preserved, as Strabo says of Naples and Cumæ, πλεῖστα ἰχνη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς. That its activities were, however, turned from philosophy to brick-making is proved by a large industrial suburb of first century kilns.

Further evidence of this main product of South Italy is found at Rosarno down the coast: there are tiles with the inscription LEPIDAE which Mommsen refers to Agrippa's niece. Agrippa's disboscamiento of much of South Italy for agricultural development is well known, and it he also encouraged its industry—pottery being a respectable connexion in the eyes of an Augustan senator—the factories may have descended to his heirs. The terracottas of Rosarno appear in many museums, and it is on the ground of a new mask which resembles the personifications of the river Medma on coins that Orsi has identified Rosarno with the Locrian colony. The site itself has so far yielded only a few undistinguished tombs, apart from the terracottas, but the local Ampuria preserves the name of Strabo's Ἐμπορίον, the harbour of Medma. (Orsi has unnecessary doubts about the change of vowel: Emporion in Cataluña is now Ampurias.)

Whereas the Tyrrhene sea has receded since classical times, the bradyseismic movement of the Ionian coast has been in the opposite direction. The temples of Punto de Stilo, Caulonia (Monastace) and Locri (Gerace Marina) are almost on the beach, and fragments of a Greek helmet and amphorae found under the sea suggest that the cities on this side may be partly submerged. There are also numbers of Greek finds from the Sila

inland: some of these seem to mark the overland route from Croton to the Tyrrhene coast—notably those from Tiriolo—others, for instance at Savelli, are less significant and may be mere strays from Croton or Petelia (? Strongoli). The biggest discovery of the Society south of the Crathis is the temple of 'Apollo Maios' at Punto Alice, near the native necropolis of Crimissa. Orsi has so far published only a brief summary of his excavation. Little more than the podium of the temple survived the Pyrrhic wars, but there are statuettes of gold, silver and bronze, with fragments of laurel wreaths; and the head of the acrolithic *εἰκὼν λατρείας* is in the museum at Syracuse. It is a marble of 470–460, over life-size, with holes in the forehead to fix a metal wig: pieces of bronze hair, recalling the technique of the Chatsworth bronze, have been preserved, but Orsi doubts their connexion with his marble.

The quest of Sybaris still continues. 1928 brought forth nothing Greek except a goat-eared head of Dionysus (a copy of a terracotta mask which, in disagreement with the excavator, we regard as Hellenistic) and some blocks of masonry, probably from Thurii, not Sybaris, re-used in the first construction of a Roman villa. There are two most interesting *villae rusticae* to show for the excavation, with the same general plan, the *cella olearia*, *dolia* and *torcularia* of the villa of Gragnano described in *NS*, 1923. Galli's suggestion in *Atti*, 1929, that the extensive drain-pipes were used not for water but for wine is imaginatively derived from Athenaeus, XII, 17, and recalls Tenney Frank's no less imaginative drainage of sacrificial blood by the tufa cloacae in the Forum. But the break of continuity between the Greek and Roman occupations is complete, and such an extensive wine-export as this implies is unattested by the marks of Roman amphorae. Efficient drainage is the first condition of farming on the Crathis, and these would be more simply taken as the remains of it. Such *villae* must have lain well outside the city of Copia Thurii, and both Kanter (*Geog. Int.*, 1926) and Galli over-estimated the extent of alluvial deposit when they looked for Sybaris so far inland. Cavallari noted some sepulchral mounds at 1 km. from the sea, where a chain of dunes marks an earlier coast-line; and there the search is being renewed by Zanotti Bianco. In a review to be published by the Society he suggests the course of the overland road to Laos, where the Sybarites picked up Etruscan commerce, but no certain trace of Laos has been found.

Leontini, on the other hand, has emerged at S. Mauro on the site of a Sicel town, and Orsi

(*Atti*, 1930) describes his excavation of some 17 metres of the fortified citadel, which was obscured by works of the Hohenstaufen.

At the same time Marconi published an article on the discoveries at Himera, from which much may be learnt of Greek temple-building. Various types of clamp, the Z, the double I and the double swallow-tail, are preserved from the ancient restorations: the blocks of the *sima* are numbered α, β, γ, etc., and the cornice is painted dichromatically on the yellow of the stone. The 56 painted lion-heads, now in Palermo, serve to date the temple, according to Marconi, to 470–60. They fall into two types, from the north and south sides of the cornice respectively. Marconi argues that Agrigentine artists were employed at Himera both from the style of these gargoyles and from the stairs constructed in the pilasters of the cella: he does not bring enough parallels to make his proof positive, but there is something in the suggestion that this was a national rather than a local monument, and was one of the two temples built at Carthaginian expense after the battle of Himera (*Diod. XI, 26*).

Rellini has so far published only a few of his explorations of chalcolithic and Bronze Age sites in Matera and Gargano—trenched villages of a pastoral folk who buried their dead under the floor. The pottery shows few new shapes, except in the province of Lecce. In Calabria south of Squillace the native sites are extremely rare: already in Strabo's day the tribes were *κεκακωμένοι τελέως, ὥστε καὶ διορίσαι χαλεπὸν τὰς κατοικίας αὐτῶν*. We look forward to the next number with Orsi's account of the Sicel necropolis at S. Angelo Muxaro, and the new sanctuaries of Demeter Chthonios at Agragas.

The Romanisation of the provinces has long been a main branch of archaeological study, but of the contact between Greek colonisation and the barbarians, historians have no very discriminating view. The subject of Lucanian art is hardly developed, and we are ignorant both of pre-Hellenic conditions and of the extent of Greek penetration among them in the west. A little material is available in Albania and on the east coast of Spain, nothing like so rich as the possibilities of Magna Grecia. It has been the work of the Società to exploit this field, that on such a basis historians may draw fuller and surer conclusions. In the first ten years from its foundation much of our ignorance has been redeemed by its work in the field and by its scientific and finely edited reports: we should wish it many more decennia, equal fortune, and more recognition in the advance of historical research which it has made possible.

M. I. M.

**The Orders of Architecture: Greek, Roman, and Renaissance.** By ARTHUR STRATTON. Pp. 49; 80 plates, 26 illustrations in the text. London: B. T. Batsford, 1931. 21s.

This book is obviously intended for the use of students in Schools of Architecture, primarily. It is in this capacity a most useful compilation, as it collects, in one volume, much more information of an effective kind on the general use of the Orders in Greek, Roman and Renaissance buildings than has been presented before in an English publication. There are two main divisions of the subject-matter—(1) the Orders in diagrammatic form, and (2) their application in actual buildings. The material has been well chosen and the contrasted effect of line drawings and fully 'rendered' (shaded) elevational drawings is valuable. There is some good letterpress, particularly an Introduction by Mr. A. Trystan Edwards, which is a careful analysis of the proper attitude to Orders in general and a corrective of some loose thinking, though the rebuke about treating the Classic Orders primarily as a constructional requirement is perhaps carried too far.

The book is not, of course, a final treatment of the Orders: it could hardly pretend to be this, nor is it arranged with that view: but some improvement in arrangement would have been possible and the written part should have been kept separate. It is a serious defect that the anta and pilaster—essential accompaniments of Order treatment—are relegated to two meagre pages at the end, though comparatively irrelevant material dealing with doors, windows and balustrades has been given six plates. The old drawing reproduced in Plate XX gives a misleading impression of the entablature in relation to the column, and neither Clérissieu's drawing of the front of the Maison Carrée (Pl. XIX) nor the small-scale drawing of the Erechtheum column on Pl. VII do anything like justice to the originals. On Pl. XXV there is not enough column diminution in the perspective line drawing of the Tuscan Order.

Perhaps the book attempts too much, and one has an instinctive feeling that the perfection of Mr. Robert S. Weir's lovely drawing of the North Porch of St. Paul's is not sustained in some of the other illustrations. Orders cannot be presented too exactly if they are to convey their proper lesson. On the whole, however, the book is a useful and reliable one to put before a student. No better master than Vignola could have been chosen for a consistent presentation of the Italian Orders: while the Pompeian Order in II, Plate XVII and the Order from Wren's St. Stephen's, Walbrook on Pl. LXV are of exceptional interest.

T. F.

**Zur Geschichte des Akroters.** By C. PRASCHNIKER. (*Schriften der philosophischen Facultat der deutschen Universität in Prag.*) Pp. 56; 4 plates and 12 figs. Brunn: R. M. Rohrer, 1929.

Dr. Praschniker has compiled a most scholarly and useful paper on the acroterial ornaments of the fifth and later centuries, a work of no little difficulty that has long been badly needed. He has assembled the fragments of the acroteria of the Heraion at Argos, of the temples at Tegea and Epidauros, and brought them into relation with those of other temples of the same period. The results will remain of great use to those who study the floral and formal non-figure sculpture of the Greeks. The author wisely connects the so-called 'acanthus column' at Delphi with this type of stone-work and calls attention to the facts recorded by Bouget which have not hitherto commanded attention. The column was found in company with the bronze Charioteer. Since it is generally accepted that the deposit in which the Charioteer was found was part of the debris of the great earthquake of 373 B.C., which had been terraced over in the building of the precincts of the fourth-century temple, it follows that we have a *terminus ante quem* for both Charioteer and 'acanthus column.' While in the case of the Charioteer this *terminus* is of relatively little value, since the date can safely be established on other grounds, yet in the case of the column it is vital. Here at any rate we can be certain that the dancers are at least early fourth century and perhaps of the late fifth. But the author does not point out that this is fatal to Poulsen's theory that the monument belongs to the 'circle of Praxiteles.' Dr. Praschniker has examined the excavation day-book and verified the fact that the Charioteer and the column were found in the same deposit. The style of the faces and bodies of the dancers on the column must thus be considered afresh. Perhaps they anticipate the style of Praxiteles and shew from what origins that style developed.

The author points out, incidentally, that the plant decoration as well as the drapery of the dancers shew the clear use of a gouge for the final surface cutting of detail. This he thinks invalidates Blümel's views on the use of the gouge. But the gouge was used in the sixth century for detail of drapery and hair almost as a general rule, and it was similarly used a great deal in the second half of the fifth century. The point at issue is whether it is extensively used over large areas in good periods. This the author has, I think, failed to see.

S. C.

**Dédale, ou la statue de la Grèce archaïque.**

By W. DEONNA. Vol. I, pp. 576, 66 figs.;  
Vol. II, pp. 467, 39 plates, 20 figs. Paris:  
E. des Boccards, 1931.

The author explains clearly his view and his aims. He complains that other scholars have treated sculpture mainly from an historical point of view, as a study of schools and artists, neglecting a more general survey of origins, technique and form. What were the conditions ('nécessités sociales') under which the sculptors worked, and what problems, material and aesthetic, must be solved? These are the questions which the author thinks most important and from which he writes. The attributes and development of sculpture, he seems to say, are subjects which can be studied absolutely, almost as abstractions ('indépendamment des ouvriers'). His thesis is that it makes no difference who is the artist of a statue, or to what school he belongs, because all archaic artists end by finding the same solutions.

It is true that a few archaeologists incline to become pedantic and to treat sculpture as though it were merely a science and had no more intrinsic interest than most prehistoric pottery. There is no reason, however, why the two different sides should not be studied and presented together, as is done by many scholars, since they are really inseparable. The objection to the method used here is that it tends to become still more aloof from sculpture. Statues are examined and described not for their own qualities, but because they illustrate certain methods of technique, a certain stage of development or a particular way of doing one or other feature. Types, motives, and positions are enumerated in turn, and then, over the whole period, the changing styles of forms and features and fashions of drapery. In the second volume artists and schools are discussed, but briefly, and separate statues are named only for this purpose, not described.

Such a method may certainly have its value, but it turns the book into a kind of anatomy or encyclopaedia of the subject, without the help of an index. It is hard to believe that anyone who has not seen the monuments would form a just idea of archaic sculpture from this account. The method of illustration suits the plan of the book: besides photographs, of which a few are good but most are painted round the contour, there are many figures of line drawing, in which all significance of modelling is lost.

**Die Typen der griechischen Herme.** By REINHARD LULLIES. Pp. 90, with 9 plates. Königsberg: Grafe and Unzer, 1931.

Here is a description, concentrated and

systematic, of the types of Greek Herms. The aim and achievement of the book are alike practical, and the author has not tried to do much more than examine the evidence of the objects and present it briefly and simply. Original Greek works only are considered, and only those of the four great types, Shoulder-Herms, Double-Herms, Body-Herms, and Mantel-Herms. Lists of the monuments are given in their centuries, divided by Type and Material (a few marbles and bronzes, a great number of terracottas, mostly Hellenistic), and the representations on vases and reliefs. The Canonical forms are stated and described, and a theory is given of the time and method of evolution of the Shoulder-Herm, the first and most important of the types, from which the others derived.

No example of a Herm earlier than the sixth century has been preserved. The author seeks its origin by the analogy of idols related in form. It developed, he thinks, from an aniconic pillar, which gradually obtained human forms. About the middle of the sixth century it returned to its first conception: it lost its limbs, and was given the architectural form which became canonic. It is, he says, a rather late, conscious adaptation, not the survival of a primitive idea. It seems likely that the origin and reason of the form is connected with its meaning and use. It may be supposed to have been kept or adapted because it fitted some particular purpose. The purpose of Herms, earlier and later, is not much discussed here. It may be outside the subject of the book, and perhaps this has been too limited.

**Sculptured portraits of Greek Statesmen.**

By ELMER G. SUHR. (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology*, No. 13.) Pp. xxi + 189, with 23 plates. Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press, and London: H. Milford, 1931. 24s. 6d.

The author writes with the interest of an historian more than a critic of sculpture. His concern is not so much: 'How did artists of the different periods conceive a portrait of a statesman, or of any particular statesman, whether contemporary or dead?' as: 'Can we attach to the names of Greek statesmen, about whom we are informed, any of the portrait statues and heads which happen to have survived?' The problem of the relation of portrait to the original can be studied from either point of view. The historian's question, which is only of minor importance to him, is simple: 'If this statue can be identified with a particular man, how closely do its features resemble him?' He is satisfied when, as in most cases, it can be shown easily, that few

of the living features have been reproduced; unless there is a moral significance to be sought, as has been attributed to the head of Pericles by Kresilas. A study of the growth and change of the Greek idea of a portrait and its relation to other kinds of sculpture of the same periods is here not made, or is touched very slightly.

This is the first book, however, in which have been collected the names of the most famous Greek statesmen in chronological order, with a list of the statues and heads which have been connected with them. The author has read with thoroughness the works of other scholars on the subject; he states their opinions, gives references, and usually adds his own judgment. Although there is little here which is new, the book should have a value to students for reference.

**Corinth IX: Sculptures, 1896-1923.** By FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON. Pp. xiii + 161; 332 figs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1931.

The catalogue of sculptures, excavated at Corinth between 1895 and 1924, is well produced. The figures, which are in the text, are clear and good. Unfortunately little was found worthy of publication: a Mycenaean face, no. 2, is extremely ugly, if interesting; a good head of the Cleveland boy (*JdI.* 1926, Pl. VI), no. 4; a body copied from the same original as Conservatori (no. 56), no. 5; an 'Enyo' copied from an original of the late fourth cent., no. 11, is all that there is of interest among the copies of Greek works: there is, however, an admirable series of Julio-Claudian statues and heads, nos. 134-8; some good draped figures, nos. 193-6; some interesting statues with bases from the Stoa of Colossal Figures, nos. 217 ff.; a very good second-century sarcophagus with a representation of the Seven against Thebes, no. 241; a fragmentary base with garlands of the first century, no. 291, and some late draped figures, all headless, no. 325 ff. The text is full of matter which is irrelevant in a catalogue and anywhere controversial: surely Calamis has no place in a scientific work, p. 7; the peplos mentioned on p. 14 is not Doric but Attic: the Barracco Criophoros ought to be mentioned on p. 29; the reference to Blumel on p. 40 is completely irrelevant. It is a pity, where only copies have been found, that no attempt has been made to date the copies; and in the section on Roman sculpture, where we are dealing with originals, the dating is unsatisfactory: on p. 77 we find the astonishing argument: 'neither this head nor any other portrait of the type appears to represent a vicious man. Nero therefore is

perhaps more probable (than Drusus)'; no. 159 is said to be Flavian, but it looks to me Republican; no. 163 is said to be early first century, A.D., but is surely much later; no. 168 cannot be earlier than the third century, though it is said to 'belong doubtless to the early part of the second century.'

T. B. L. W.

**Sculture greche e romane del palazzo ducale di Mantova.** By A. LEVI. Pp. 126; 115 plates. Rome: Biblioteca d'arte editrice, 1931.

The Mantua catalogue is in a limited edition and is dedicated to the Accademia Virgiliana. There is an introduction on the formation of the collection and an appendix which gives the documents, lists of acquisitions, etc. The plates, particularly the early ones of the palace itself, are very pleasing, but the lights and shadows are so much accentuated that all strong lines vanish and this takes from their value for comparison: some of the later plates, e.g. CVII, CXIII, are very badly reproduced indeed. The text supplies all needs, it is concise and well-written, and deals with all relevant matter; the documentation is full and the descriptions excellent. There is no need perhaps to cite individual works in this well-known collection, but it may be worth calling attention to the female head, no. 3, an original of the fifth century, near the Cassel Apollo; no. 64, a bronze head of Arsinoë III; no. 74, which Levi now regards as a Hellenistic variant of the Venus Genetrix; no. 101, a Republican portrait; and the magnificent Roman sarcophagi.

T. B. L. W.

**Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung Antiker Skulpturen. Band IV, Römische Kopien Griechischer Skulpturen des Fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.** By CARL BLUMEL. Pp. 58; lxxxii plates and 14 illustrations in text. Berlin: Hans Schoetz & Co., 1931.

'We visited the Louvre, and there I saw many fine statues: but I have forgotten all about every one of them, except the Apollo Belvidere, and that I shall remember for ever: not for its beauty: but for the appearance of life, fire, and animation, which can never be described, nor imagined, by anybody who has not seen it. The quivering lips—the throat! Surely there was life and pulsation about that statue! It is said that a fair lady once sat by the Apollo, whom she could not warm, till she went raving mad, and in that state died.' So, a century ago, wrote one who was not inexpert of masculine beauty.

Are we to sneer at these transports, who,



having ousted the Apollo from fashion, cannot quite make up our minds whether the Herms of Olympia is to follow him or not, cannot yet tell the difference between copies and originals? Our judgments will always be fallible if we make them merely objective or merely subjective. Emery, claw-chisels and the running-drill are only the abc of the matter: they leave you eventually face to face with the work of art, and then you must make up your mind. What emotional value, then, has a copy? None? Do you get no aesthetic pleasure from Amelung's goddess or the Pourtalès torso of the Doryphoros? Of course you do. Museums to-day buy originals, because it is now their duty to show the public what Greek sculpture was: but it is impossible to dismiss the old collections, made up mainly of restored copies, with a couple of disdainful words. Blumel's volume is a model of what their epitaphs should be. Everything necessary, nothing unnecessary is here: for though good photographs might seem to supersede full verbal descriptions, it is always doubtful how much will be overlooked in a photograph: so the descriptions are retained, even—and here we could perhaps have spared it—for the modern transformation K 153.

In its summary of the literature, too, the text is excellent; gives a full statement of alternative probabilities, and makes few arbitrary decisions: this—though some archaeologists would have it otherwise—is surely the proper method, now that we have outgrown the propagandist stage, when scholars took sides, as in some elaborate game, and would argue Calamis *ad nauseum* on the flimsiest scraps of evidence.

Both photographs and reproductions are good, though the photographer has not quite been able to overcome the difficulties of uneven lighting (see Plates 20, 24, 27, 42 (left), 73): the plates are clear and pleasing: equally important, little or no retouching of the negatives is to be detected.

The following remarks may serve to draw attention to a few of the more interesting pieces:

K 122. Replica of Munich 'King.' Percy Gardner's identification with Themistocles, though not conclusive, has, I think, something in its favour.

K 123. Bearded head of mid-fifth century type: to the evidence for the original poise of the head add the different treatment of the two eyes.

K 136. Omphalos Apollo: to list of replicas add a torso in the Museo Mussolini.

In this replica at Berlin the two patches in the middle of the back and on the right hip can hardly be let in in the place of supports: a support broken away leaves, not a hollow, but a projection, which can be tooled down: and in the

middle of the back a support would be almost unthinkable. I suggest that they fill the holes left by the rough prising-out of the metal attachments of some attribute, a lyre-strap or a quiver-strap, probably the latter. The Choiseul-Gouffier replica has an extensive repair in the middle of the back, but this may be mere coincidence: more important is a small support on the outside of the left calf just below the knee, which may have been for a bow held in the left hand.

K 146, 147. Polycleitan discus-bearer: I have always found it hard to believe, even after B.'s article in *Winkelmannsprogramm* 90, that these are copies from the same original.

K 148. If this, though derived from the same statue ('discus-bearer') as K 146, is entitled 'Heracles' from the band round the head, surely K 146 ought to be entitled 'Hermes' from the wings: or has something subtle escaped me?

K 151. The superb Pourtalès Doryphoros torso, which sustained serious damage and narrowly escaped destruction in the German Embassy at St. Petersburg at the outbreak of the last war.

K 155. Replica of Dresden Polycleitan boy: to the list of replicas add Ince 192.

K 157-9. 'Narcissus': add the fragment at Ince, 217i, which is of more detailed work than either of the examples at Berlin.

K 165. B. accepts the Esquiline Venus as a straight copy, which still seems to me doubtful.

K 176. The common attribution of the Berlin Amazon type to Polycleitus is rightly ruled out.

K 166-7. Amelung's goddess: the frequent use of this type for Empresses postulates a goddess, a bride, who will serve as the bride of the deified Emperor, just as Venus was favoured not only as ancestress of the Julian race but as the bride of the Emperor in his guise of Mars. Demeter, who has been suggested, is thus less suitable than Hera: but I see nothing against the inscription *Europe* on the replica in New York, and Europa also was the bride of Zeus.

K 181. Victory, late fifth-century style: add a fifth replica in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The catalogue is one of Roman copies save for the two eighteenth-century imitations at the end. There follows an appendix to Band III (which was the catalogue of originals), containing two interesting heads, each in a rather unusual style, a good relief, and a head which Blumel claims for the middle of the fifth century. We now look forward to the volume containing the fine archaic sculptures of the Museum.

B. A.

**Archäologische Mittheilungen aus Russischen Sammlungen.** Herausgegeben von B. PHARMAKOVSKY, G. RODENWALDT, O. WALDHAUER, TH. WIEGAND, A. A. ZACHAROFF. **Band I: Die Antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage, Erster Teil.** By OSKAR WALDHAUER. Pp. 84: xlviii plates and 17 illustrations in text. **Zweiter Teil.** By OSKAR WALDHAUER. Pp. 75: lii plates and 90 illustrations in text. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1928 and 1931.

The sculptures published in Dr. Waldhauer's two handsome volumes of the collection in the Hermitage are illustrated—from good photographs—partly by text-figures, partly in plates: this arrangement has the slight disadvantage that reference back to the text from the figures (e.g. fig. 9, vol. ii) is sometimes difficult, since there are no catalogue-numbers under them.

In the first volume there is an unfortunate predominance of copies from bearded deities of the fourth century and later, the least interesting products of Greek religious art: and if you turn from No. 1, a colossal statue of Zeus in the worst fourth-century manner, to the last two pieces in the book—tiny, rough, late Roman heads of provincial work, yet still with a spark of originality about them—you will inevitably ask yourself whether a living dog is not better than a dead lion. But between these extremes there is much of interest: notably No. 9, a statuette of Dionysus seated, for which W. makes two claims, that it is a work of the fourth century B.C. and that it copies an important cult-statue of the fifth century, namely, the Dionysus made of gold and ivory by Alcamenes for the temple south of the Acropolis at Athens. His case, put forward with skill and moderation, rests on the resemblance to the two familiar coins (published in this *Journal* in 1887), on similarities in drapery between the statuette and some of the pedimental figures of the Parthenon, and between its head and that of the Hermes Propylaios. There are discrepancies, naturally enough: even if the hypothesis were correct there would be: at present we must, with its author, regard it as not proven, though not by any means improbable.

A well-known piece is the head No. 65, which has been suspected of being simply a replica of the head from Perinthos (at Dresden) with beard added in the copying. W. rejects this explanation on the ground of the artistic unity of the head and the doubt whether mere identity of hair, when everything else differs, does really postulate a single common original.

68. Head of Demosthenes. The replica of this common type at Oxford would perhaps have been worth mention for its perfect preservation,

even though the dates proposed for it in *JHS.* xlvii—'almost contemporary with the original,' 'within a hundred years of 280 B.C.' 'at latest in the first century B.C.'—are all too optimistic: it looks Hadrianic to me.

In the second volume, devoted to boyhood and youth, the first important piece is the Eros Soranzo, 85. (The position of the two restored patches on the back should be stated.) W. is to publish this statue in Brunn-Bruckmann, and gives only a short discussion: meanwhile to the replicas add the torso in the Ashmolean Museum (Schweitzer, *R.M.* 44, p. 19). I do not feel certain that the head and its pose were like Soranzo's: there are no traces of wings.

87. It is rash to challenge the cataloguer when I have not seen the marble itself, but surely *if* the left arm and the drapery on it are antique, as W. says, the remaining drapery with most of the lower part of the statue is antique too, at any rate the feet, plinth, tortoise and left leg, for a restorer can hardly have invented this tortoise and is not likely to have copied it from another replica: while, since a flaw in the left leg seems to continue in the right, that will be antique too: the lower part will have been made separately by the original sculptor. The importance of this suggestion is to prove that the left arm does belong to the body, and, from the tortoise, to identify the statue as Hermes.

88. The head *may* be male and *may* belong to the body: but it seems to spring from the left shoulder, it looks too big, and its setting destroys the rhythm of the statue. To my eye, too, the legs, No. 186, look female: W. will have it otherwise: perhaps one of those hasty court-portraits where 'The head may be the king's, but the legs are certainly those of a lady-in-waiting.'

91. Torso of a boy. Why not a straight copy from the original of the Westmacott athlete? Different copyist, difference of rendering: and the surface of the Westmacott statue is by no means fresh.

98. Surely a simple replica of the Doryphoros?

99. Westmacott athlete. To the replicas of the head add one in the Soane Museum (No. 974), with groove for a wreath at the back of the head.

107. Head commonly said to resemble that on the standing discobolus in the Vatican. W. claims that there were two originals with this motive, one Attic, copied by the Vatican statue, with a replica in London: the other post-Polyceitan (Naucydes), copied by the statue in the Museo Mussolini, with a replica in the Louvre. But the London statue (which is no longer exhibited) consists of a battered antique torso with false head, arms, and legs: the

Louvre statue—a wreck—bears a much-restored head which (according to my notes) does not belong to it. Thus the evidence provided by these two statues for two distinct types vanishes, and save for some oddments we are left with the statues of the Vatican and Museo Mussolini as before: these, I suspect, are both copied from the same original, the first badly, the second well.

'Herakles als Knabe,' 187, 189, and throughout the collections of Europe: surely rather 'Eros as Heracles.'

Scholars who undertake a necessary but tedious task of this kind, and carry it through, do indeed deserve the warmest thanks of all students of ancient sculpture, to whom the finished book will inevitably become a standard work of reference.

B. A.

**Antiken in ostpreussischem Privatbesitz.**

By B. SCHWEITZER. (*Schriften d. Königsberger Gelehrten Ges.*, vi, 4.) Pp. 43; 26 plates and 6 extra plates. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1929. 12 m.

A description of sculptures in two country-houses in East Prussia. At Waldburg are a few antiquities from Pompeii: at Beynühren, a severely classical structure with a Caryatid portico, there are a number of marbles from Italy, the type of collection we have long been accustomed to in this country. Noteworthy are: I, an Amazon head; II, a torso of a Diadumenos; VI, head of a young Satyr; and several Roman portraits, including, IX, an interesting girl's head of early Augustan date, and, XI, a head of the younger Agrippina. All the pieces are well illustrated and fully discussed.

**Festschrift für James Loeb, zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet.** Pp. 141; 16 plates, 120 illustrations in the text. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1930.

Fourteen essays by American and German scholars are combined to make a singularly attractive and varied volume. With the exception of Spiegelberg's paper on demotic papyri, all deal with topics which interest readers of this *Journal*. Sculpture is well represented: Arndt suggests that the Petworth-Abbati type of head belongs to the Mattei Amazon; Curtius discusses two statues, in Florence and Rome, of Eros in chains; an attractive head in Cleveland is considered by Fowler to be a Greek original of the pre-Parthenon period: and Luce publishes a head in Providence, apparently related to Cnidian Aphrodite. Among the papers concerned with the minor arts the longest, and perhaps the most important, is the publication by

Bulle of a vase-fragment at Würzburg with a representation of an actor: this is followed by a discussion of a class of Tarentine vases in polychrome technique, made in the early fourth century B.C. and leading on to 'Gnathia' ware; an appendix deals with the well-known relief of an actor at Dresden. Sanborn publishes the fine Attic rhyton in the form of a mounted Amazon, signed by Sotades, found at Meroe in the Soudan ten years ago and now at Boston: Boston also supplies some genre-groups in terracotta, described by Chase, while Miss Richter illustrates Arretine stamps in New York. Miss Goldman contributes terracotta votive offerings from Halae—a shield, a gorgoneion, and an interesting early bust. A bronze mask from Tarentum is associated by Sieveking with Sparta. At the end are published three objects in the Loeb Collection: by Weickert, a clay mask of a Silen; by Wolters, a golden bunch of tiny ears of corn, of sepulchral purpose; and, by Zahn, a silver *emblemata* of Tarentine origin, found many years ago in Persia.

**From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, I (1931).** Pp. 191; 133 illustrations. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1931.

About ten years ago two volumes of similar character to the present work, but written in Danish, appeared in Copenhagen dealing with the rich Ny Carlsberg collections. In view of the international interest of these essays, the excellent decision has been taken to continue the series, but to employ the English, French, and German languages. The first volume of the new venture is pleasantly varied in content and admirably printed: it includes two papers of Hellenic interest, a publication of the white lekythi in the Glyptothek, and a long and discursive discussion, from the pen of Dr. Poulsen, of the important Greek portraits housed in the same collection.

**Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium. Band I: Die Minoischen und Archaischen Griechischen Bronzen.** By KARL ANTON NEUGEBAUER. Pp. 125; 40 plates; 34 figs. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1931. 52 m.

The fact that the magnificent collection of bronzes at Berlin includes an unusually large proportion of well-known examples is due to the work of many eminent scholars and in an especial degree to that of Prof. Neugebauer. He has already made the more interesting pieces contribute their share to the history of ancient

sculpture and metal-work, and now puts us still more in his debt by concentrating them and their fellows in a handsome and comprehensive catalogue.

Of the four volumes proposed, this is the first. It begins with the Minoan period, represented by the famous praying woman and two male figures. Next come the geometric bronzes which, owing to the duplicates from the Olympia excavations, are a particularly fine and varied series. There is no question that geometric horses and cattle, like other nice animals, look well in herds, and personally I find the fourteen plates devoted to them particularly attractive. The final section is, however, the most important in the book. Here are the archaic statuettes produced by the various schools of the seventh and sixth centuries, including the kouros from Dodona, the kriophoros from Crete, the shepherds from Arcadia, and many other old friends.

This is the *material*. Before discussing it further, an account should be given of the *form* in which it is presented.

The beautiful colotype plates are extremely clear: they illustrate every item, save for a few unimportant duplicates, and they supply a generous proportion of back and side views. Nevertheless, Prof. Neugebauer, realising that the camera is sometimes too reticent, has added line drawings in the text where necessary. These explain points otherwise obscure, like detailed engraving on ill-preserved specimens, or complicated structures like the geometric votive chariots.

The arrangement of the text is one that should be more widely adopted. First comes the description; next the bibliography; finally the author's own comments. This is logical, because he is last in date: it is practical, because he can thus refer to his predecessors' theories without a cumbrous mass of footnotes and references.

It is this commentary of the author's that expands the catalogue into a contribution to the study of Greek bronzes. In placing the Berlin pieces in their proper context, parallel or contrasting bronzes are cited from other collections to which a good museum index provides the key. Here I would like to emphasise some points as being particularly noteworthy and indicate the few on which I hold different views.

P. 1, No. 1. The praying woman. Prof. Neugebauer explains the peculiar coils on back and head as coils of hair: so did Furtwängler. I can, however, find no parallel in Minoan art for hair *knotted on the back*, in this way, though the 'sacral knot,' well illustrated by the painted lady *P. of M. I.* p. 433. Fig. 311, may indicate another explanation. Nevertheless, Sir Arthur

Evans' view, namely, that snakes are represented, has most support from kindred figures.

P. 3, No. 3. This intriguing figure is dated L.M. III. For so important a pronouncement, the evidence is slight but sound: a terracotta from Palaikastro. The reference to the publication, Bosanquet and Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations*, Pl. XXIX, should be given.

P. 32, No. 183. For the siren and bud from Sparta, see also *B.S.A.* xxviii, p. 89. Pl. IX.

P. 87, Nos. 186, 187. The apes may be the descendants of those on geometric pendants: that class is discussed by Forsdyke, *British Museum Quarterly*, vi, 3, p. 38, Pl. XXXIII. If so, the archaic apes would owe less to Egypt than Prof. Neugebauer suggests.

P. 90, No. 192, the Apollo from Naxos. Was he made by a Peloponnesian or a Naxian? Prof. Neugebauer compromises on a Naxian trained in the Peloponnese. The shoulders and head seem to me essentially un-Peloponnesian, and Prof. Neugebauer has the same impression about the torso. No wonder that this fine but eclectic statuette scares commentators.

P. 106, No. 213. Notice the suggestive comparison between this kouros and the female figure dedicated to Eileithyia in the British Museum, No. 188.

*Attribution.* The archaic bronzes are arranged according to the centres where there is reason to suppose they were made. Now the definition of these centres is the most serious problem which confronts students of Greek bronzes at the moment, and there are two distinct methods of approach. On the one hand, Dr. Langlotz concentrates on style and considers provenance no criterion except under peculiar conditions. On the other hand, Prof. Neugebauer, Mr. Payne, and myself uphold the view that provenance, especially in the case of groups, is often a clue to the place of manufacture, provided that the evidence of style points in the same direction. This view is certainly supported by the excavations at Samos and Perachora. The results obtained by the two different methods coincide most regularly in Laconia and only intermittently elsewhere.

Prof. Neugebauer's attributions are based on a discerning combination of evidence, and the groups which he assembles—Cretan, Laconian, Arcadian, Argive, Corinthian, Attic, Boeotian, Ionian, North Greek—stand out all the more distinctly by reason of his caution in classing as Peloponnesian those statuettes which cannot be more exactly placed. The long series of characterful peasants from Arcadia should be a final proof of the existence of the Arcadian

school, even though several prominent Arcadians cannot, owing to their late date, appear till Vol. II. Corinth has, rightly, claimed the goat No. 181 from Dodona, and may now, in view of the Perachora finds, add its cousin No. 185. (The possibility of a Corinthian origin for this piece is discussed but not accepted on p. 86.) Athens, a curiously unsatisfactory site for bronzes, has only one representative, but a safe one. Boeotia is assumed, rightly I believe, to have produced its own bronze oxen, one of which recalls the distinctive animals from South Italy.

Most important perhaps is the North Greek group. All its members come from Dodona and neighbouring sites save one from Thessaly, and the choice lies between considering them Peloponnesian imports or explaining them as a local offshoot of a Peloponnesian school. Personally I agree with Prof. Neugebauer in considering that the majority have elements which unite them with each other and distinguish them from the more orthodox products of the Peloponnese.

It must be kept in mind that the evidence for each centre will be strengthened when the section of the catalogue (a separate one) dealing with decorative work, vases, etc. appears: so much so, indeed, that I wish that mirror supports, patera, handles and the like could have been admitted with the statuettes. The mirror supports, at any rate, often appear to have been made by the same artists as the figures.

Nevertheless, the catalogue gives us so much that it is, perhaps, ungrateful to ask for more. Apart from its value as a record of the collection which it publishes, it serves both as a reminder of the great progress made in this branch of art during the last decade and as a stimulus to the work that still lies before us. W. L.

**Bilder Griechischer Vasen, Heft 4: Der Pan-Maler.** By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. 28; 32 plates. Berlin: H. Keller, 1931.

Professor Beazley's studies of vases by the Pan-painter are well known to English readers from his article in *JHS.* xxxii. and his *Vases in American Museums*, but this separate monograph will be found very useful. In his list of this painter's vases in *Attische Vasenmaler* he enumerates 72 such attributions (three in the Appendix); in the present work he now assigns one of these (No. 17 in Florence) to Myson, but adds 14 new examples, making a total of 85. The text of the new book is largely devoted to a description of the more important vases, written in the vivid style he has made peculiarly his own (this is presumably why he regards the task of translation into German as 'nicht gerade leicht').

This is followed by a list of the vases with description and bibliography, arranged according to shape, and a list of the 32 plates, which are admirably executed. I note one or two trifling *errata*: on p. 21 for E743 read E473; on p. 22 the running number should be 18 in each case, viz. 18 (18), not 18 (14); on p. 26, no. 81 is no. 64 in the *Att. Vasenum.* list. H. B. W.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 10 = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Cabinet des Médailles) 2.** By MADAME G. LAMBRINO (MARCELLE FLOT). Paris: Champion, n.d. [1931].

The Attic black-figure, begun in the first fascicule, is finished in the second. The photographs are good, the reproduction satisfactory apart from double-printings (see *JHS.* 50, p. 162). The diffuseness of the text is partly due to the practice, common in the Corpus, of setting down what is either invariable, or clear from the picture, and of describing not the vase, but the photographs, which leads to repetition. A good point is that the author realises the importance of noting restorations.

Pl. 49-53, the cups 320, 321, and 322. I see nothing either Nicosthenic or Ionising in these. 320 is particularly bold and beautiful, and consequently as far from Nikosthenes as day from night. Pl. 53, 3, restoration in the head of Herakles. The cup is related to the Acheloos painter. Pl. 57, 5-8: this odd little vase does not seem to be Attic, but what it is I don't know. The subjects are difficult too. The four 'indistinct objects' appear to be phalli, as De Ridder suggested, the 'trident' to be a flower. Pl. 58, 3, and pl. 59, Pamphaios hydria: Dionysos (pl. 59, 2) is a good suggestion. The praise of the style (text to pl. 59, 3) is excessive: black-figure does not stand or fall by such neat, insipid works as this or the signed hydria in London. There is much more in the three hydriae of the Leagros group, pl. 58, 5-7 (*ABS.* pp. 43-45, nos. 40, 13, and 36). Pl. 58, 6: the graffiti are hard to read: what I saw was the same symbol as on no. 252 (*CI.* p. 56, left), and a ligature of H and V.

Pl. 68, 7-9, mastos. 'Breaks and clever repairs not impairing the essential.' As a matter of fact, great part of the vase is modern. In *Vases in Poland*, p. 4, I observed that it seemed incomplete: and it is: both handles, and the nipple, are missing. Moreover, the birds are modern: the first maenad (pl. 68, 7) is much repainted: the upper part of the satyr facing her is nearly all modern, and part of his legs: repainting in the clothes of Dionysos and of the maenad following him: the upper half of the next satyr modern: the satyr in pl. 68, 8 modern,

except parts of his legs and face: the white of the donkey repainted: the upper part of the maenad behind it modern: the satyr following her largely repainted. The ancient parts are very pretty, and probably by the same hand as the Wurzburg mastos, Schaaf, *Bf.* fig. 54, which is perfectly preserved and shows what the shape of our vase must have been. Pl. 69: see Mingazzini, *Vasi Castellani*, p. 314, no. 13. Pl. 68, 10: variant of the kind of kantharos dealt with by Jacobsthal and Langsdorff, *Bronzeschnabelkannen*, p. 62.

Pl. 70: the author rightly calls these Attic, but detects Boeotian influence, for which there is no evidence. Pl. 70, 15, the man holds cloak and stick. Pl. 74, a by-form of the Nicosthenic shape: like, a vase in Cervetri, 47692 (Herakles and Amazons: Herakles and Athena). Pl. 75, 6-7, and 8-9, neck-amphorae 219 and 220: the Diosphos painter is called a painter in *Vases in Poland*, p. 6, not the 'chief of a group.' In the text to pl. 75, 8 we read '... Les deux amphores seraient donc l'œuvre du même peintre. Nous devons faire remarquer que lorsqu'il s'agit de vases aussi réparés que ceux-ci, les rapprochements ne doivent être admis qu'avec la plus extrême prudence et ne peuvent devenir des certitudes.' This sounds wise and wholesome. But what are the facts? In no. 220 the middle of one figure, Hermes, is corroded and partly repainted: while no. 219 is in mint condition, the repaints and revarnishings described by the author are imaginary.

Pl. 75, 6: the inscription reads *ἡρα*. Pl. 75, 10, female, so not Apollo. Pl. 77, 1-2: the loin-cloths are not, as far as I remember, repainted; but the middle of the right-hand satyr is modern. Pl. 77, 3: all three inscriptions are meaningless, and cannot be turned into Greek proper names by simply adding capitals and accents. Pl. 78, 1 'style rapide, mais aisé et correct.' Say rather the miserable style of a complete incompetent. Pl. 81, 6: the author repeats, with a query, the desperate suggestion of De Ridder, 'lid of an olpe, with a hole for the handle to pass through.' But an olpe has no lid, and if it had, the underside would not be left rough, as it is here. A glance at the text to *CF.* Oxford, III H, pl. 3, 23, at Caskey, *Vases in Boston*, pl. 15 and p. 33, or at the Louvre vase *CA* 1265, will show what the fragment is: the top of a covered cup. For the trumpeter at the chariot-race, cf. Pausanias, 6, 13, 9. His 'baldrick' is a cloak. The author is right in calling the vase Attic, not Ionian with De Ridder: but 'Ionic coiffure' seems to be a vestige.

Pls. 82 and 83 give the b.f. fragments, tilted at various angles, and many of them upside down: there must be some good reason for this, but it

would have been more natural to place them the right way up. Most of the fragments are said to come from 'cups,' the author not distinguishing between kylikes and lekanis-lids. Pl. 82, 1-4, 6, 12, 14, 21 are from cups: pl. 82, 5 from a neck-amphora: pl. 82, 7-11 from the shallow, handled, lid of a large bowl or dish (not a lekanis): pl. 83, 1-2 from a volute-krater: pl. 83, 16 I did not note: the rest are from lekanis-lids. The author is cautious about pertinences: 'everywhere small differences of detail, sensible when the object is held in the hand, make it impossible to turn analogies into certainties.' It does not seem to have occurred to the author that fragments may join: and if they join, they certainly belong. Thus on pl. 83, 12, 28, and 25 join: 29 joins 28: 27 joins 25: 21 joins 29 and pl. 82, 16. An unpublished fragment joins pl. 83, 6, another joins pl. 83, 19: pl. 83, 7 joins 24: pl. 83, 8 joins 9: pl. 83, 14 joins pl. 82, 19. So much from a casual inspection: careful study would no doubt show more. Interpretation:—pl. 82, 2: nothing need have been lost since De Ridder: I surmise that he held the fragment the right way up (not upside down as here), saw that the 'scabbard-end' was a bit of sleeve and white arm, and wrote, correctly, 'Amazon.' Pl. 82, 4, youths and old men, not satyrs. 8, not a gorgon. 12, not a gorgoneion, but a satyr-face. 14, not Troilos, since fully armed. 15, upside down: the rays ran round the knob of the lekanis: I do not recognise 'the style of Nikosthenes.' 16, upside down: not a horn. 17, not a 'man or warrior,' but Minotaur, the 'indistinct object' being his tail. 21, not Medusa, but a cock. 22 (upside down), not a cushion, but a shield, charged with a tripod. 26, the Calydonian rather. Pl. 83, 5, one mounting a chariot. 9, not a gigantomachy, for the 'Athena' is like the females on 12 and 24, and the 'trident of Poseidon' is the spear held by the warrior on the left. 12, not Amphiaraios. 17, might belong to 22: on the right, part of a booted male to 1. 22: the subject is missed: it is the little Achilles brought by his father to Chiron. 23, one mounting his chariot to 1., and a warrior to 1.

Pl. 84, 5-6, an acontist, not a runner. Pl. 88, at last a vase that really is 'revarnished.' There is also a good deal of repainting: the white, the feet of the boy to the left of Athena and of the foremost spectator, and part of the inscription. The author reads *καλῶς τῶι κυβιστητῶι*, which involves a form *κυβιστητός*—not nice: the old suggestion *καλῶς τῶι κυβιστητῇ*: *ἡ τοι* is perhaps preferable, but the inscription wants cleaning. Pl. 88, 3, the 'fault of drawing' in the arm is due not to 'misinterpreted silhouette' (cf. text to pl. 53, 3) but to heavy repainting.

Pl. 89, 4: this cannot be called a 'pseudo-panathenaic amphora, for all that connects it with the panathenaic is the cock-columns: Mingazzini's excursus, quoted here, is about quite different things. The vase is by the same painter as Cab. Med. 223 (CV. pl. 38, 4), the painter of the Swing amphora in Boston (98. 918). Pl. 91, 5, isn't there a white figure on the left, or is the illustration deceptive? I have not seen the original, which is skied. Pl. 91, 7: the vase cannot be as early as 'the beginning of the fourth century': it may be earlier than pl. 90, 2, which is of the year 324-3 B.C., but not by more than twenty years.

Pl. 93: 'plastic vases (Rhodo-Ionian).' Miss Price's work, *East Greek Pottery*, should have been quoted in the bibliography, to the exclusion of mere compilations. Pl. 93, 1, cf. Kinch, *Ivoulia*, p. 56, and Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, p. 297. Pl. 93, 2, cf. CV. Oxford, II D, pl. 1, 4, and Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, p. 471. Pl. 93, 4 seems Corinthian, in spite of the warmish clay. Pl. 93, 9-12, Gorgoneion style. Pl. 93, 13-20, Samian terracotta style. Pl. 94, 3: see *Artemis Orthia*, p. 92 and pl. 16. Pl. 95, 6-9, Chelis cup: The signature is given wrong; it should be Χελίς ε[ρ]σ[ι]ν, the last epsilon omitted. Replica of the plant, CV. Florence III, I, pl. 12, bottom. Pl. 96, 4: Αχιλλεύς is a genitive.

A correction to my review of the first fascicule (*JHS*. 48, pp. 256-7): for kappa read koppa. And one or two additions: pl. 34, 1, by the painter of London B 148 (*JHS*. 51, p. 282); pl. 34, 3, by the painter of Berlin 1686 (see CV. Oxford, text to III H, pl. 4, 3; pl. 45, 1, Heidelberg group (*JHS*. 51, p. 280, no. 15); pl. 45, 6, by Elbows Out (see *BSR*. 11, pp. 4-5 and *ABS*, p. 23). Pl. 47, 5-8: replica in the Loeb collection, Sieveking, *Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen*, pl. 43, 1, and p. 55: by the Tleson painter.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Pays-Bas 2 = Musée Scheurleer (La Haye), 2.** By C. W. LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER. Paris: Champion, n.d. [1931].

Mixed, including Egyptian; many interesting pieces; the text careful.

II D and III C, pl. 2 is entitled 'fabriques indéterminées': but most of the vases figured on it come from fabrics which, though not located for certain, are perfectly well determined; Naukratite for example.

III c, pl. 8 (Corinthian). For 6 and 10 see Payne's *Necrocorinthia*. In 8, Erata is simply the name of the person represented, and does not imply that the vase was made for her. In 9, the white thing on the right looks, in the illustration,

like knees and right shank of a human figure to left, with the left leg flexed.

Attic. III H b and d, pl. 8, Polos style, cf. CV. Oxford, II d, pl. 1, 18, and Payne, *NC*. III H d and e, pl. 1-4, seems before the middle of the sixth century. 8 and 9: 'seventh century' is shown by the context to be a misprint. Pl. 6, 7: the Herry replica, mentioned in *JHS*. 48, p. 109, is no doubt that in Brussels. On the group to which this kotyle belongs, see now Mingazzini, *Castellani*, pp. 312-17. III 1 b-c, pl. 7; the cup is by the same hand as pl. 8, 1-2 and 4. Mr. Pottier's 'aryballos' is no doubt right: decorated, as often, with a wheel; but his 'sandal and stylus' (pl. 9, 1) are a pair of sandals. Pl. 10, 2-3 and 5: the rest of this Makron cup is in the Villa Giulia, was found at Campagnano, and is published in *Mon. Lincei*. 23, p. 283. III 1 d, pl. 3, 7, not earlier than the fourth century (Jena group). Pl. 3, 9: my pencil note read 'painter of E 777,' not E 111—English 7's are often taken for 1's abroad: the cup is *Att. V*. p. 282, no. 2. Pl. 4, 1-3: I thought from a loutrophoros: on this, and the Tübingen vase, see *Pennsylvania Museum Journal*, 23, p. 15. Pl. 4, 4, from a stand: by the Kleophon painter (*Att. V*. p. 421, No. 22). Pl. 4, 9, recalls the Cadmus painter.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Pologne 1 = Goluchów, Musée Czartoryski.** By KAZIMIERZ BULAS. Cracow: Gebethner and Wolff; and Paris: Champion, n.d. [1932].

All the Goluchow vases. The text is good, and (rare in the *Corpus*) brief.

Pl. 7, 2-3. The bibliography of plastic vases should have included Miss Price's account in her *East Greek Pottery*, for it gives much that is new. Pl. 7, 1, Gorgoneion class; pl. 7, 2, Corinthian. Pl. 8: other 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphorae by the same hand are in Leyden (Brants, pl. 19, 2), the Hirth collection at Munich (a man, behaving unchastely, between cocks and sirens), and the Louvre (E 840 and E 839. CV. Louvre, III H d, pl. 3, 6 and 12, and pl. 3, 4 and 10). Pl. 13, 3: replica in Delos, Dugas, *Délos*, x. pl. 49, 603. Pl. 15, 2: the 'club-like thing' must be a tree-trunk; if the branches are not in contact with it, the painter's haste is to blame. The man behind Nike is in the usual attitude of lying in wait, his left arm extended with his cloak wrapped round it for defence (cf. e.g. Hartwig, *Meist.* pl. 3, 1). Pl. 19, Aegisthus painter rather than Copenhagen painter. Pl. 20, 1: this is not, I now think, by the Eucharides painter himself, but by an artist very like him, who painted a calyx-krater, with a silen and a maenad on one side, an athlete and his trainer on the other, in the Soprinten-

denza at Bologna. Pl. 30, 2: pl. 7. 3 and 4 of my *Vases in Poland* are reversed. Pl. 32, 3, see Rumpf, *Religion der Griechen*, fig. 173: he suggests that the picture represents the ablutions of a bridegroom. Pl. 39, 1, there are some restorations. Pl. 39, 2, the things in the field are two pairs of sandals. Pl. 41, 2 is Italiote, not Attic. Pl. 47. 5 and pl. 48 are called 'Italiote of the Attic red-figure style'; but the style of both is characteristically Italiote. Pl. 52, 6: the impression is surely not made from a Syracusan decadrachm, but from a barbarous imitation of one.

J. D. B.

**Corinth. Vol. VIII, Part I: Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927.** Edited by BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. Pp. iv + 180. Harvard: University Press, 1931. 85.

This publication comprises (with certain exceptions) all the Greek inscriptions found during the American School's excavations at Corinth, as well as a few which were known before the work began and several which have been discovered accidentally in the vicinity during the progress of the work. It omits inscriptions on terracotta and such texts as have been found during Professor T. L. Shear's excavations since 1925 in the area of the Theatre. The Latin texts, edited by Professor A. B. West, will form Part II of this volume. The present work admirably serves its purpose, and the presence of Professor Meritt's name on the title-page is a guarantee that the task has been done with all due care, alike in the description, the reproduction, and the bibliography of the stones. The commentary is brief, and mostly adequate. Epigraphists will, we fear, be disappointed in the contents of these inscriptions as a whole, for there can be few ancient sites where excavation has yielded so high a proportion of tiny and unintelligible fragments. Mummius and later despoilers have done their work with regrettable thoroughness, and the editor deserves our sympathy for doing what he has done with such depressing material. The contents are as follows: 1-10, Laws and Decrees; 11-22, Catalogues and Boundary-Stones; 23-125, Public Monuments and Dedications; 126-134, Sepulchral; 135-220, Byzantine (135-197, Sepulchral, the rest Miscellaneous); 221-331, Miscellaneous. Of these, about 100 have been published already, a few in *JG*. IV., several by Powell in *AJA*. vii. (1903), and many more by the late K. K. Smith, in *AJA*. xxiii. (1919). Of the unpublished stones at least 100 are Byzantine, which leaves us with barely 130 new Greek texts, of which fully 100 are hopelessly small fragments. The best of these are small chips from statue-

bases, bearing at most three or four letters, often in good fourth-century script—a relic of the sack in 146 B.C.

Among the unpublished stones which merit notice, attention may be called to No. 14, a list of officials and victors at the festival of the Isthmia-Caesarea, dated Ἔτους ΛΓ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀκτίῳ Καίσαρος νίκης, and adding the names of the consuls of this year (A.D. 3); No. 15 is a similar list, undated, from the second century (Meritt's dating is alluded to below); No. 16 is a new fragment belonging to a published list of the same class, dated to A.D. 181. No. 73, a statue-base with the name of an otherwise unknown sculptor, Alkidamos of Corinth (first half of second century, B.C.); No. 75, an incomplete *cursus honorum* (including Tribune of Leg. XII. Fulminata, Proc. Fisci Alexandrini, Proc. Prov. Achaiae, Juridicus Aegypti) of an *Eques* of Trajan's reign. Nos. 109, 110, 117 are three much-mutilated rescripts, of which the first two may be proconsular, the third Imperial: none can be earlier, it seems, than A.D. 250; No. 130 is a funerary epigram of the Antonine Age, above the average in literary elegance. Among the Byzantine texts we may note the peculiarly potent curse in No. 136: the term ἀπο ἐπάρχων in No. 157, an early Christian tombstone: the mention of Βουκελλάριοι in Nos. 207 and 208; and an exceptionally good example of phonetic spelling in No. 215.

A few suggestions are offered, for some of the previously known texts as well as for some of the new ones. No. 4, a 'dikastic' decree, restored with 87 letters to each line (though only one is completed), looks as if it would restore more simply with about 55 letters to the line; this involves our reading στεφάνοι in l. 6 (and l. 11?) as a dative, not a verb, and omitting the allusion to proclamation of the crown in l. 5 f. I would suggest [ἐπαί]νισαι μὲν [τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσοῖ] στεφάνοι [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ὑπακοῦσαι τὰ ἀξιούμεναι(?) ] καὶ ἐξαποσ[τεῖλαι, κ τ λ. It is clear that No. 6 is also 'dikastic,' and, though the length of the line is uncertain, we may restore familiar phrases, e.g. [δικασταί—οἵτινες τῇν τε ἐπιδημίαν καὶ ἀναστροφὴν ἐποίη]σαντο ἀ[ξίως αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἐξαποστειλᾶσης πόλεως—τῶν δὲ δικῶν τὰς μὲν] διέκριναν ἀκολ[ούθως τοῖς νόμοις(?) τὰς δὲ συνέλυσαν—ὁπως οὖν ὁ δῆμος τῶν (?) Ἀργ]είων φαίνεται [χάριτας καταξίας ἀπονέμω], κ τ λ. (Perhaps M. Louis Robert will supply somewhere a more exact restoration.) In No. 5, ll. 3. ff. the accusative plural [πάντας τοὺς - ] εὐερ[γετοῦντας] ought to be a dative, after ἀπ[ο]δοῦσα. Nos. 7 and 9: as the letters of these two fragments are respectively .05 and 0.31-0.37 in height, they can scarcely have been decrees. In 9, l. 2 we should



perhaps read not [ἐ]δοξε: the *delta* looks like *lambda* on the reproduction; but [Φι]λόξε[νον] or [Φι]λόξε[νίας] χάριν?]. Nos. 14-16: in regard to the order of the festivals at the Isthmia we miss a reference to Klee, *Zur Geschichte der Gymnischen Agone* (1918), and to the evidence for the order of the contests in a Spartan festival of Imperial date (*BS.I.* xxvi, pp. 213 ff.). It looks as if more could have been made of the prosopographical *data* also: e.g. No. 15, l. 4, for C. Julius Polyaeus, cf. the *Duoici* of the same name in the reign of Nero (*BMC. Corinth*, 564 ff.), perhaps the grandfather of the Hellenodikes here: l. 7, for—πατρῆου Ἀναξίλλου read [Τρεβ]έλληνοῦ Ἀναξιλᾶου. For the *nomen* cf. *BS.I.* xxvi, p. 196, *ad fin.*: for the *cognomen* at Corinth cf. *BMC. Corinth*, 547-549, *temp.* Nero. l. 32 f.: there is little doubt that the ἐποβατικὸν ἐπὶ Ἀ. Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ was in honour of L. Aelius Caesar, the adopted son of Hadrian, and not of the younger of the two adopted sons of Augustus, as the editor suggests: for this designation of Aelius cf. *BS.I.* xii, p. 463, f. No. 17 = *IG. V.* 1, 37, l. 6 f. This identification, coupled with the absence of the *nomen* Aurelius, suggests that the date may be little, if at all, later than the end of Hadrian's reign, and not, as the editor dates it, the second half of the second century. No. 21: the date of this fragment with *A* for *alpha* cannot, of course, be as early as the fourth century, in fact it could not be much before 200 B.C. In No. 23, which it is certainly tempting, with Smith and Meritt, to connect with Timoleon, it is not pointed out that ll. 3-6 of this text must be metrical, presumably containing two elegiac couplets, and thus that not more than two or three syllables can be lost on the right of the block. No. 66, may we not restore Περσ[ειδῶν] in the last line? No. 70, we miss a reference to Kjellberg's article on C. Julius Eurykles (*Klio*, xvii.). No. 91 must be an architectural dedication: read, e.g., [τὴν ἐξέδραν καὶ τὸ περίστυλον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασεν]. No. 94, l. 1, πρην[χυριαρχην], *vel sim.* No. 110 *a*, perhaps [Κα]λώδιο[ς]. No. 118, l. 1, perhaps —ΔΥΓΙΗΝ ἀπελεύθερ[ον], the first word concealing a name. No. 155, is this necessarily Byzantine? The restoration κοίμη[τήριον] is very dubious, and in other lines are scraps suggestive of an elegiac epitaph, e.g. l. 8, [κ]αὶ γένος ἡμέ[τερον]. No. 245: we feel that the editor has for once thrown in his hand too soon: l. 1, read [τ]εξέ[τα] καὶ ἀκον[τισταί]: ll. 4-7 clearly contain the words of an *acclamatio* addressed to Theodosius 'the Emperor, presumably', which accounts convincingly for {ἀ}νανεωτὰ πό[λεως] in l. 5 cf. δν. πολεως in *IG.* 2304: καντιακ—in l. 7 is baffling: can it conceal some word of Latin origin formed from *camp*—?

But here the reviewer likewise throws in his hand!

A. M. W.

**Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua III: Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien.** By JOSEF KEIL and ADOLF WILHELM. Pp. xiv + 238: 58 plates, 182 figs. in text. Manchester: The University Press, 1931. 40s.

The Viennese plan for the publication of a Corpus of the Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor was interrupted by the War and has been resumed only with difficulty. Its completion will inevitably be delayed for some years not only because of financial difficulties, but also because publication would be premature while every new expedition to Asia Minor continues to bring home hundreds of fresh inscriptions. There is room, therefore, for a series like the present, which is designed not to compete with the Viennese enterprise, but to make available at once the results of preliminary surveys promoted by the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor, which, working in this country through Mr. W. H. Buckler and Professor W. M. Calder, has taken the most active part in Anatolian exploration since the War.

This third volume is concerned with a section of Cilicia lying between the Kalykadnos and the Lamos and including the important sites Seleukeia, Korasion, Korykos and Elaiussa on the coast and Diokaisareia and Olba in the interior. The editors, whose names are sufficient guarantee of competence in archaeology and epigraphy, have had at their disposal not only the records of their latest expedition in 1925 (made at the invitation of the American Society), but also those of a visit in 1914 as well as some unpublished material collected by Heberdev and Wilhelm in 1891 and 1892. They have had further the benefit of skilled assistance on the topographical and architectural side, so that they are able to give a very complete description of the ancient remains of the area surveyed. The 58 plates include a map of the area, plans of the ancient sites and excellent photographs of sites and monuments. Of particular interest are the photographs and plan of the Corycian caves, which with the text in Chapter IX give the best available account of the famous grotto. A second point of topographical interest is the identification in Chapter IV of the ruins at Uzundja Burdj (the site of the temple of Zeus Olbios) with the ancient city of Diokaisareia which was known to exist near Olba. This identification gives another example of the development of a sanctuary into an independent municipality.

Of the 801 inscriptions included in the volume few are of any importance. No. 62, however, throws an interesting side-light on the fortunes of one of the last Seleucids; No. 50 records a bequest to a village Imbriogon in return for the grant of heroic honours to the deceased; No. 197 gives a revised text of the fragmentary imperial decree *CIG.* 8619. The remainder are almost entirely sepulchral and very late. In the mass, however, they have some linguistic and social interest owing to the local custom of mentioning the trade on tombstones (*v.* Index III). The numerous trade names, many of which are new, bear witness to flourishing communities at a late period when Latin influence had made itself felt. The text of the inscriptions leaves little to be desired, but unfortunately the editors have not, except in a few instances, been able to carry out the plan of the series and furnish mechanical copies either of stone or impression. This omission is not due to any negligence on the part of the copiers; the inscriptions are almost all on limestone, which wears so badly as to make an impression or even a photograph very often worthless. The following points have suggested themselves: No. 8, l. 18, the traces suggest περικλυτόν; No. 17, εἰερακαρίου should appear in Index VI; No. 49, l. 1, rather ἐνθάδε; No. 204, the traces suggest χαίρε καὶ . . .; No. 262, l. 6, the text does not correspond with the epigraphic copy; No. 364 *b*, μυρεψοῦ? The Manchester University Press and the Society have reason to be proud of the book, which is most handsomely produced and beautifully printed.

**Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection.** By C. C. EDGAR. (*University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, vol. xxiv.) Pp. xiv + 211; 6 plates. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931. \$3.50.

In 1914, natives digging on the site of the Fayum town of Philadelphia unearthed the correspondence of Zenon, a local estate manager and business agent whose employer Apollonios held the post of διοικητής or Finance Minister under Ptolemy Philadelphus. The great collection of papyri was sold piecemeal: a large share was secured by the Cairo Museum, and other groups by the Italian Papyrological Society, and, in more recent years, by a syndicate composed of the British Museum and several American Universities, including the University of Michigan. While the general nature of the documents thus dispersed over three continents has already been made familiar to scholars by Professor Rostovt-

zeff's enterprising monograph *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, detailed publications of the various collections are not yet completed: but to the realisation of this great task—for the total number of texts must exceed 1500—none have contributed more than Mr. Edgar, who, following upon his sumptuous catalogue of the Zenon papyri in Cairo, now places us still further in his debt by the publication of the volume before us.

The Michigan papyri are a representative selection from Zenon's files, covering almost the whole period of his activities. In text and commentary the author displays his usual mastery, and his intimate knowledge of the material is everywhere in evidence, while the addition of an English translation of every substantially complete text will be welcomed no less by the papyrologist than by the general reader. The facsimiles provided are so excellent that their limited number is to be regretted, the more so since the much more numerous plates of the Cairo Catalogue are not always satisfactory: the frontispiece, an aerial photograph of Philadelphia, is perhaps a luxury.

Those who desire an up-to-date summary of the evidence of the Zenon papyri will find their wants admirably supplied by Mr. Edgar's introductory essay, wherein the public and private activities of Zenon and his circle are carefully analysed: in a valuable note on dating, the problems of the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars are briefly but clearly stated, and a table of concordances between the two appended. The utility of this table, which extends from the 25th year of Philadelphus to the 10th of Euergetes, would have been still further enhanced by the addition of the Julian dates.

A few minor points may be noted in conclusion. No 3, παρὰ . . . τοῦ ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἀρχοντος. Does not ἐκ here and in *PSI.* 505 imply that the donor was on a visit to Egypt? Contrast τοῦ ἐν Κύπρῳ γραμματέως (*P. Cairo Zen.* 59016). No. 9, verso: it seems strange the temple should not be specified: is not Μενελάου a more natural supplement in l. 12? No. 10, l. 4: perhaps οὐδ' ἔκαστῃ, which Mr. Edgar has been kind enough to say is possible palaeographically. No. 56: οὐ μὴν δεῖ γέ, κ.τ.λ. 'However, this must not go on' seems unsatisfactory. Perhaps 'There is really no lack (of funds)' is an alternative interpretation. No. 61, l. 9: ἐνεχούρ[ασεν] fills the lacuna and explains the preceding genitive. Of the very rare misprints only 254, 284, for 354, 384 on p. 51 deserve mention.

The book is beautifully produced by the Oxford University Press.

L

**Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum.** By H. I. BELL, A. D. NOCK, and H. THOMPSON. Pp. 54; 3 facsimiles. London: Humphrey Milford, 1932. 7s. 6d.

We owe the publication of this interesting papyrus in the first place to Mr. Bell, to whose vision and enterprise the formation of the triumvirate *ad hoc* was due, and in the second to the British Academy, who defrayed the cost. The papyrus in question, as is pointed out in the brief but essential introduction, is bilingual in that it contains Greek and Demotic texts (though in no case is the one a translation of the other), and may be dated to the end of the third century A.D. The magical practices which it records are familiar in their general form, though they include some interesting new details. The Demotic texts, for the editing of which we are indebted to Sir Herbert Thompson, show more variety of subject than the Greek, the latter dealing principally with amatory practices. The fragmentary state of the original has increased the translators' difficulties and many of the tentative interpretations have only been included for the sake of completeness. Though it is perhaps invidious to single out any part of this meritorious work for special praise, we cannot refrain from drawing particular attention to Prof. Nock's commentary, which provides much valuable material for the scholar, and not a little to intrigue the curious. We might mention especially his admirable exegesis on the rôle of the lizard in magic.

Though it is natural to expect meticulous accuracy in a work of this kind, it is not surprising, when we consider the great intricacy of the printing, that a few errors have escaped correction: cf.  $\Sigma\Upsilon\text{K}\Delta\Lambda\text{IN}\Theta$  on p. 7, although it is correctly transliterated on p. 11; cf. also at the bottom of that page the absence of a line number (17) and on p. 13 the underlining at the beginning of Col. VIII. While the general arrangement is excellent, the defects of composite authorship are shown by the reference on p. 11 to p. 53, for translation of a Greek passage which is not given on that page, and by the position of the facsimile of the verso, which should have been placed after and not before those of the recto. W. T. P.

**Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.** By F. JACOBY. II. B 3, *Historiker des Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit; Chronographen*. Pp. 429. 1929. II. B 4, *Kommentar*. Pp. 440. 1931. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

Barely three years have elapsed since we had occasion to call attention to the progress of this

great enterprise (*JHS*. xlix. 116); there is now to record a further advance in the appearance of this fat volume of text complete with accompanying commentary. We can only reiterate what has been said on previous occasions of the utility of the work and of the thoroughness of its execution: no student of Greek history can dispense with it and all will congratulate the editor on the steady progress it is making towards completion.

**Die Erdkarte der Urbibel.** By ALBERT HERRMANN. Pp. 203; 3 plates, 6 figs. Brunswick: Georg Westermann, 1931.

The main thesis to be found in Dr. Herrmann's argumentative book must remain, unfortunately, immune from criticism in these profane pages: it is a reconstruction of the geographical system of the Old Testament, along the lines of a mediaeval *mappa mundi*. But his lengthy appendix, *Tartessos und die Etruskerfrage*, flings a thunderbolt into our serene contemplation of the Mediterranean cultures. Tartessos was not in Spain at all; most annoying, when Schulten's views have been, so to speak, legitimised by their appearance in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. Anything connecting this elusive city with Spain is to be dismissed as a late and untrustworthy corruption of the tradition; and Dr. Herrmann's own proposal is to locate Tartessos in the bight of the lesser Syrtes almost due south of Carthage. He fearlessly faces the hopeless unsuitability of this region for the development of an early civilisation; but, 'heute unbewohnt, geologisch und archäologisch noch nicht erforscht,' it provides him with a vacuum which he can fill with Tartessos in opposition to Schulten. Moreover, here was the home of the Etruscans before they went to Italy; is not Tartessos, Tarsis, the same as Turs, Τυρσεῖος?

We gather that this view has been for some years before the bar of public opinion in Germany, where it has been dismissed as 'Phantasie' (p. 148). The book, however, will not have been written in vain if it reminds us of the thinness of the ice over which Tartessian historians have to skate.

**Histoire Grecque, Tome II: La Grèce au 5<sup>ème</sup> siècle, fascicule IV.** By G. GLOTZ, assisted by R. COHEN. Pp. 481-831. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires; 1931. 30 fr.

In this instalment Profs. Glotz and Cohen complete their general description of Greek culture in the Periclean age and proceed to the story of the Peloponnesian War. In the descriptive chapters, which take up 100 pages out of

300, they give brief surveys of Greek philosophy and science, of education and private life. They set forth the facts in considerable fullness and almost unrelieved by comment, but with such skill in arrangement as to make easy and attractive reading. They contribute a very useful sketch of fifth-century education, and they make an interesting point in connecting the 'women's rights' movement of the Peloponnesian War period with the growing number of no-longer-sheltered war widows. Incidentally, it may be noted that the 'περίπλους' of the Mediterranean carrying the name of Scylax has probably no connexion with Darius' admiral Scylax, for there is no evidence that this personage wrote about anything except the Red Sea and Indian waters; and that the derivation of the logographer Pherecydes from the islet of Leros is rejected by the latest authorities (Jacoby, *Hist. Gr. Fragm.* I, 386; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Beilner Sitzungsber.* 1926, 125 ff.).

In the chapters on the Peloponnesian War the authors do not go at length into military details or economic speculations. But they give due attention to the political issues and discuss them with good judgment. They justify the strategy of Pericles; they censure the Sicilian Expedition (somewhat mildly) as an 'imprudence'; they give excellent character-sketches of Cleon and Nicias; they bring out clearly the permanent importance of the battle of Mantinea for Peloponnesian history. Their narrative throughout is lively and at times almost breathless.

On the question of war guilt the authors deliver a somewhat ambiguous verdict. They represent the Peloponnesian War as an inevitable result of fundamental antagonisms between Athens and Sparta. Yet they admit that the Spartans were awkwardly placed at the head of their unruly war coalition and conducted its operations in a half-hearted manner; and they seem to imply that the real driving power of the war was the σφοδρόν μίσος of Corinth against Athens.

No mention is made of the peace embassy sent by the Athenians at the time of the plague, or of the Athenian naval descent on Laconia in 414, which precipitated a renewal of open warfare between Athens and Sparta. The proportion of Peloponnesian to Laconian troops c. 431 B.C. is estimated at more than ten to one. If 'Laconians' here includes Perioeci, this ratio would seem far too high. According to Beloch (*Klio*, 1906, 77) it was 9:2; in 479 it was c. 2:1. Nicias is described as 'a practitioner of all the virtues.' But it was νενομισμένη ἀρετή for which Thucydides gave him credit—a singularly left-handed compliment. In Minda-

rus' despatch 'ἔρραι τὰ καλὰ' is translated as if it were 'τὰ καλὰ' ('bon temps passé').

The authors have avoided learned controversy; but they give all the necessary references, and they show themselves well acquainted with the copious recent writings of British and American scholars on the subject.

Readers will derive from this volume a vivid and a substantially just impression of the Peloponnesian War.

M. C.

**Griechische Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte.** By J. HASEBROEK. Pp. 296. Tübingen: Mohr, 1931. 13 m. paper, 16 cloth.

Three years ago Hasebroek published a book, *Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland*, in which he protested against the tendency to interpret Greek economic and political history in terms of modern capitalism, and emphasised the comparative primitiveness of Greek economic practice and policy. This work has provoked much dissent, but its author now returns to the charge. In the present volume he confines himself to the period preceding the Persian Wars; but he develops his previous thesis with a fuller discussion of the politics of early Greece and of its *Zeitgeist*, which he declares to have been of a feudal-aristocratic type, and innocent of mercantile calculations.

It should be freely acknowledged that there is a solid core of truth in Hasebroek's argument. He has no difficulty in establishing the essentially predatory character of the Homeric heroes, or in proving that the primary quest of Greek colonisation was not for trade facilities. He makes out a strong case against those who attribute revolutionary consequences to the introduction of coinage in Greece, and he brings good evidence to show that the motive which overthrew the early aristocracies was land-hunger rather than industrial discontent or the ambitions of Big Business. He reminds us, and not without reason, that Greek democracies were hardly less exclusive than oligarchies, and that in consequence a large element of Greek population, ranging from the prosperous residential metic to the homeless mercenary and corsair, had no voice in the political destinies of Greece.

On the other hand, Hasebroek makes scant allowance for that diversity in Greek life and thought which forbids our reducing Greek history to a simple formula. While he lays stress on the Achaean tradition of conquest and plunder, he forgets that the Greeks also inherited a Minoan tradition: Pallas was a sacker of cities, but she was equally a patron of peaceful industry.

In the domain of Greek agriculture Hasebroek does not lay sufficient stress on the cultivation of the vine and olive—two essentially sedentary and peaceful pursuits—which were nothing less than a keystone in the Greek economic system. In regard to manufactures, he takes little account of the considerable degree of specialisation which the Greek craftsman was already attaining in the seventh century (Waltz, *Revue Historique*, vol. 146), and he hardly appreciates the sheer magnitude of the ceramic industry. He accepts Bucher's suggestion that proto-Corinthian, Corinthian or Attic vases were the products of perambulating potters; but these wares were made of a special clay, and therefore can only have been the products of a centralised industry. Again, he uses arguments of doubtful value in order to belittle the importance of Greek commerce. He dismisses Herodotus' story about Colaeus' honest haul of Spanish silver (IV. 152) as mere fiction; but a memorial of Colaeus' cruise was set up in the temple of Hera at Samos, which was still on view in Herodotus' day. In proving that Corinth derived revenue from tolls, he does not disprove that the shipping on which these dues were levied was Corinthian; in pointing to the high state of cultivation of the Milesian country-side he does not bring evidence that the Milesian grandees (who called themselves δειναῦται) neglected commerce. He explains away the traders who accompanied Cambyses to Egypt as peasants disposing of a seasonal surplus of food; but surely these ἑμποροὶ were professional camp followers or slave-dealers, the same rogues as followed Alcibiades to Sicily and Agesilaus to Ephesus. Lastly, in emphasising Greek fondness for war he goes so far as to say that the Greek militias were highly trained, and that Sparta and Crete were typically Hellenic states. Greek military history hardly bears out the former statement, and however much other Greeks might commend the Spartans or Cretans, they took care not to imitate them too closely.

These examples suffice to show that Hasebroek has somewhat over-stated his case. But he has brought a well-prepared brief to court, and if his book does not revolutionise current opinions on Greek economics it ought to modify them at many points.

M. C.

Λάθε Βιώσας : **Studien zur ältesten Ethik bei den Griechen.** By FRITZ WEHRLI. Pp. 109. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1931.

This unpretentious work is dedicated to P. von der Mühl, 'als meinem Lehrer und Freund.' It was worth writing, and contains more matter than

might perhaps be expected in so modest a compass. The author starts from the familiar Hellenistic ideas of the might of Fortune and the helplessness of man, the praises of a quiet and retired life, and the sentiment of *carpe diem*. He refuses to see in them simply the results of political and social troubles in post-classical times, for philosophical and even popular beliefs do not originate so, but follow laws of their own. These ideas, then, are simply Greek. But if so, they should be found in authors of earlier date than, for instance, the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers, to say nothing of Horace. The body of the work is devoted to shewing that they do so occur. The idea is not novel; the merit of the treatise consists in the thorough and orderly manner in which the general principle is worked out, and the insight and good exegesis which are almost everywhere shewn.

There are seven principal sections, an eighth adding a short summary; they are devoted respectively to lyric poetry (in the wider sense, including elegy; but choral lyric, save for Pindar, Wehrli leaves on one side), Homer, the pious and ethical anecdotes (such as those concerning the interview of Solon with Kroisos) which W. labels 'novellen,' Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophokles, with a section interposed after that on the 'novellen,' treating of the remedies against the power of Tyche, the τέχνη by which men can to some extent make a fortune of their own. A large number of representative passages are quoted, in the original or in translation, and several of them are set in a new light.

Some points worth noting, whether the reader agrees fully with them or not, are the following. The point of the story of Pandora is that Hope remains in man's power; the rest of the contents of her jar are quite beyond human control (p. 6). Homer, in some of his characteristic reflections, shews himself a typical Ionian (p. 26 sqq.), though the bustle and activity of his plots leave less room for insistence on the advantages of a quiet and unambitious life. Solon, on the other hand, has a thoroughly un-Ionian idea when he insists on the connexion between conduct and fortune, one's own or one's ancestors' (p. 11 sqq.). Pindar (p. 77) applies his ethical notions to the conduct of individual gods, who, being clearly conceived as individuals, are *entdamonisiert*; not to godhead in general. In him also the gods' favour towards the modest and humble is the other side of their φθόνος (p. 80). A somewhat similar connexion is traced in the thought of Aeschylus (p. 92).

The reviewer finds himself in doubt, or in complete disagreement, here and there. Wehrli is not very convincing when he finds blood-feud

an important source of ethical ideas (pp. 14 sqq., 80 sqq.). His argument (p. 30) that the story, in Valerius Maximus (vii. 1, 2), and later authors, about Aglaos of Psophis must be old, because its rich man is Gyges, not Kroisos, is singularly feeble; could none of the late tellers of the tale have found Gyges in Anakreon or Plato? P. 61 has the common mistake about the gods, namely, that because they are not subject, in popular thought, to the laws of human morality, therefore they have none. Ovid knew better: *sunt superis sua iura, not nulla iura*. Pp. 87 sqq. assume far too readily the ghostly origin of the Erinyes and several other figures, and confuse gods of the underworld with gods of fertility. P. 89 contains a misreading of Farnell, who is made to support a theory about Demeter Thesmophoros which he gives in full (*C.G.S.*, iii, p. 75 sqq.) only to reject it (*ibid.*, p. 80). P. 94 takes seriously Howald's fantastic ideas about the inconsistency of tragic characters. On p. 95, a little consideration of numerous art-monuments would have saved Wehrli the surprise he seems to feel at the Okeanids (Aesch., *P. V.*, 528) speaking of making sacrifice to the greater gods.

H. J. R.

**Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult.** By HARALD SJOVALL. Pp. 146. Lund: Gleerup, 1931.

This is a good example of a doctoral dissertation. The author is of that breed of learned schoolmasters who add so much to the strength of continental scholarship and ought to be so much commoner in this country. He is also a pupil of M. P. Nilsson, and has learned from him to be thorough and not to ride his hypotheses to death. Consequently his work is of value as a contribution to the history of private religion in Greece, and not merely as a collection of material.

The various sections of the monograph treat of Zeus Herkeios, Patroos, Ktesios, Philios and Meilichios, Soter, Teleios, Kataibates and Ephestios, with a final discussion of 'Ergebnisse, Gesichtspunkte und Probleme.' Sjovald shews a good acquaintance with material, both Greek and comparative, but perhaps a little too much tendency to seek, in all cases, a *Sondergott* later identified with, or absorbed by, the great sky-god. He does not indeed exclude the possibility that Zeus, in some at least of these cases, is really Zeus, but seems hardly to give enough weight to the consideration that, in a structure so much of which was open to the sky as the Greek house was, the householder might very well be induced to establish a private worship of the deity who looked down continually into his αὐλή.

This is not, however, to say that the contentions of the author lack plausibility. Indeed, the one on which he lays most stress seems very probable. He is of opinion that Zeus Herkeios developed out of the characteristic household spirit (the Swedish *tomte*, our brownie) of Northern peoples, and is definitely a god, or godling, brought by the invaders into Greece. In this connexion he produces good evidence, ranging from the legend of Aineias to the well-known tale most familiar in English from Tennyson's *Walking to the Mail*, of the frequency, nay, regularity, with which household gods and spirits move to a new abode along with the human members of the family.

Some small points which seem to call for reconsideration are the following. On p. 91 sqq., adopting Deubner's plausible view that the paian was originally a magical song, he thinks of it only as guarding against supernatural dangers, such as those inherent in the drinking of new wine, and forgets the positive side of magic, which is as likely to aim at bestowing a blessing as at avoiding a curse. On p. 96, n. 2, a decree of 1654 is cited as stating that the air and water would be poisonous during an eclipse of the sun. He adds: 'natürlich durch dämonischen Einfluss'; surely rather a large assumption to make for that date. On p. 123, n. 1, having quoted an Irish blessing which bans hunger 'for this night and every night till the same night next year,' he compares the Gaulish custom of reckoning by nights and not days; but it is also English, cf. *fortnight*, and the formula itself resembles the opening lines of the famous Lyke Wake Dirge.

H. J. R.

**La Science Orientale avant les Grecs.** By ABEL REY. Pp. xvii—495. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1930.

This volume of the series *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* contains, beside preliminary matter stating the aim of the work, defining the problem of the origins of science and discussing the points of contact inherent in the subject with the study of religion, myth and magic as well as the practical science implied by technical processes, Babylonian mathematics, astronomy and chemistry; Egyptian mathematics, astronomy and medicine; Chinese chronology, astronomy and geometry; Indian astronomy, mathematics, physical philosophy and medicine. After the introduction, the book contains a sane account of the sources at our disposal with a running commentary on their interpretation and value. Little if any of the relevant scientific literature is unknown to the author. The whole forms, therefore, a useful summary for the reader interested in these sub-

jects. For some strange reason little interest has been shown in Babylonian and Egyptian mathematics until quite recently, but an energetic school is now dealing with these subjects, and the actual interpretation more especially of Egyptian documents is fairly secure: Babylonian documents are being submitted to a similar examination and more may result than M. Rey is able to give—has resulted indeed since his book appeared. Here and there a correction will be found necessary, and there are some misprints. The Chinese and Indian chapters, which the reviewer is not competent to criticise, have proved most interesting reading. The book may be recommended as the only serviceable compendium of the kind available.

**Die Kerngedanken der platonischen Philosophie.** By CONSTANTIN RITTER. Pp. x—346; frontispiece. Munich: E. Reinhardt, 1931. 12 m.

This book gathers up and presents as a whole the conclusions reached by detailed study in Dr. Ritter's great treatise *Platon*. It is in no sense a mere supplement or summary, but a self-contained work of considerable length and of outstanding value. The arrangement of the subject-matter shows an interesting blending of the chronological and the topical method: full indexes add greatly to the usefulness of the book. The majority of space is given to the matured doctrine of the later dialogues, wherein the author finds Plato's restatement of matters left obscure in his earlier works, and misunderstood by disciples, rather than any vital revision due to a change of outlook. A particularly valuable chapter deals with Plato's work in the field of logic, which, as Dr. Ritter justly remarks, has as a rule not been enough recognised. The concluding section on his theology is also of great interest, and brings out most clearly what is indeed evident throughout the book—the essential *gravitas* of the writer's personality, and his whole-hearted devotion to his theme.

D. T.

**Die Platondeutung der Gegenwart.** By HANS LEISEGANG. Pp. 188. Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1929.

This book offers a critical review of recent work on Plato, mainly by German writers: the only British scholar who finds mention is Taylor. The author has a point of view of his own: he stands for a genuinely historic interpretation, and he deals faithfully and in racy terms with those moderns who insist on reading their own theories into Plato's words. Thus he praises Stenzel for recognising the crudities and inconsistencies

inherent in the Platonic system: and he regards as still unsolved problems the relation of individual to universal and the interpretation of the 'Ideas as Numbers.' Considerable space is given to work on Plato's mathematical studies; other useful sections deal with the myths and with archaeological theories about Atlantis. The keynote of the book is sounded in the reiterated plea for a more 'concrete' grasp and presentation of Plato's words: they are not to be reduced to conveying 'mere concepts.' Dr. Leisegang recognises two tendencies in contemporary work on Plato: there are the genuinely scientific scholars, who should study him in relation to his own time, and there are those who seek to interpret his message in terms useful to this present age. Here are, he says, two separate pieces of work, which ought to be kept distinct. The book is much more than a mere summary of results: in its general sanity of outlook it is itself a valuable contribution to Platonic studies.

D. T.

**A Greek-English Lexicon**, compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and ROBERT SCOTT. A New Edition revised and augmented throughout by HENRY STUART JONES with the assistance of RODERICK MCKENZIE and with the co-operation of many scholars. **Part V:** *θησαυροποιέω—κῶψ*. **Part VI:** *λ—ol*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930, 1932. Each part 10s. 6d.

Diese beiden Lieferungen stehen ganz auf der Höhe der früheren und sind so punktlich erschienen, dass wir hoffen dürfen noch in diesem Jahrzehnt den Abschluss des einzigartigen Unternehmens zu erleben. Von demjenigen, der schon viermal über das GEL gehandelt hat (*Gnomon*, 1925, 1928; diese Zeitschrift, 1928, 1930) wird man neue grundsätzliche Äusserungen nicht verlangen. Wer einzelne Wortgruppen oder Texte systematisch durchsucht, muss natürlich an zahlreichen Stellen weiterkommen. Aber es wäre grober Undank, wollte man den Bearbeitern vorwerfen, dass sie den Fortschritt der Forschung, den sie durch ihre entscheidungsvolle Arbeit ermöglichen, nicht schon selbst erreicht haben. Was ich im Folgenden zusammenstelle, stammt aus gelegentlichen Randbemerkungen bei der Schriftstellererklärung und bei der Lektüre des GEL (denn ich lese manchmal darin). In der Zulassung von Anomalien konnte man etwas vorsichtiger sein. Gewiss giebt es grade in der Lexikographie Vieles was auf den ersten Blick unglaublich erscheint und sich doch als unabänderlich herausstellt. Aber auch den Fehler erweist in erster Linie die Vereinzelung. Einige Beispiele schicke ich voraus.

Dass *θοός* in Sätzen wie *\*Αἶδος ἐκπρολιποῖσα θοὸν δόμον* Antim. 71 oder *θοᾶν νύμφαν ἤγαγες* So. *Tr.* 857 als *ταχέως* zu deuten sei, behauptet zwar schon ein Scholiast zu Sophokles, wird aber durch die attributive Stellung ausgeschlossen (anders *λῦσεν δ' ἀγορὴν αἰψηρὴν* Od. 2. 257). Zu Sophokles stellt sich *θοή Βιττίς* Hermesian. *Leont.* 77. zu Antimachos die *θοή νύξ* Homers. Das Wort ist eine Glosse, also unübersetzbar. Das Richtige sah Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* 289; dort auch ein Hinweis auf wichtige Belege und Deutungen *An. Ox.* 1. 200, die im GEL fehlen.

Zu *ἰάσμαι*: 'Act. only aor. I ἰάσαμεν Gal. 10. 453, part. ἰάσαντες Schol. E. *Hec.* 1236.' Dies dem Attizisten und Arzt! Zu schreiben ist, wenn es nicht längst geschehen ist, *εἰάσαμεν*. Das Euripidesscholion (nur in A) fangt an *τινὲς δὲ ἰάσαντες τὸ ῥήτὸν οὕτως ἤκουσαν*, völlig unsinnig: der Gedanke wird sein: 'einige beanstandeten den allzuheftigen Ausdruck,' also etwa *δεῖ λι ἄσαντες*.

Das nirgends überlieferte ganz unverständliche *ἱπποσείρης* Anacr. 75, 6 erscheint trotz Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* 118, im GEL ohne Warnungszeichen, das überlieferte *ἱπποπείρης* (vgl. *μονοπείρας*) fehlt. Auch *νεογύνης* hat keine Gewähr.

'*μάλευρον* [ἄ], *τό*, = *ἄλευρον*, Alc. 70. Achae. 51. Theoc. 15. 116, v.l. in Hom. *Epigr.* 14. 3 'pl.', Hellad. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 531 B.' Ware das Wort so verbreitet, so käme die Sprachwissenschaft in Verlegenheit wegen des *μ*. Schaut man näher zu, so ergibt sich: ein Lexikograph, den Helladios, Photios, Zonaras ausschreiben, hat aus einem Dichter Achaïos (51 Nauck<sup>2</sup>; Bergk änderte in Alkaios, 70) *μῆγδα μάλευρον* (-ρωι Bergk) zitiert, und als *ἄλευρον* gedeutet. Von diesem Dichter oder seinem Vorbild hängt Theokritos ab, *ἄνθεα μίσγοισι λευκῶ παντοῖα μάλευρῳ*, von Backwerk. Zu Grunde dürfte eine Glosse liegen, die nach ihrem Anklang an *ἄλευρον* gedeutet wurde.

'*μῆγῆς*, *ἔς*, = *μικτός*, Nic. *Fr.* 68. 4.' Auch Nikanders Willkur in der Wortbildung hat ihre Grenzen, und hier scheinen sie überschritten. Der Text lautet (Ath. 126c) *εὐώδει δὲ μῆγῆ ἄμα φύρσον ἐλαίῳ* (von den *χίδρα*). Nikander hat zwar *λοιγίῃ τύψει* *Th.* 921 und Ähnliches gewagt, aber bei *μῆγῆ* = *μῆγᾶ* kame die unepische Kontraktion hinzu. O. Schneider und Kaibel hielten *μῆγῆ*(ι) für ein Adverb. Da die Stelle auch sonst noch nicht völlig geklärt ist, empfehle ich für die Nachtrage des GEL: '*μῆγῆ* dub. l. Nic. *Fr.* 68. 4.'

'*νῦν* δῆ, stronger form of *νῦν*, with pres., *now*, even *now*, Pl. *Grg.* 462 b, al., *Com. adesph.* 597, etc.; with past tenses, *just now* . . .' Aber *νυνδῆ*

bezieht sich regelmässig auf die Vergangenheit, wie schon die Alten beobachtet haben (Phot. Suid. s.v.). An der Gorgiasstelle verbindet δῆ die Sätze, bei dem Komiker (Phot. s.v. *νυνί μ' ἐπεισας*) ist es nicht überliefert. Die unter 'al.' und 'etc.' verborgenen Ausnahmen sollten genau geprüft werden.

Folgende Stichwörter vermisste ich: *ἰθυβάτης* A.P. 6. 62 (Phil.) conl. Stadtmüller. *ἰθύνοος* Nonn. *D.* 41. 353, *κίκκας* Hsch. s.v. *οὐ μάλα κίκκας*. *κόκκωρα* Sem. ap. Ath. 645 b, *κορακιῶνες* Archipp. ap. Ath. 329 c, *κορικορώνη* wie *χελιχελώνη*, vgl. L. Deubner, *Herm.* 48 (1913). 299, *κτάρα* Hsch., *λασιήκομος* Mesomedes 5. 10 Wilamowitz, *ματερία* Chrysipp. Tyan. ap. Ath. 113 b, c, *μεγάλπτος* A. *Pe.* 1016 (Wil.), *Eu.* 791 (Sokrates 3. (1915). 312) *μεταμελλοδύνᾳ* Cerc. p. 204 Knox, *μνωσόνμος* 'μονονομ cod., corr. Wilamowitz, *Herm.* 1924. 273) Hsch., *ξανάα* Schol. Nic. *Th.* 383.

Zum Einzelnen. *ἰλημι*: *ἰλᾶθι* A. R. 4. 1014, 1600, nicht doriscl.—*ἰστημι*: *ἔστᾶσαν* v. l. Il. 12. 56, E. *Held.* 937—*ἰχθυσιληστής*: ungläubliche Wortbildung.—*ἰχμᾶτα*. Il. 13. 71 v. l.

*καβάλλης*: A. P. 9. 241 (Antip. Thess.).—*καθιγνῦσαι*: cf. *ἰγνυς*, *ἰκνυς*.—*καί τοι: καί τοί γε* nicht E. *Fr.* 953. 10, sondern Komödie.—*κανθήλιος*: adjektivisch *ἄρτους τρεῖς ὄλους κανθήλιους* Sosith. p. 822 N<sup>2</sup>.—*καρυωτός* D.S. 2. 53. 5.—*κατευχή* Buchtitel Sim. 24.—*κελαδ(έ)ω*: *κελαδέσαι* Pi. *I.* 5. 48 (conl.).—*κέρμα* Emp. 101. 1 nicht zweifelhaft.—*κερτομέω* heisst oft 'betrugen,' z. B. Theoc. 1. 62, vgl. *φιλοκέρτομος*.—*κίκιννος*: *κίκιννα* *τριχόπλαστος* Hsch.—*κλέπτω*: pf. *κέκλαμμαι* Ath. 409 c, Choer. in *Theod.* 188. 27 H. Wilamowitz. *Beil. Sitz.* 1911. 465.—*κλεψικοίτης*: Ismenias zu tilgen.—*κνώδαλον*: *h. Merc.* 188 weder Ochs noch Esel.—*κολεοφόροι*: Hypoth. zu *Ar. Eq.* ('*Υλοφ*-, '*Ολοφ*-codd.: corr. Capps)—*κονιαμα* heisst bei D. 13. 30 dasselbe wie sonst.—*κόρος* 'Besen' finde ich nicht bei Hsch.—*κράκτης* v.l. *Ar. Eq.* 304.—*κράμβη*: *εἰς κρ θάνατος* prov. ap. Schol. Juv. 7. 154.—*κρίμα*: A. *Suppl.* 397 derselbe staatsrechtliche Begriff wie in den Urkunden: nicht in *κρέιμα* zu ändern.—*κρίνω*: *οἱ κεκριμένοι* 'die Klassiker' Poll. 9. 153, etc.—*κυπάρισσος*: nicht *ἐλαφρά*, vgl. Pi. *Pae.* 4. 50.—*κύω*: *ὅε κύε* Ruf der Hierophanten, vgl. Usener *Rh. Mus.* 55. 295.

*λαιμάζουσιν* Hsch.: wohl v.l. zu *Ar. Ec.* 1179.—*λατίνος*: *Λατινίδα δέλτον* Nonn. *D.* 41. 160.—*λεξιθηρέω*: Plu. zu tilgen.—*λιγυστάδης*: vielmehr *-αστάδης*—

*μάζα*: conl. Mehler X. *An.* 2. 3. 5 (*μάχης* codd.).—*μακάρι*: *τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν εὐκτικὸν ἐπὶ ῥῆμα* Suid., cf. neugr. *μακάρι*, italien. *magari*.—*μαλακτήρ*: Plu. *Per.* 12 ist das *καί* nicht überliefert.—*μανάκις* Pl. com. 200: *ἀντὶ τοῦ μυριάκις* Zon.—*μάρη* Pi. *Fr.* 310: Numerus unsicher.—*ματᾶζω*: v.l. E. *Fr.*



188, Wilamowitz, *Platon* 2. 373.—ματαιότης: Herod. Att. (?) π. πολ. 2.—ὡς μῆλίζω, μῆλινος, μῆλινος, μῆλινος, μῆλινος, μῆλινος eine Farbe bezeichnen, ist es nicht die des μῆλον Κυδωνιον, sondern die der γῆ Μελία; cf. Μαλίρ γῆ Κιμαλία Hsch., *pigmentum Melinum* bei den Römern.—μηλοπάρεος giebt es nicht; μαλ(λ)οπάρεος Theoc. 26. 1 gehört zu μάλος = λευκός, μαλοπαρούας, μάλους, Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. gr. Bukoliker* 217.—μηρύομαι: *Caem. pop.* 35. 2 D.—μίνωνος Phld. *Vit.* p. 37 J.: vielmehr μίνων, cf. Hsch. s. v. κικκίδαι, Luc. *Lex.* 12 μίνων (μινων codd., corr. Mras).—μύζω (B: Archil. 32 conl. Wilamowitz, *Heim.* 1924. 271, bestätigt durch Hsch. s. v. ἔμυζεν.

νεκύσια: Plu. *Class.* 19.—νεοίη: νεοίαι ἀφροσύναι Hsch.—νοῦθός Hes. *Fr.* 48 ist Adjektiv, wie *Th.* 70 zeigt, cf. Wilamowitz, *Ilias und Homer* 468<sup>1</sup>.—νῶκαρ bei Suid. ist kein Adjektiv, sondern übertragen wie ὕπνος Herond. 6. 71.

ἑρβη Call. *Fr.* 522: Μούση γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰσέρβην, Wilamowitz, *Hellenist. Dicht.* 2. 92<sup>2</sup>.

Verbesserungsbedürftige Angaben zur Prosodie. θύω: σ auch E. *Cyc.* 334.—καθιρόω: A. *Eu.* 304 beweist kein ι, wohl aber Lyc. 950. 1350.—Κάρνεια: -νεα bei Theoc. durch den Dialekt, nicht durch das Metrum bedingt.—κογχυλ-: ὤ durch Epich. Horat. Juvenal. gesichert, ὤ bei späten Byzantinern (A. P. 9. 214) besagt nichts.—κρόμμυον: κρόμμυον auch Philem. ap. Ath. 64 ε, cf. κρέμυον Hsch., also nicht 'metri gr.'—Μίνως: niemals ι. Μίνων Pl. com. 15 D. ist der olympische Stadionike von 400 v. Chr., cf. Sokrates 7 (1919), 255.

PAUL MAAS.

**The Greek Language.** By B. F. C. ATKINSON. Pp. viii — 354. London: Faber and Faber, 1931. 15s.

No Hellenist can afford to neglect the history of the language which is both the object and the instrument of his study. A warm welcome will therefore be given to Dr. Atkinson's book, which for the first time in English gives 'a summary history of the whole language from its origins to the present day.' This history attempts to combine 'the linguistic approach with a brief account of the literary language,' and is therefore intended not for the specialist in either field but chiefly for the student of Greek who wishes to acquire a knowledge of the history of the language he is reading. But in order to cater for those who are not pursuing Greek studies in particular, many specimens of Greek literature are printed in full and translations added. This will give the book additional value as a linguistic anthology.

The opening chapter deals with the difficult subject of Origins. Here the treatment is hardly

satisfactory. Scanty though the material may be, a new chapter in the history of Greek is urgently called for. The familiar statement of the place of Greek in the Indo-European family is not enough. The antiquity of the language, its long early history and its complex character might have had fuller treatment. P. 17 is excellent, but something more is needed about the elements which went to the making of Greek than the analysis which follows of a few passages of the classical language. The second chapter deals with phonology and accent. The I-E sounds are enumerated and examples given of their treatment in Greek with parallels from other languages. By way of enforcing this difficult lesson, the process is then reversed and the Greek sounds enumerated with references back to I-E. Next follows a good elementary description of stress and pitch accent.

Chapters III and IV call for little comment: they attempt to compress into forty pages the chief facts of Greek morphology. The next two chapters deal with Syntax, which, as is right, receives a more generous allowance of space. Yet here again the author is clearly hampered both by lack of space and still more by the difficulty of writing for different classes of readers. Much of the matter on the syntax of the noun is too elementary. The enumeration of the uses of the cases, though a favourite subject with Classical Examiners, is liable to become a useless rigmarole if it is allowed to stop there. Dr. Atkinson has been too strict with himself, pruning his discussion even of the genitive case until we have little left but a list. Similarly on the syntax of the verb; here the difficulty is well exemplified of making a complex subject suitable to the average reader. The desire to be simple has sometimes led the author to make things appear too easy and even misleading. Thus on p. 143 an original identity of form is presumed between certain imperfects and strong aorists;—'A form such as ἔλυσον was originally identical with such a form as ἐβάλον. In the case of the verb βάλλω the present stem was differentiated from that of the aorist by the addition of the consonant, while in the case of λύω no such differentiation occurred.' It is only fair to state that the false impression given by this passage may easily be corrected by studying Chapter IV. On p. 145 we read, 'The functions of the perfect are straightforward,' and so it is dismissed in half a page. The functions of the perfect are not straightforward. M. Chantraine's *Histoire du parfait grec* is a witness, if one were needed, to their complexity.

After a chapter on Dialects (we might have had one on Metre with advantage) the author returns to Homer and Chapters VIII-X give a literary

history of the language with frequent citations. Here the average reader will derive more pleasure and profit; he will be provided with a valuable handbook to assist him in reading Greek authors, following the changes in language and phraseology under the expert guidance of a skilled philologist through the Golden Age to the world language of the κοινή. The chapter headed New Testament contains much more than that. It begins with selections from Theocritus, Polybius and papyri, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, but the author is impatient to reach the New Testament, on which he writes well and brings out the different streams of linguistic tradition that are to be found in it, Hebraic, Polybian, Platonic and popular. After the New Testament the Greek Fathers, but Dr. Atkinson regards as unnecessary 'any detailed examination of the writers of the Byzantine age from a linguistic point of view'—because of the comparatively static condition of the literary, though not the spoken, language; but let the reader emphasise the words 'from a linguistic point of view,' or he will fail to realise the many changes and fluctuations in the literary styles of that long period. The eleventh and final chapter is entitled 'Greek at the Present Day.' It is a brief account of the popular language now known as Modern Greek, with a glance at its history since the twelfth century, for it must be remembered that there is a considerable literature in this language from A.D. 1300.

The reviewer feels guilty of having criticised more than praised this admirable book. The faults which he has indicated are of little importance compared with its merits, and if in some respects the method of treatment is not that which the reviewer would have chosen, the total result is a far more useful and readable book than he himself could have written. It should be in every school library and every one in a Classical Sixth should read it—to say nothing of all others interested in the history of one of the world's most beautiful and perfect languages.

**The Poems of Leonidas of Tarentum.** Translated into English Verse by EDWYN BEVAN. Pp. xlviii + 119. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. 10s. 6d.

It is a boon for which we thank Mr. Bevan to have in a separate collection all the poems of such a favourite writer of the Anthology as Leonidas of Tarentum, the contemporary and perhaps the friend of the incomparable Theocritus. Nor is he less fortunate in having found so poetical as well as scholarly a versifier as the translator, who has added to our obligation by an introduction, which throws much light upon the

ethics of verse translation in general and his own methods of procedure in particular. 'No one,' he says, 'will be able to tell from the English poems in this little volume how good a poet Leonidas was: they will only be able to tell how good a poet the translator is.' Be it so: but we have also to tell how good the translator is, as a translator. He comes out of the test well, except in one particular. He has expressly reserved for himself the greatest latitude in his use of metres, which, drawing upon the ample and varied stores of English metres, he adapts freely to what seems to him the prevailing mood of the poem in question: but when 12 short lines are made to do duty for 4 elegiac ones (as in XXXVI, or 24 for 6 lines, as in the *Fig Tree's Message* (XLIX)) we begin to be restive. Conington's hard-and-fast rule of line for line (and we may add 'precept for precept'), though perhaps more applicable to Horace than our poet, seems a safer guide.

All of Leonidas's poems except half a dozen are in the usual elegiac metre, and happily none of them treats of the sensual side of sexual love. They are mostly inscriptional or sepulchral, but in few instances real epitaphs. Others are reflective or hortatory, and some few 'epideictic,' so called, that is, exercises of skill to show the writer's poetical powers. His favourite themes are incidents connected with shepherds, sailors, fisher-folk and the labouring man in general. The poet himself was a poor man and a bohemian. He has no great imagination, and his subjects are often fanciful, but he is pointed and terse and graceful. But the reader will be impatient to hear the translator himself, and taste his quality. Here is a dainty little specimen:

*The image of a Cicala, set upon the spear of Athene.*

See, not only in the tree-tops hidden,

Happy all the summer day, the hot day,  
through,

Music for the traveller, unpaid, unbidden,

Can I make, I drunken on a drop of dew.

Mark the cicala! With my light form laden

The goddess's great spear-head, O man, espy!

As me the Muses, do I love the Maiden,

She maker of flutes, little fluter I.

Surely a charming lyric, though the last three words are an addition, a clever and appropriate addition, to the original. Had space allowed we should have liked to quote *The Picture of a Perfect Man* (LXXXVIII), but in that poem 25 lines are taken to translate 10 in the original.

We can thoroughly commend this presentment of a typical Greek Epigrammatist, who is a good

representative of the Greek grace without its too frequent accompaniment of grossness.

C. R. H.

**Alexander of Aphrodisias on Destiny.** Translated into English by AUGUSTINE FITZGERALD. Pp. 163. London: The Scholartis Press, 1931. 21s.

Owing to the gifted translator's untimely death before the book was ready for the press, it has been posthumously issued by Professor Souter, with the Greek text of Ivo Bruns opposite to the English. But the latter being considerably longer than the Greek original, text and translation do not stand parallel to one another, and it becomes a troublesome task to pick out for comparison any particular word or sentence. This difficulty is much increased by the Greek being printed in one continuous paragraph with no breaks at all except for chapters where the equation between Greek and English has to be restored. As capitals are not used to mark the beginning of new sentences, the difficulty mentioned is still further enhanced. The printing itself and the paper are superb, but the type, though eminently clear, is monotonous to the eye through its hard precision, like that of black-letter.

The treatise itself was well worth translating, being a careful and closely reasoned elucidation of Aristotle's views on Fate and Free-will, the 'subtlest and most intricate of all questions in philosophy and religion.' In fact the pros and cons for and against any theory are so evenly balanced that the problem may almost be called insoluble. It is much easier to see the objections to either view than to establish any conclusion. Writing about the year 200 A.D., the writer in this case argues against the earlier Stoic view of an unbroken series of Cause and Effect as obtaining in the Cosmos, on the ground that this series is sequential and not causal, and that such a view of Necessity, as the Stoic fatalism implies—for he brushes aside the absurd contention that explains Free-will as a necessary instinctive co-operation of man's will in the processes and decrees of Nature—does away with the distinction between vice and virtue, and so with all responsibility for our actions.

The translation seems, wherever the MS. is not to blame, to be a sound and accurate and intelligible version, even eminently so, considering the difficulty of the subject. Perhaps we may venture on one small suggestion, as to the word εὐδοτείν, in the chapter (VI) where prophets and physiognomists are taxed with not being always successful in their predictions. This is rendered 'that the nature and destiny of each individual are not always fortunate.'

Would not the meaning be better brought out by some such translation as 'do not always tally or take the same road'?

C. R. H.

**The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid.** By M. M. CRUMP. Pp. viii + 284. Oxford: Blackwell, 1931. 8s. 6d.

This little book, though on a subject of perhaps minor literary importance, is very ably and conscientiously worked out, no point of any consequence being, as far as can be seen, ignored. At the outset the distinction is clearly drawn between the Epic tradition, as represented by Homer, Hesiod, and the Cyclic Poets (followed by the more romantic form in the shape of Hymns to the Gods), and the Alexandrian development of the Epic and its substitute the Epyllion. The intervening Attic period is perforce passed over as giving no extant materials for comparison. The inventors of the Epyllion, or Lesser Epic, were Theocritus and Callimachus, the giants of the later epoch. The new poetical form which they created was a short narrative story or incident in the Epic metre, and differing but little except in subject from the Ancient Hymn. Callimachus struck the note with his μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν, in his contest with Apollonius, who tried in opposition to his eminent master to reinstate the long Epic with his *Argonautica*. The *Hecale*, the first true narrative Epyllion, was the older writer's riposte to his daring disciple.

The narrative *Idylls* or *Pictures* of Theocritus are with the *Hecale*, of which we know but little, the earliest specimens of Epyllion. The *Idylls* of Theocritus that answer this description are only three in number, the *Hylas*, and the two on Heracles. In the *Hecale* the picture is not the main feature, as with Theocritus, and it contains a digression unconnected with the story.

These *Idylls* and narrative Epyllia were further developed by Euphoriion (born about 274 B.C.), who was perhaps the originator of the purely narrative form of Epyllion, and later by Parthenius, who popularised the romantic love episode. From these two writers derived the Latin Epyllion, as cultivated by Vergil in his juvenile *Culex* and his mature and perfect Aristæus episode of the Fourth Georgic, and by the court poet Gallus in the *Ciris*.

But the earliest Latin Epyllion and the most akin to the Alexandrian Epic idyll is the beautiful *Peleus and Thetis* of Catullus. It was, however, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which are characterised by definite plot, prominence of the love motif and sensational treatment, that the Latin Epyllion came most fully into its own. This is one of the

most remarkable poems ever written, and our author has much of interest to say of it. Each of the fifty or more stories, which it contains, may be called an Epyllion.

Epyllia held the stage for three centuries. It was left to Vergil to restore the supremacy of Grand Epic, and repair the failure of Apollonius by showing much more skill and care in the construction of his Epic edifice.

C. R. H.

**Jules Africain : fragments des Cestes provenants de la collection des tacticiens grecs.**

By J. R. VIEILLEFOND. Pp. lviii + 96. Paris: Association G. Budé. 60 fr.

The Christian writings of Julius Africanus need no comment, but his profane work, the *Κεστοί*, is less widely known and of different character; so much so that some authorities have wondered whether it can with propriety be assigned to a Christian author. M. Vieillefond does not share this doubt: 'aujourd'hui que nous connaissons mieux l'histoire du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, où les tendances les plus contradictoires, les religions les plus diverses se brassaient dans un étrange bouillonnement d'idées, nous ne sommes plus trop étonnés qu'un chrétien, après avoir écrit une *Chronographie* et des *Lettres* inspirées, semble-t-il, par la foi la plus robuste, se soit laissé aller à composer un livre où le diable a trop souvent sa place.'

The *Κεστοί* (or 'Amulets') is a miscellany of information, written in an alliterative style and with a firm belief in the power of magical practices. Originally extending to twenty-four books, it only survives to-day in scraps of which the most important are some chapters of military interest, preserved by incorporation into the Byzantine tactical manuals. These military chapters form the subject of M. Vieillefond's edition: and of them he gives a full critical text. A well-arranged Introduction provides not only an amusing insight into the ways of the Byzantine compiler, but also a summary of information regarding the other extant fragments of the *Κεστοί*, of agricultural, medical, or magical import.

**Anthologie Grecque I: Anthologie Palatine III (livre VI).** By P. WALTZ. Pp. 337. 1931. 30 fr.

**Aristote: Physique V-VIII.** By H. CARTERON. Pp. 335. 1931. 30 fr. **Rhétorique I.** By M. DUFOUR. Pp. 217. 1932. 20 fr.

**Lycurque contre Léocrate, fragments.** By F. DURRBACH. Pp. lvi + 196. 1932. 25 fr.

**Platon V. 1: Ion, Ménexène, Euthydème; and V. 2: Cratyle.** By L. MÉRIDIER. Pp. 284, 228. 1931. 30 and 22 fr.

**Plotin: Ennéades V.** By E. BRÉHIER. 173 leaves. 1931. 25 fr.

**Xénophon: Anabase II (livres IV-VII).** By P. MASQUERAY. Pp. 380. 1931. 35 fr.

**Michel Psellos: Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance.** By E. RENAULT. 2 vols. Pp. lxxxviii + 336 (av. per vol.). 1928.

Paris: Association G. Budé.

The above are the latest additions to the useful Budé series of classical texts with French translations: the last-named volume is included in the 'Collection byzantine,' but corresponds with the general series in plan and arrangement. Criticism in detail of the translations falls within the province of French rather than of English scholarship, but the series cannot fail to be of service on this side the Channel and the scholarly introductions will be read with profit.

1. **Festgabe A. Heisenberg.** (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30ter Band.) Pp. 681; 16 plates. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929-30. 50 m.

2. **Charisteria Alois Rzach.** Pp. 186. Reichenberg: Gebr. Stiepel, 1930.

3. **Classical Studies in honor of John C. Rolfe.** Pp. 352. University of Philadelphia Press and London: H. Milford, 1931. 15s.

The following notes attempt, without any claim to be a critical review, to point out in a series of Complimentary Volumes the papers likely to be of value or interest to Hellenic students.

1. This volume, dedicated to the senior editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* on his sixtieth birthday—November 13, 1929—being in the ordinary series of that journal will no doubt be indexed in the various *Jahresberichte*. It will therefore be sufficient here to indicate its general character. The *Festgabe*, which contains a photograph of Heisenberg, is the result of a suggestion made at the International Byzantine Congress at Belgrade in 1927, and has been produced by his editorial colleague, F. Dolger, with the help of nineteen regional editors—Mr. N. H. Baynes representing England. This editorial board has collected 112 papers dealing with every aspect of Byzantine study, and these have been arranged in twenty-four subject groups indicated in the table of contents. There are papers in German, English, French, Greek and Italian. Readers of this *Journal* will refer first to sections 17-22: art, architecture, sculpture, painting and mosaic, coins and seals, inscriptions; but the following papers ought also to be noted: F. H. Marshall, *The Greek Theoid*, p. 131; E. Jacobs, *Cyrilicus von Ancona und Mehemed II*, p. 197; H. I. Bell, *The*

*Commentary on the Psalms* by Nicéphorus Blemmydes, p. 295; R. M. Dawkins, *A Cretan Apocalypse of the Virgin*, p. 300; E. H. Freshfield, *Some Sketches made in Constantinople in 1574*, p. 519. In the sections on the various arts, mentioned above, the following papers occur among others of lesser interest: B. Filov, *Der Ursprung der altbulgarischen Kunst*, p. 523; J. Ebersolt, *Sarcophages impériaux de Rome et de Constantinople*, p. 582; Sir T. Arnold, *The Pictorial Art of the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches* [a note], p. 595; Schweinfurth, *Greco und die italo-kretische Schule*, p. 612; Mouchmow, *Particularités des monnaies bulgares*, p. 626. Prof. W. M. Calder publishes *Two Encratite Tombstones* (p. 645) and Dr. W. H. Buckler *Two Gateway Inscriptions* (p. 646). The whole architectural section (pp. 531–581) is also valuable. The plates are clear, and throughout the whole volume there is material of considerably more importance than a *Festschrift* often contains.

2. The *Charisteria*, dedicated to Alois Rzach (of whom the book contains a photograph) on his eightieth birthday—November 16, 1930—by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Altertumskunde in Prag, contains twenty-four papers, all in German and mostly by his immediate colleagues. Fourteen of the papers—varying in length from 1 to 28 pages—are on Hellenic, eight on Latin and the remaining two on Babylonian subjects: one of the last publishes a document on slave-sale of the time of Alexander the Great. The principal Hellenic paper is by Karl Holzinger (Prag): *Kritische Bemerkungen zu den spätbyzantinischen Aristophanesscholien*, a review of the codices *Regius* (Parisinus 2821) and *Vaticanus* 1294 and of the views of their modern commentators. Julius Juthner (Innsbruck) contributes an interesting paper on the philology and history of καλοκάγαθία. There is a detailed paper on the mythologic and philosophic associations of εὐνομία by Victor Ehrenbeig (Prag). Theodor Hopfner (Prag) writes a valuable paper—*Das diagramm der Ophiten*—on the gnostic planetary system. Alois Gotsmich (Prag) publishes—with good general photographs—an Attic *Hekateion* from the Cistercian house of Hohenfurth in South Bohemia. Of the shorter papers the most interesting to readers of the *JHS*, will probably be the note by Karl Mraz (Graz) on *Das Existenzminimum in alten Athen*—fourth century B.C.; and Johannes Geffcken (Rostock) on Βάσκανος δαίμων.

3. This well-produced volume of seventeen papers by members of the Greek and Latin departments of the University of Pennsylvania, with other collaborators, contains besides a portrait of Professor Rolfe two items that ought to be in every Complimentary Volume—a list of the distinctions and appointments of the *honoratus*

(here unfortunately incomplete) and a bibliography of his works. As befits a volume dedicated to a former Professor-in-charge of the American Academy in Rome (of which there is a photograph), more than half the papers are on Latin topics. The book opens with a good, simple account of *Quintus of Smyrna and the Siege of Troy*, by W. N. Bates, which includes a summary of the whole *Posthomerica*. E. H. Brewster's *A Weaver's Life in Oxyrhynchus* discusses the 'status in the community' of Tryphon, whose documents were published in Volumes I and II of Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*—a fragment in the history of Roman-Hellenistic Egypt. A. Gudeman's *The Sources of Aristotle's 'Poetics'* is chiefly a catalogue of ghosts, except in its refutation of any direct debt to Plato's aesthetic. W. W. Hyde writes a discursive and unoriginal paper on *Sophocles' Place in Greek Tragedy*, which shows, however unconsciously, the good influence of Mackail and Sheppard. Dean Lockwood's paper—*Bruti's Translation of the Plutus of Aristophanes*—is chiefly of Latin and humanist interest. E. S. McCartney on *Ancient Wit and Humour* quotes, of course, but in translation, from the *Anthology*; the essay is uninformative. These general papers are at once too bright and too diffuse for English taste; the Latin studies are more in the strict tradition of American sound learning.

W. R. LE F.

**A Companion to Greek Studies.** Edited by L. WHIBLEY. 4th edition, revised. Pp. xxxvii + 790: 197 figs., 5 maps. Cambridge University Press, 1931. 25s.

The latest edition of this well-known and useful work will be widely appreciated, since the thorough revision to which it has been submitted has produced a greatly improved book. How well the editor's intention of not increasing its size has been achieved may be judged from the fact that though new articles have been provided on Gems, Music, Money and Metre, and various other sections have been rewritten in whole or part, the pagination of the subsequent portions has been scarcely disturbed. Where possible the original authors have revised their contributions, but in some cases where they were no longer living the assistance of new scholars was obtained. While it is not proposed to enumerate the alterations in this edition as compared with the last (see *JHS*. xxxvi, 120), it may be of interest to mention that there are a number of additional illustrations (among them one of the bronze statue from Artemision) and that the use of better blocks has greatly improved others: e.g. Fig. 75 (a terracotta relief from Rhodes). We

have little doubt that the many generations of scholars who will treasure this book as a *vademecum* will realise their indebtedness to Mr. Whibley and the others who have co-operated with him in its production. W. T. P.

**Mélanges Charles Diehl: Études sur l'histoire et sur l'art de Byzance. Vol. I. Histoire** (contains a portrait of M. Diehl and a bibliography of his published work). Pp. xxxi + 308; 11 figs. **Vol. II. Art.** Pp. 245 + Table des Matières; Plates 19, 125 figs. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1930.

To this collection of papers presented to Professor Charles Diehl there have contributed 21 writers from France, 5 from Roumania, 4 from Yugoslavia and 4 from Greece, 2 from both Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, 1 from Austria, Belgium, Italy, Russia and Spain. To these must be added Professor Vasiliev and Dr. Ostrogorsky. All papers are written in the French language: no other language was permitted to the authors. It would appear that the co-operation of English students was not sought, though some Englishmen were given an opportunity (on payment of 350 francs) of having their names included in the list of subscribers and thus rendering their homage to the 'savant et illustre Maître qui a tant fait pour remettre en honneur les études byzantines dans le pays qui les a révélées au monde savant.'

In any review of so large a collection of papers it is only possible to record the titles and to outline the subject of the separate contributions: no detailed criticism can be attempted. In the first volume, which is devoted to History, Professor Anastasiévitch continues his studies of the chronology of the wars of Tzimisces in *Les indications chronologiques de l'ahya relatives à la guerre de Tzimisces contre les Russes* (1-5). It is a pity that these studies are so widely scattered: cf. on the conquest of Bulgaria from the Russians by Tzimisces, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 3 (1929), 1-4; *Die chronologischen Angaben des Skylitzes (Kedrenos) über den Russenzug des Tzimisces*, *B.Ž.* 31 (1931), 328-33; *La chronologie de la guerre russe de Tzimisces*, *Byzantion* 6 (1931), 337-42; *Bolgariya 973-90 goda*, *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931), 103-9, and closely connected with these *Die Zahl der Araberzüge des Tzimisces*, *B.Ž.* 30 (1929-30), 400-405. The conclusion of the present paper—that the war lasted some three years, from 971 to 973 or 974—has been challenged by Franz Dolger, *B.Ž.* 31 (1931), 443, who will shortly maintain in an article in the *B.Ž.* that the war is to be dated to 971.

In *Les Juifs et le fisc dans l'Empire byzantin* (7-29),

A. Andreadès gives a magnificently documented study of the question whether the Jews were subjected to a special tax [cf. his former paper, *οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ἐν τῷ Βυζαντινῷ κράτει, Ἑταιρείας τῶν Βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν* 7 (1929), 3-23]; the result of the inquiry is indecisive, though the chrysobul of March 1333 (published by Miklosich and Muller, V. 105) adduced by Franz Dolger is an argument in favour of an affirmative answer.

N. Bănescu—*Peut-on identifier le Zamblicas des documents ragusains?* (31-35)—thinks that this must be the μέγας παπίας of the reign of Andronicus (1328-41), Arsenios Tzamblikon, and considers the evidence for the extent of the family estates situated in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica.

G. I. Brătianu, *L'hyperpère byzantin et la monnaie d'or des républiques italiennes au XIIIe siècle* (37-48) discusses the reappearance of gold coinage in Western Europe in the thirteenth century; he concludes that this is not due to the influence of East Rome: 'au point de vue économique l'époque des Paléologues marque . . . une décadence irrémédiable: la crise monétaire en est l'indice le plus frappant. Ce n'est pas à Constantinople qu'il faut aller chercher la renaissance économique de l'Europe, mais dans les cités prospères de l'Italie du XIIIe siècle qui ont pu prendre en main la frappe du "bon besant," au moment où l'Empire byzantin défaillant l'avait laissé tomber.'

P. Collinet—*Sur l'expression οἱ ἐν τοῖς τούλοις ἀπερχόμενοι ceux qui partent dans les bagages*, *Ecloga chap. xviii* (49-54)—has contributed an interesting comparison of the Byzantine usage of the phrase with the similar Ptolemaic expression οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀποσκευῇ, on which see M. Holleaux, *REG.* 39 (1926), 355-66.

M. Dendias in *Le Roi Manfred de Sicile et la bataille de Pelagone* (55-60) disproves the view that Manfred was present at the defeat of the Franks in 1259. That view is not supported by the *Diurnali* of Matteo Spinelli di Giovenazzo. In the words 'Re Manfredo andao in Romagna' Romagna is not Epirus (= Romania), but the Italian province of that name. Manfred did not cross to Greece at this time.

F. Dvornik's paper, *La lutte entre Byzance et Rome à propos de l'Illyricum au IXe siècle* (61-80), is a supplement to his book (*Les Slaves; Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle*, Paris, 1926) of great interest and real importance. He has given us a summary of the history 'de l'Illyricum ecclésiastique' which should be studied together with the works of Duchesne and Zeiller on the same subject.

J. Ebersolt in *Sur les fonctions et les dignités du*

*Vestiarium byzantinum* 81-89 has written on the history of the *vestis sacra* and its officials, whether titular or in active service at the court. The *vestiarium* owes its historical significance to the fact that it contributed not a little to that policy of prestige by which East Rome sought to dazzle the barbarian world, winning a diplomatic victory which was far less expensive in men and treasure than was a military triumph.

Jules Gav's paper—*Le patriarche Nicolas le Mystique et son rôle politique* 91-100—is an essay on the correspondence of the imperial secretary. It is unfortunate that no account is taken of Steven Runciman's treatment of the same subject *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign*, Cambridge, 1929.

B. Granic's paper, *L'acte de fondation d'un monastère dans les provinces grecques du Bas-Empire au Ve et VIe siècle* 101-105, is a legal study: with it should be compared what is in a sense its continuation, the author's *Das Klosterwesen in der Novellengesetzgebung Kaiser Leons des Weisen*, B.Z. 31 1931, 61-69 and further see Steinwenter's *Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Kloster nach den Papyri*, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 19 1930, pp. 1-50.

In *Mohomet et le Monophysisme* (107-19) H. Grégoire discusses Mahomet's close study of Christian legend and doctrine as shown by the treatment in the Koran of the traditions concerning the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and of the Julianist view of the death of Christ. This paper is valuable for its consideration of the religious faith of the Christians of S. Arabia whom Mahomet sought to win to his cause.

R. Guiland in *La correspondance inédite d'Athanase, Patriarche de Constantinople* (1289-93; 1304-10) has sketched the figure of a Byzantine reformer whose rigorism defeated its own ends (121-40). It is suggested that his life and work merit a monographic treatment.

In a paper on *Le rôle des 'Latins' dans l'histoire intérieure de Constantinople à la fin du XIIe siècle* (141-45) L. Halphen has collected the contemporary texts to illustrate the part played by Western merchants, sailors and condottieri in the life of the Empire before the Fourth Crusade. National army and fleet were non-existent; the Empire for its defence against the Latins could only rely upon Latin mercenaries: 'dans ces conditions, la victoire des croisés ne pouvait faire doute.'

E. Jeanselme—*Sur un aide-mémoire de thérapeutique byzantin contenu dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Supplément grec 764): *traduction, notes et commentaire* 147-70—demonstrates afresh the complete lack of originality in Byzantine medicine: 'si l'on voulait ne tenir

compte que des ouvrages originaux, il n'y aurait rien à enregistrer, et la page consacrée à cette période plus que millénaire resterait blanche.'

M. Lascaris in *Le Patriarcat de Péc a-t-il été reconnu par l'Église de Constantinople en 1375?* (171-75) concludes that there was no such recognition; the leaders of the Serbian Church continued after 1375 to be styled Patriarch in their own Church and to sign with this title the acts emanating from their Chancery, though without the consent of the Occumenical Patriarch.

In *Byzance et les origines du Sultanat de Roum* (177-82), J. Laurent contributes what is in effect an appendix to his monograph on the Seljuk conquest of Asia Minor. By 1081 the Sultanate was already in existence.

Count Lefebvre des Noettes in *Le système d'attelage du cheval et du bœuf à Byzance et les conséquences de son emploi* (183-90) once more illustrates his well-known view that the abolition of slavery in Western Europe depended upon 'l'emploi du collier d'épaules, du dispositif en file des animaux et de la ferrure à clous' cf. his book *La force motrice animale à travers les âges*, Berger-Levrault, 1924). Of these innovations the Byzantines knew only the iron shoe, introduced in the ninth century, and this was used only for horses, and not for oxen; therefore the traction power which was at the disposal of the folk of East Rome was small, and thus forced labour remained a necessity. 'Il serait vain de reprocher à la Byzance chrétienne d'avoir conservé l'institution néfaste qui rongea la société antique: elle obéissait simplement à la force des choses.'

B. Leib in his *Contribution à l'étude des manuscrits et du texte de l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène* (191-99) concludes that the MSS. to be studied are Vaticanus gr. 981 (epitome) for the introduction, a Florentinus which alone gives the full text of Book I almost completely, and the Coislinianus, the sole MS. which includes the end of Book XIV and the whole of Book XV. The variants of the Vaticanus are then cited.

In *L'histoire byzantine dans l'histoire générale* (201-16), M. Lhéritier considers Byzantine history as an early stage of the Eastern Question: all ancient history finds its goal in Byzantium, all modern and contemporary history finds in Byzantium its starting-point. He asks, but does not answer, a very pertinent question: if it be true that the East Roman Empire becomes increasingly Oriental in character, what is the 'Orient' which inspires that transformation? That is indeed the all-important question to which Professor Diehl has never given an adequate reply.

M. Mitard in *Le pouvoir impérial au temps de*

Léon VI (217-23) makes an interesting contribution to the study of Byzantine sovereignty: what was its range, and what its theoretical and practical limitations? M. Mitard might with advantage have referred to J. B. Bury's Creighton Lecture.

L. Oeconomos, in a paper on *L'état intellectuel et moral des Byzantins vers le milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après une page de Joseph Bryennios* (225-33), reprints ch. 47 of the κεφάλαια ἐπτάκις ἐπτά of Joseph Bryennios [cf. Eugène Bulgaris, *Œuvres du moine Joseph Bryennios*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1784), pp. 119-23] with a translation, and from it draws the conclusion that the Byzantine of the fourteenth century was 'dégénéré moralement, abâtardi intellectuellement.' It may be true, but preachers in other ages have been wont to look only on the darker sides of contemporary life: they are not always reliable witnesses.

G. Ostrogorsky's study of *Les débuts de la Querelle des Images* (235-55) is of real importance, but it must be read in conjunction with his *Studien zur Geschichte des Bildenstreites*, Breslau, 1929, and his paper on *Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7 und 8 Jahrhundert*, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 7 (1930), 1-56, and its conclusions cannot be summarised here.

J. B. Papadopoulos, in *Une lettre de Grégoire Chioniadès évêque de Tabriz—Rapports entre Byzance et les Mongols de Perse* (257-62), illustrates the importance of Trebizond in the fourteenth century as an active centre of astronomic and scientific studies, and the favour shown by the Mongol rulers of Persia towards Christianity. He publishes from Cod. theol. gr. 203 of the National Library of Vienna a letter from Chioniades to the emperor of Trebizond, Alexis II.

H. Pernot, in *Le poème de Michel Glykas sur son emprisonnement* (263-76), studies this composition of the year 1156 as a document of importance for the history of Byzantine and modern Greek—versification, corrections of the text, grammatical peculiarities and vocabulary.

G. Rouillard contributes a detailed examination of *Les taxes maritimes et commerciales des actes de Patmos et de Lavra* (277-89) which demonstrates the powerlessness of the twelfth-century emperors in their attempt to control their own agents and the heavy burden of the gratuities paid to imperial officials by the subjects of the Empire. The evils of the *sportulae* system of an earlier period recur in this later administration [cf. Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, etc. 2 (1901), pp. 99 ff.].

Seymour de Ricci—*Une inscription byzantine de Rome* (291-2)—publishes from the papers of Aldus Manutius the Younger (sixteenth century)

the text of the Greek inscription of one Anna, who accompanied Charlotte of Lusignan on her flight from Cyprus to Rome in 1464.

A. A. Vasiliev, in *Quelques remarques sur les voyageurs du Moyen Âge à Constantinople* (293-98), supplies a supplement to J. Ebersolt's *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (Paris, 1918) derived from Arabic writers.

J. Zeiller discusses *Le site de Justiniana Prima* (299-304) in the light of the article by N. Vulić, *Où était Justiniana Prima? Le Musée belge* 32 (1928), 65-71. He concludes that Justiniana Prima lay in the neighbourhood of Scupi, but in the province of Dacia: it was the restoration and enlargement of Bedeciana or Tauresium, or perhaps of both towns united in one larger town [cf. Zeiller's article on the same subject, *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 10 (1930), 650-658].

The second volume, devoted to Art, opens with a paper by L. Bréhier on *La rénovation artistique sous les Paléologues et le mouvement des idées* (1-10), in which he considers the effect of monastic and humanistic influences upon later Byzantine art—to the former it owes its iconography, to the latter its style and technique.

B. Filov, in *Chapiteaux de marbre avec décorations de feuilles de vigne en Bulgarie* (11-18), studies a capital from Preslav together with a similar capital at Choumen (transported from Preslav) and with two capitals in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Tirnovowhich, he suggests, also come from Preslav. These vine-leaf capitals dated to the second half of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth are characteristic of early Bulgarian art, and, like other products of the period, are clearly marked by Sassanid influence.

In *Les croisades de l'Europe orientale dans l'art* (19-27), A. Grabar compares a fresco of the year 1437 in the small Moldavian Church at Pătrăuți near Suceava, representing through the symbolism of Constantine's vision of the Cross the crusade of Stephen the Great of Moldavia, with the icon (dating from c. 1532) preserved in the Tretjakov Gallery at Moscow commemorating the Kazan crusade of Ivan the Terrible against the Tartars, where the influence of the Renaissance is shown by the representation in person (and not in symbolic form) of the champion of Christianity against the infidels.

I. Grabar, in a paper *Sur les origines et l'évolution du type iconographique de la Vierge Éléousa* (29-42), illustrates how by modern methods the history of the successive restorations of an icon can be reconstituted through a study of the style and technique of the superposed repaintings: the history so recovered can then be used to test the statements of the Russian chroniclers. He concludes that the Vladimir icon was originally a



twelfth-century copy made in Constantinople of a masterpiece of Christian art created at Constantinople in the ninth to tenth centuries, in which the infant Jesus was represented as *standing* on His Mother's knee: this explains the elongated form of the Child's body in the icon, where He is no longer standing, but *sitting* on His Mother's arm.

P. Henry sketches *Le règne et les constructions d'Étienne le Grand, prince de Moldavie, 1457-1504* (43-58). Stephen's military and political work and his artistic and architectural activity form a whole and make of his reign 'un ensemble parfaitement co-ordonné.' Of that reign there is not at present any adequate and truly scientific account.

N. Iorga, in *Rapports italo-orientaux dans l'art du Moyen Âge* (59-69), discussing some recent discoveries (e.g. the fourteenth-century frescoes of the episcopal church at Argeş, the fifteenth-century frescoes of the church at Popăuți), urges that the new elements in this fourteenth-fifteenth century art are neither purely western nor purely Byzantine: this art is a synthesis whose authors were the inhabitants of the colonies of the Crimea, of Pera, of the islands of the Aegean (including Crete and Cyprus) and of mainland Greece, which were Latin for many centuries. In this art 'il n'y a rien de byzantin qui ne soit en même temps occidental . . . il n'y a rien d'occidental qui ne soit en même temps influencé par Byzance.' To write the history of these colonies would be not merely to add a chapter to the economic history of the Middle Ages, it would at the same time elucidate and solve one of the disputed problems in the history of art.

G. de Jerphanion, in *Le Thorakion, caractéristique iconographique du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (71-79), considers that the Thorakion is not really 'un gros bouclier ballant à la ceinture': originally it was a 'corselet muni d'un pan retombant à droite': as the corslet disappeared the 'pan qui le termine aura fini par n'être plus que le bout d'une longue bande brodée ramenée en avant.' This band, fixed to the girdle, ends in a curved line, and as it is drawn closely over the right leg it takes the form of 'un écusson effilé' with point turned to the right.

F. Macler, in *Raboula-Mlqé* (81-97), studies the famous Syriac Evangelium of Florence and compares it with the Armenian MS. 'of Queen Mlqé' at Venice. He describes the illuminations which, he thinks, belong to different periods, suggests that they have been bound up in the wrong order, and presents a provisional classification. A MS. like that of Raboula should not be studied in isolation: Syriac, Armenian and Byzantine parallels should be considered. 'De

très bonne heure, l'art que l'on est convenu de dénommer byzantin fut avant tout un art composite, exécuté non seulement par des artistes de la capitale, mais aussi par des artistes et des artisans grecs, persans, arméniens et égyptiens, attirés par la réputation de la nouvelle capitale de l'Empire romain.'

G. Millet, in *La vision de Pierre d'Alexandrie* (99-115), endeavours to trace the original form of the legend, which must have referred to the Melitian schism and not, as in later versions, to the heresy of Arius. He discusses the subsequent developments of the legend and their influence upon representations of the vision in art. He prints in an appendix the Latin version of the legend as given in Vaticanus 622, which is earlier than the Latin text printed by Combefis.

N. Okunev, in *Fragments de peintures de l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Ochrida* (117-31), gives a detailed description of the paintings which for the most part he would date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

V. R. Petković, in *Un peintre serbe du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (133-36), studies Greek influence in the Serbian Church of the Middle Ages. In the church of S. Demetrius (1317-24) at Peć all the inscriptions save one are in Serbian, but in the fresco of the Virgin with archangels there can still be seen the inscription ΘΥ ΤΟ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΚ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ.—John, a Serbian painter imitating Greek masters, 'voulait donner une preuve discrète de son érudition et de sa connaissance de la langue grecque.'

A. Protić, in *Les origines sassanides et byzantines de l'art bulgare* (137-59) sketches the influences which moulded early Bulgarian art. Under the early Bulgarian Empire the 'Prébulgares'—what is the significance of the word in this connexion?—were inspired by Sassanid art and the Zoroastrian religion; after the conversion to Christianity they at first employed Roman basilical forms derived through Persia. There followed the long period of Byzantine supremacy, and from Byzantine art Bulgaria in the thirteenth century developed its own national art.

J. Puig i Cadafalch, in *Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine en Occident. Premier art roman. Architecture Mudéjar. Eglises de Moldavie* (161-69), contributes a technical architectural study (which I cannot fully understand) of the appearance alike in East and West at long intervals of time of 'niches superposées en deux [ou trois] étages.' But this appearance of similar architectural features in widely separated areas does not allow us to infer any contact, direct or indirect, of one school with another. These and similar facts can be explained only 'par des lois fondamentales, indépendantes de l'espace et du

temps, commandant aux évolutions architectoniques, et semblables aux lois qui constituent la grammaire générale des langues.'

G. A. Sotiriou writes on *La sculpture sur bois dans l'art byzantin* (171-80). He attempts to classify and give a list of the known surviving examples of Byzantine sculpture in wood. These bas-reliefs follow a line of development which is parallel with those in marble and ivory. 'La sculpture ajourée est, par excellence, le travail propre du bois et a influencé la sculpture ajourée du marbre': the scanty material does not, however, allow us to follow the development of this form of sculpture in detail. In the section of the paper devoted to icons in sculptured wood, special attention is directed to the icon of S. George to be found in the Byzantine church of Gallista (situated at some hours' distance from Castoria), which gives the impression of a statue rather than of an icon. This statue, probably derived from Constantinople, is to be dated about the time of the foundation of the church in 1286-7: it is of exceptional importance, 'car elle est unique en son genre et elle nous donne une idée des œuvres monumentales byzantines en bois de la dernière période.'

I. D. Ștefanescu, in *Les peintures du monastère de Dobrovăț* (181-96), discusses the problem of the origins of religious painting in Moldavia. Granted that 'l'art moldave est comme une greffe de l'art byzantin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle,' what are the relations of the artists of Moldavia to those of Wallachia and Serbia on the one side, and those of Mt. Athos, Bulgaria and Russia on the other? The paintings of the monastery of Dobrovăț (which are here described) were disclosed in 1927; they date from the first third of the sixteenth century. The importance of these paintings lies in the fact that they witness to the survival in Moldavian art of a Serbo-Macedonian current at the moment when this current is giving place to the iconography and art of Constantinople, which thenceforth exercise an undisputed supremacy throughout the great period of the art of Moldavia.

J. Strzygowski, in *Les vestiges d'art chrétien primitif près de l'église arménienne de Diarbékir et leur décoration irano-nordique* (197-205), discusses three early Christian 'impost-capitals' found at Diarbékir. The Near East and N. Europe form in the judgment of Strzygowski 'un seul tout.' These capitals confirm this conclusion: their shape is derived ultimately from the fire-temples of Iran; their ornament is paralleled in the Oseberg finds now in the Museum at Oslo. These 'impost-capitals' were not an invention of East Rome: they were adopted by East Rome from an earlier Iranian world.—The aggressive

egotism which characterises so much of Strzygowski's work is unfortunately not absent from this paper.

O. Tafrali, in *Le monastère de Sucevița et son trésor* (207-29), gives a catalogue of the stuffs, goldsmith's work and sculpture, MSS., icons, crosses, vessels and liturgical utensils preserved in the monastery.

M. M. Vasić, in *La date de l'église Saint-Georges à Mlado-Vagomirino* (231-40), dates this church, situated 15 kilometres E. of Kumanovo, to the fifteenth century, between 1406-7 and 1427. He describes and discusses in their historical significance the architectural features of the church: it does not show any signs of foreign influence, it is a purely Serbian work.

N. H. B.

#### **L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine.**

By GERMAINE ROUILLARD. 2nd edition.

Pp. xv + 268. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1928.

There is no material alteration in the scheme of Mlle Rouillard's work introduced in the second edition, but practically all the new material that has been published since the first appeared is incorporated or mentioned, and as a survey of the evidence it is thoroughly up to date. There is perhaps room for reconsideration in the second part of the book, where Mlle Rouillard deals with what might be called the psychological side of the question: she seems to have more sympathy with the troubles of the government than with those of the subjects, and to blame the Egyptians for the break-down of Justinian's reforms. It is at any rate arguable that the Egyptians generally were not a difficult race to handle: the Alexandrians were, but Alexandria was not Egypt: and the collapse of the system of Diocletian in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries was not due so much to the innate wickedness of the Egyptians as to the stupidity of the officials who imagined that Egypt could be governed on the same plan as a European province. The changes introduced by Justinian can be explained in part as an attempt to undo the mistake of Diocletian and give Egypt a special administrative system, as it had been given by Augustus: there are several hints of this purpose, one very clear one being in the matter of currency. Diocletian had abolished the old Alexandrian coinage, based on the tetradrachm, and had assimilated the currency of Egypt to that of the rest of the Empire: and when the Byzantine coinage was changed by Anastasius, the same policy held. Justinian went back to the Augustan plan of a separate coinage for Egypt, and in place of the Anastasian follis of 40 nummia gave Egypt a follis of 12 nummia. But this and similar changes were not sufficient

to re-establish the credit of the Byzantine administration: the real management of the country had passed into the hands of the native landowners, and the position they had obtained was too strong to be shaken by such means. And, while the evidence of Byzantine edicts and historians gives an unfavourable view of the Egyptians, that of the papyri suggests that life in the Nile valley in the fifth and sixth centuries was probably more comfortable than it had been at any previous period since the Roman conquest of the country.

**Die Abstammung der Bulgaren und die Urheimat der Slaven.** By GANTSCHO TZENOFF. Pp. x + 358. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1930.

This book has been compiled with much industry and learning, but one rises from it feeling that the author has ridden his horse to death. He contends that the Bulgar nation is of pure Indo-European stock, representing the Thracillyrian peoples of antiquity and indigenous to the Danube valley. There may be a substratum of truth in this view: even those who prefer to consider the Bulgars as intruders from Asia can admit the improbability of a wholesale annihilation of the original population; and there is the problem of the modern Bulgar tongue, with which Dr. Tzenoff makes play triumphantly, though we in England will not accept his view that 'a conquering people never loses its language' (p. 12). But he sees Bulgars everywhere; they were at the siege of Troy, they were cut to pieces at Cannae, 'most probably on the Roman side' (p. 226—why?); they were the Pelasgians, the Cimmerians, the Celts, the Goths. A sanguine temperament and an uncritical use of authorities have led him regrettably to overstate his case.

Τὰ Τελευταία Χρόνια τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας. By G. K. ΚΟΡΔΑΙΟΣ. Pp. 95. Athens: Ralles, 1932. 15 dr.

Continuing his historical studies<sup>1</sup> from the standpoint of Marxist materialism, the author has published an essay on the Turkish capture of Constantinople to prove that the fall of the Byzantine capital was due to economic causes, which lay at the root of the theological quarrels between the Unionists and their opponents. If 'monasticism wove the shroud of the great Empire,' it was because the monks, anxious to preserve their property and privileges, preferred the Turks to the Franks, while the common people sought in the Turkish conquest an abatement of usury and taxation. In support of this

<sup>1</sup> *JHS.* li. 131.

Marxist thesis, he cites later historians like Cantemir, who had access to Turkish sources, and Sathas, accusing Gennadios Scholarios and Notaras of pro-Turkish propaganda in the material interests of Orthodoxy. That the Greeks preferred Turkish to Frankish rule as the lesser of two evils is true, but historical motives are more complex than the author imagines. Materialism alone will explain neither 1453 nor 1821.

W. M.

**France de Chypre.** Par NICOLAS JORGA. Pp. 215. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1931.

The Roumanian Prime Minister has found time amid his manifold occupations to publish a short history of the Lusignans in Cyprus, a subject on which he wrote a monograph thirty-six years ago. The present volume would have been improved by the fusion of the four lectures delivered at the Sorbonne, which serve as an introduction, with the political and social history, which forms the bulk of the book. It is regrettable that no one, such as Cobham, has completed the great work of Mas Latrie, which covers only the first century of Frankish rule over Cyprus, and for the completion of which he left ample documentary material, since augmented by others. Meanwhile, Professor Jorga has provided a succinct handbook of the Lusignan period, based upon the Cypriot chroniclers and the accounts of foreign visitors. He shows how, till the loss of the last fragment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Cyprus was a base for the prosecution of crusades in Syria, describes the riches and immorality of Famagosta in the fourteenth century, devotes a chapter to the romantic crusade of Peter I, and concludes with the revival of Greek influence in Cyprus, on the eve of the Frankish decline, as in the Morea, of which the chief instrument was Queen Helen, daughter of the Greek Despot of Mistra, and of which Lachanopoulos was an example, while James II, the Cypriot Borgia, had a Greek mother from Patras, and governed with Greek support. The most valuable part is that which deals with the various classes of Cypriot society—the Court, the nobles, the clergy, Orthodox and Catholic, the Greeks, *francoti* and serfs, the French, the Armenians, the Genoese colony of Famagosta, and the Jews. The Greek rising against the English in the time of Richard I is an interesting historical precedent. As in Greece, the Franks left few permanent traces, except their buildings, and today the only descendants of the Frankish barons and the Venetian merchants, who succeeded them, are the so-called *Linobambakoi*. The text shows occasional signs of haste. Thus the dates of Guy's death, Amaury's coronation and

Frederick II's landing (pp. 25, 112) are wrong; 'Guy' (p. 85) should be 'Geoffroy,' the Pope mentioned (p. 121), Honorius III; Échive d'Ibelin was not 'the wife of the Duke of Athens' (p. 116, n<sup>1</sup>.) but the granddaughter of one Duke and cousin and competitor of another; Venice was no longer mistress of Euboea in 1489 (p. 79). Books are sometimes cited in antiquated editions: Benedict of Peterborough should have been quoted from the Rolls' Series, the *Handbook of Cyprus* in the edition of 1930. The usual derivation of Dieu d'Amour is from *Didvma*, a name also found in the Argolid, not from the Arabic.

W. M.

**La Presse dans la Renaissance Balkanique :**

**Étude historique.** By NICÉPHORE MOSCHOPoulos. Pp. 149. Athens, 1931. 25 fr. (75 dr.).

The author is well qualified by his long collaboration with Greek newspapers in Turkey and his present position at the Press Bureau of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs to narrate the history of the Greek Press in and outside Greece. He prefaces this narrative by an account of the intellectual awakening of the Near East, in which Greeks played a prominent part. The Patriarch Cyril Lucaris founded, with the aid of Metaxas and the protection of the English Ambassador, the first Greek printing-press at Constantinople in 1627; but the Turks destroyed it in 1628, and it was not till 1710 that the second in the Near East was established at Moschopolis, long after the erection of the first Slavonic printing-press in Montenegro in 1493, the publication of Lascaris' Greek Grammar (of which there is a copy in the Gennadeion) in Italy, and the creation of the first Jewish press at Salonika in 1506. The first Turkish printing-press dates from 1728, the first newspaper in Turkish from 1831, the first Serbian journal from 1813. It is remarkable that, just as in the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century the Greek intellect derived inspiration from England, so the first printing-presses in both Constantinople and Athens were the result of British support. The history of Greek newspapers, in and out of Greece, is traced from the birth of the 'Εφημερίς of Vienna, as Professor Roussos has shown, on December 31 (O.S.), 1790, and from that of the 'Ελληνικός Τηλέγραφος of Vienna, the first Greek daily, in 1813. Till 1873 Greek journals were views-papers rather than newspapers; the 'Ακρόπολις first used the telegraph. The development of a 'yellow' Greek press, in which politics no longer compete successfully with Hollywood and football, is a recent event. The French *Messager d'Athènes*, aged fifty-three, is still the oldest

newspaper in Greece, but Siphnos has another which has celebrated its jubilee. In 1927 were published 262 newspapers and 180 periodicals; in 1932 Athens alone has sixteen dailies, an Armenian newspaper and an English and a German weekly. Jewish newspapers appear at Salonika, Turkish at Xanthe and Komotina. Outside Greece there are still three Greek journals at Constantinople, three at Bucharest, eight in Egypt, twenty-one in the United States, and others at Johannesburg, Sydney, and in Abyssinia; but the Turkish journals in Greek characters for the use of the Turkophone Caramanlis are dead. The first Roumanian theatre was also due to Greek initiative. The career of the Greek journalist, Cassap, in Turkey, reads like a romance: but in the Balkans real life is often stranger than fiction. The book omits the new Greek legislation limiting to four the pages of newspapers, which tended to become magazines. It has a full bibliography and supplements the previous histories of Kalopothakes<sup>1</sup> and Dascalakis.

W. M.

Κωνστ. Παπαρρηγοπούλου 'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων Χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1930.—Συμπλήρωμα τῆς πέμπτης εἰκονογραφημένης ἐκδόσεως 1925. By PAULOS KAROLIDES. Pp. 468. Athens: Eleutheroudakes, 1932. 200 dr.

This supplementary volume of the standard *History of the Greek Nation* covers the half-century from the annexation of Thessaly in 1881 to the celebration of the Centenary of Independence in 1930. For the first quarter of the book the late Professor Karolides was on safe ground, already traversed in the seventh volume of his larger *History*;<sup>2</sup> but from 1898 onward he had to avoid the pitfalls of party passion. A moderate Royalist, who had acted as intermediary between Trikoupes and the ex-Patriarch Joachim III, sat in the Turkish Parliament as deputy for Smyrna in 1908, was on intimate terms with many of the actors in the Greek tragedy during and after the Great War, and presided over the meeting in 1923 which invited Venizelos to return to Greece, he performed his promise to the publisher to write objectively. He considered Trikoupes as 'the greatest statesman of modern Greece,' who could not be compared with Venizelos, 'a self-made man, impulsive, and, in spite of all his indisputable talent, essentially a fighter.' He regarded Constantine, to whose person he was 'devoted,' as a patriot, but a party leader, whose policy was 'not Germanophil' but aimed, like Roumania in 1913, at keeping his army intact till towards the end of the war,

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* xlviii 282. <sup>2</sup> *JHS* xlvii. 133; l 166.

whereas he should have joined the Allies, for if he had joined Germany, Greece in any case would have obtained little. He censured Prince Nicholas' letter to the Serbian Minister, urging Serbia to allow the Germans to cross her territory, blamed Gounares' indecision—the result of over-study of metaphysics—and thought that only Venizelos could have obtained such comparatively good terms for Greece at Lausanne in 1923. These judgments were all the more generous, because the historian was on the list of the proscribed in 1917. He judged George I too much from the standpoint of a scholar: that affable monarch cared nothing for Greek history, but he performed the feat of reigning over Greece for nearly fifty years. The author blamed George II's weakness and ignored Queen Sophia's services to animals and trees. Indeed, on the social side his narrative is deficient. As an Asiatic Greek, educated in the shadow of Santa Sophia, he regarded the 'Great Idea' as more important than social reform, ignored the services of the League of Nations to Greece in settling the refugees, and scorned Balkan Confederation as 'a chimera,' considering Yugoslavia Greece's 'most dangerous enemy,' writing unsympathetically of Bulgaria, but concluding that Greece should now aim not at extension but in keeping and developing what she has obtained. He severely criticised French policy, which he held responsible for the Greek defeat in Asia Minor. His account of the execution of 'the Six' showed no knowledge of Sir Gerald Talbot's mission to save them, narrated by him to the reviewer. The great services of Zaimis were under-estimated by the author, who applied to that experienced statesman the Tacitean epigram about Galba. Characteristic defects of the volume are the tiresome habits of telling much of the story in immense foot-notes and inserting in the text quotations from newspapers, extending in one place to 10 pages, while the style is marred by serpentine sentences of many lines. Various slips have escaped revision. The formation of the Triple Alliance was in 1882 (p. 27); Montenegro began the first Balkan War; Bismarck resigned in 1890 (p. 168); Polites was not Foreign Minister, but Greek delegate at Geneva at the time of the Bulgarian Minorities' Protocol in 1924 (p. 372); the Gregorian Calendar was not introduced under Pangalos, but in 1923 (p. 379); the present Government of Venizelos took office in July, not August, 1928 (p. 385). The volume contains 166 illustrations of great interest, three plans, and a chronological table of the chief political, literary and economic events of this period, the final judgment upon which, as the author realised, must be left for a much later his-

torian. Meanwhile he has bequeathed to us a guide through the perplexing maze of recent Greek history.  
W. M.

**Wanderings in Greece.** By F. S. BURNELL.  
Pp. 253; 22 plates with 2 maps on cover turn-backs. London: Edward Arnold, 1931.

The author of a new book on travel in Greece has, as Mr. Burnell points out, every excuse for adding to the many volumes already written on that subject, since the ideal has not yet been achieved. Nor will his own book prevent others from using the same pretext, since, however we estimate his attainment, we find that he writes for a limited class—what one might call the intelligent tourist class. Like them, he does not really wander, but keeps to the beaten track; visiting Athens and Eleusis; proceeding via Corinth to the Argolid; then to Delphi, Olympia and Knossos. His object is to provide a commentary on some of the associations, religious, historical, literary and archaeological, of each site.

Given these limitations, the book is helpful and amusing. The reader's interest is captured in the second paragraph by a picturesque story of the war of Greek independence and thereafter kept from straying by other skilful devices. Indeed, Mr. Burnell could easily get his effects without the purple patches and clichés of which he is rather too fond, for he has a real gift for selection and story-telling.

The information he gives is useful though not deep, and appropriately arranged for reading on a journey. A Baedeker must, however, be taken as well, for the only maps are on the turn-backs of the covers. There are one or two inaccuracies that need correction: it is misleading to say that the Cretan civilisation 'finally culminated in a brief period of exceptional brilliance between 1500 and 1450': to connect the ancestors of the Achaeans, possibly the first speakers of Greek, with Dhimini; or to neglect the identification of the Kynosarges site by the British School in 1896 and 1897. Many readers may get a distorted idea of Greek religion through the author's absorption in a particular school of mythology. If this preoccupation with religion has made the bibliography a little one-sided, this could be counterbalanced in another edition by adding a few more books on Greek art, e.g. Buschor's *Greek Vase Painting*. Indeed, the weakest parts of the book are those which deal with questions of Greek art (disassociated from subject), and it is startling nowadays to find anyone who thinks the Olympia pediments in need of an apology.

A sense of humour is essential to the traveller:

Mr. Burnell has it. His account of a modern Athenian advertisement deserves record. 'God created men naked,' it ran, 'and Mavrodopoulos clothes them for 1250 drachmas the suit.' The picture showed 'in the background a seemingly endless column of perfectly naked men hopefully marching four abreast into the premises of the firm, to emerge on the opposite side of the building in the nattiest of gents' suitings.'

**Katalog der Bibliothek des deutsch. archäolog.**

**Instituts in Rom.** By A. MAU. **Neue Bearbeitung.** By E. v. MERCKLIN and F. MATZ. 1. **Supplement; Ergänzungen zu Bd. 1 für die Jahre 1911-25.** By F. MATZ. Pp. xxix + 516. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1930. 30 m.

Before consideration of the above supplement English scholars will be glad to have a word or two on the history of this famous catalogue.

In 1900-2 August Mau published the then complete catalogue of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome in two volumes. Vol. I (1900) contained two main sections, the first, general and miscellaneous, dealing with apparatus and method of study; and the second devoted to antiquities, considered under place, both topographically and by museums. Vol. II (1902) contained sections on antiquities classified by their material and then by their content, and chapters on epigraphy, numismatics, antiquities (in the narrower sense), and Christian art and archaeology. This second volume contained a valuable index of authors with the titles of their works in an abbreviated form, with references to the pages on which each book was described in full. The work was printed on light paper and the two volumes could be bound together, making in one handy volume a complete subject and authors' catalogue of this fine collection. This is the book which, bound in scarlet for prominence, has been in use for many years by readers in the Hellenic Library. It has only one failing, Anno Domini.

In 1913-14 Mau's Vol. I was reprinted in a greatly enlarged form in two halves. This was not a supplement but a new edition containing all the materials of the 1901 volume with the copious accessions that had accumulated. The first half contained the first general and miscellaneous section and the next the topographical sections dealing with the Greek world, the East, and Italy (including Rome). The second half contained the topography of other countries and the section on museums. It is to this *two-part edition of Vol. I* (1913-14) that the book now under consideration is a supplement.

It is gratifying to learn that a new edition of

the first half of Mau's Vol. II (1902) is just advertised. Its republication after thirty years will be a real landmark in bibliography.

A critical review of the new supplement would require a jury of specialists in prolonged session, while merely to pick out what, if anything, is lacking in the Institute's library would need laborious collation of this with the previous issues and would give no information of interest to users at a distance. These, however, may be glad of some description of its contents, while the learned compilers may be interested to know how the make-up and typography of the book strike a foreign user. It should be remembered that the supplement is a supplement and not a new edition, *i.e.* it does not contain the books listed in the 1913-14 edition, the arrangement of which it closely follows. The scope is limited to Hellenic and Roman Archaeology. The original catalogue did not deal with literature, history and philosophy, and the process of limitation is carried further in this supplement by the omission of Egyptology and the art of the ancient East. Like the volumes to which it is a supplement, it contains two main sections, the first dealing with the method and apparatus and the second with antiquities considered geographically and by museums.

In Section I the most important contribution is the impressive list of periodicals, which covers forty pages. These are given according to countries, and this is indeed the best way when, as in this case, there is prefixed to the catalogue a table (15 pages) of abbreviated periodicals in one alphabetical sequence, with reference to their full description under their countries of origin a few pages further on. In the fuller descriptive list the magazines of each country are given in the order of date at which each series begins, a good arrangement worth clearer printing. But these pages excite deeper than typographical qualms, as the eye falls on the entries from Bulgaria, Catalonia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Sweden. Many of the publications of these countries courteously supply summaries, or at least tables of contents, in one or other of the more widely spoken languages. Others do not. Now a national language is a precious and honourable possession, nowhere more respected than in this country. Yet *archaeologia longa, vita brevis*. If librarians would combine to take only those 'exchanges' which afforded the helps named above, others might come into line.

In the massive topographical section which follows (pp. 63-414) the supplement suffers somewhat from being a supplement. Lengthy as

the lists are, they strike one as being excessively sub-divided. This defect is probably inevitable in a supplement and would disappear where it is possible to cut the supplement up and add it to the corresponding sections of the major work. The following figures show the number of pages devoted to the more substantial sections of this part of the supplement:—Asia Minor 15, Arabia and Palestine 20, Italy 66, Rome 41, Germany 23. The pages being closely printed, these are noteworthy figures.

The section on museums is independent of, and equal in importance to, its two predecessors and might have been called section three. It is the work of Herr Reinhard Herbig and covers over 50 pages. As one would expect, German and Italian museums bulk the largest, 10 pages being required for each of these countries. The 3 pages on private collections bring together much out-of-the-way information of value.

The topographical index, of 42 pages, at the end of the supplement is the work of Herr Anton Moortgat. It covers both the topographical and museographical sections.

In any catalogue the printing counts for much, and detailed comment on this needs no apology: (1) Many references to other parts of the catalogue would be greatly improved by the addition of the page number, e.g. on p. 220 we have Preturo, see Amiternum. Amiternum is more than forty pages back and you have to jump an independent four-page entry on Pompeii to get there. The difficulty, of course, is that page references cannot be inserted till the book is paged, and this means delay in production. (2) In an entry extending over more than one page, each page is headed in large Clarendon type with the relevant name; English usage adds the word 'continued' in brackets, thus minimising the risk of the part being taken for the whole. (3) German authors seem to suffer as much as their English brethren from the printer's passion for large Roman figures. These are valuable for prefixing, say, to the volumes of the *CIL*, but a page of references printed thus 'Ovdheidk. Meded. N.F. I. 1920. S. XXXVIII–XXXIX Taf. VIII 22,' is very tiring to the eye and, in the instance given, seems only to indicate the possession by the library of a fascicle made up of two pages and one plate. (4) In any one section the books are placed in chronological sequence. This arrangement does not leap to the eye and would have been clearer if the dates had been given in small Clarendon type. It is a great advantage for quick reference if each page of the catalogue shows on its face the principle on which it is arranged. (5) Admitting that a reader should look respectfully at abbreviations in a language

other than his own, some which occur in the catalogue do seem arbitrary and hard to interpret, e.g. p. 266 'o.O.u.J.4.S.A.' S.A. I know is Sonderabdruck: but the rest? (6) Every page is headed with symbols indicating subsections of subsections of subsections running sometimes into six figures, e.g. II. A.3.a.1.β.γ.δ. As exercises in accuracy they are marvellous, but I have not myself found them of practical assistance, and I think they might be relegated to the left-hand side of the foot of the page where the printer keeps his pet-name for the book and other mysteries. (7) Misprints seem very few. Th. Leaf, p. 74; R. M. Dickens, p. 108; H. L. Myres, p. 435 will not mislead English readers.

In working through the volume I specially admired:—(1) the repetition of small selections of the contents, enclosed in boldly printed rectangles, at the head of various sections. These catch the eye and save reference to the complete contents at the beginning of the volumes. (2) The printing, on pp. 239–47, of Italian towns first under their ancient *Regiones* and then according to their modern provinces, and, on p. 415, the printing of the ancient and modern names of sites in north Africa. (3) The accuracy with which, where reviews are cited, the initials of even non-German reviewers are expanded to give the full names of the writers. (4) The inclusion of selected references to Pauly-Wissowa, Iwan Mueller, Brunn-Bruckmann, and Arndt-Ameling.

But the outstanding feature of both the catalogue and the supplement is the inclusion of the admirably executed references to periodical literature. These make the book of value the world over. All archaeological libraries possess more or less the same periodicals and all librarians will be gratified to find their work done for them. I had indeed intended to add the printed slip from the volumes to the extended version of the Hellenic Society's catalogue, but, beside the question of cost, the technical difficulty of a greatly differing width of column is against this. However, the volumes will stand conspicuously bound near the catalogue desk and can be used by our readers as effectively as in their proper home. To our German colleagues, thanks.

Appended is a price list of the whole work:—

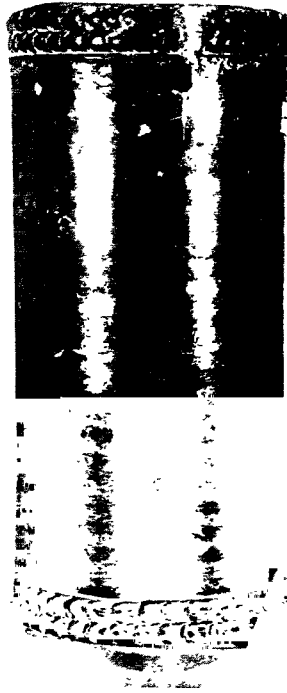
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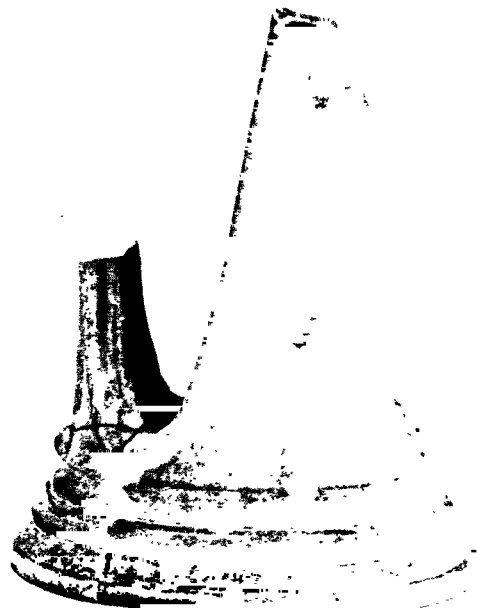
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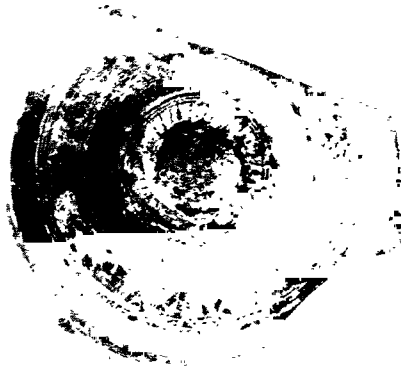
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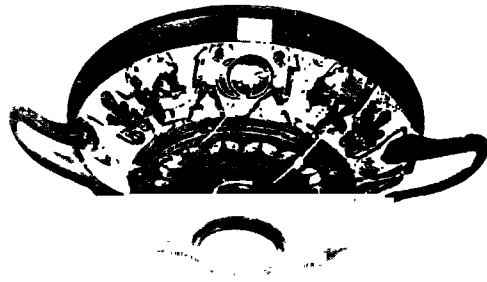
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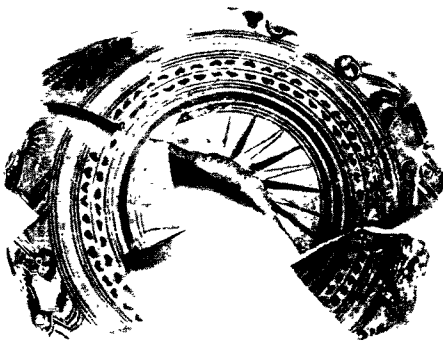
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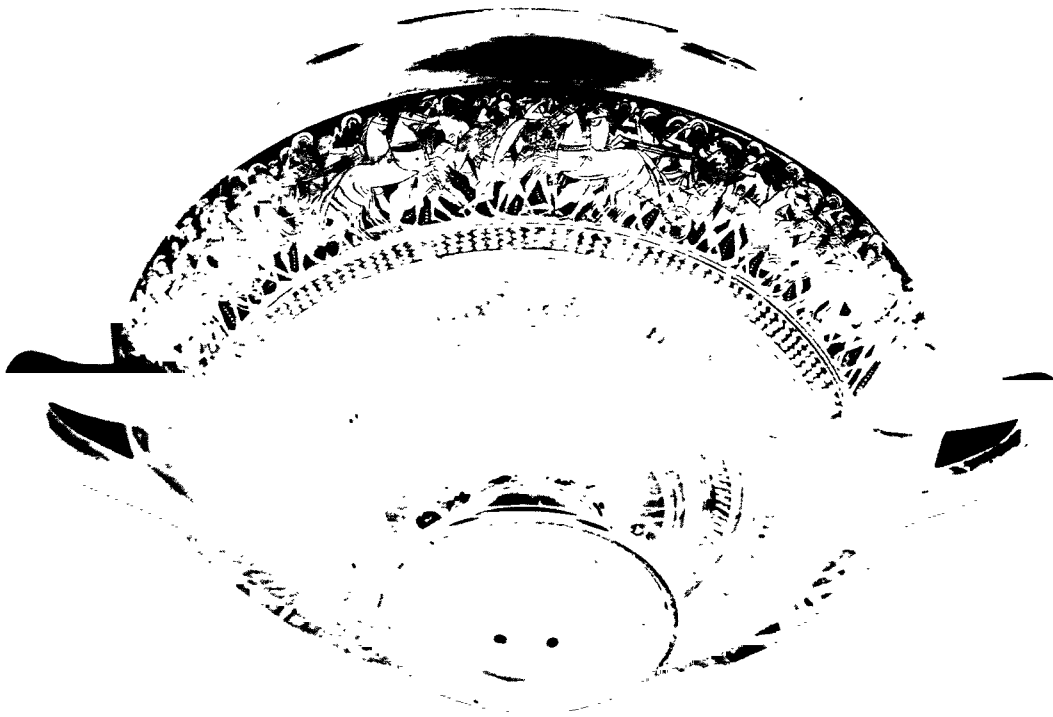
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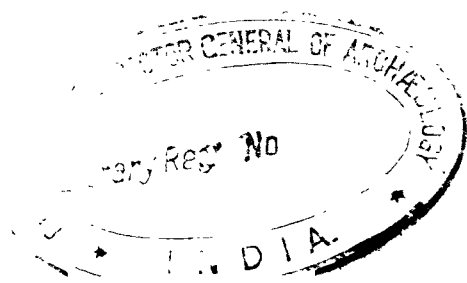
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FIG. 1.—LIP-CUP, SIGNED HERMOGENES, IN BOSTON, 95.17.

## LITTLE-MASTER CUPS

[PLATES V–IX.]

### I

#### THE CUPS

THE word ‘little-master cup,’ as I use it,<sup>1</sup> covers, first, ‘lip-cups,’ ‘band-cups,’<sup>2</sup> and variants of them; second, ‘Droop’ (or ‘Antidoran’) cups. I shall not deal with Droop cups; for I can add nothing to Ure’s admirable study.<sup>3</sup> I confine myself to lip-cups, band-cups, and their variants. Much of what I shall say has been said already, and I draw attention to the concise and accurate treatment which these also have received from Ure.<sup>4</sup>

Into the origin of the shapes I do not enter for the present. The fore-runner is the Attic ‘Siana cup.’<sup>5</sup>

#### LIP-CUPS AND BAND-CUPS

Lip-cup (Fig. 1) and band-cup (Fig. 16) are twin types. In the lip-cup, the lip is marked clearly off from the bowl, and the outside of the lip is

My thanks are due to Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi di Vulci, Marchese Giorgio Guglielmi di Vulci, and Mr. James Loeb for their kind permission to publish vases in their collections; to Miss G. M. A. Richter, Mr. S. Bastianelli, Prof. H. Bulle, Dr. L. D. Caskey, Dr. G. Cultrera, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Mr. E. T. Leeds, Mr. R. Mengarelli, Dr. B. Nogara, and Cav. E. Stefani for permission to publish vases in New York, Civitavecchia, Würzburg, Boston, London, Oxford, Palermo, the Vatican, and the Villa Giulia.

Dr. R. Heidenreich obliged me by sending me very precise notes of some Leipsic cups; Dr. P. Mingazzini by inspecting a cup in Florence; Mr. Humfry Payne by searching for a cup in Athens; Mr. F. N. Pryce by examining with me several cups in the British Museum. To these also my thanks.

Abbreviations:—H. means Hoppin, *A Handbook of Black-figured Vases*; and ABS. my *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch*.

<sup>1</sup> It has been used in a wider sense, for instance by Pfuhl (*Malerei*, pp. 273–8), who makes it include ‘Siana cups,’ which I keep apart. On ‘Siana cups’ see *JHS.* 49, p. 260, and 51, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> The two terms are Buschor’s (*FR.* iii, p. 219).

<sup>3</sup> Ure in *Εφημ.* 1915, pp. 120–4, type D; Beazley and Payne in *JHS.* 49, pp. 270–1; Ure in *JHS.* 52, pp. 55–71.

<sup>4</sup> *Εφημ.* 1915, pp. 117–20, types B and C.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Siana cup’ is of course a conventional term, and does not imply any connexion with Eastern Greece.

reserved. In the band-cup the lip is not clearly marked off, but passes gradually into the bowl; and is black outside as well as in. A minor difference is that in the band-cup there is often a fillet (usually painted red) at the junction of bowl and stem; in the lip-cup this fillet is almost unknown.<sup>6</sup> Why this difference? Perhaps because the lip-cup is 'punctuated' twice—between lip and bowl, and between bowl and stem; whereas the band-cup is punctuated once only, between bowl and stem, and the artist feels that he must strengthen the single punctuation—a colon as against the two commas of the lip-cup.

Let us turn to the decoration. Of reserved lip and black lip we have spoken. In both lip-cup and band-cup the foot is black outside, except the edge (which is reserved), and reserved inside<sup>7</sup> and underneath.<sup>8</sup> The handles are black outside, reserved inside. Outside, the lower part of the bowl is black, with a reserved belt about half-way.

The interior, in many lip-cups and in nearly all band-cups, is plain:—black, save for a small reserved disc, with either a dot in the middle, and a circle or two round the dot; or circles only.<sup>9</sup>

### LIP-CUPS

There are four chief types of lip-cup decoration:—

- (α) Figure-decoration outside only (LO).
- (β) Figure-decoration inside only (LI).
- (γ) Figure-decoration both inside and outside (LIO).
- (δ) No figure-decoration (LP).

The figure-decoration outside is on the *lip* of the cup, and consists of a *brief* picture in the middle of each half—one, two, or three figures, rarely more.<sup>10</sup>

The *handle-zone* is regularly decorated with an inscription, often between palmettes. But the palmettes may be omitted; or the inscription as well; or the inscription only. The palmette is a small upright palmette, attached by a tendril to the handle: other kinds of palmette are very rare.<sup>11</sup> In one

<sup>6</sup> Ure ('Εφημ. 1915, p. 120, note 5) mentions three lip-cups with fillets: the Leipsic Tleson T 52; Louvre A 242; Louvre F 97. Of these, Louvre A 242 is not a normal lip-cup (see p. 184): the other two I have not noted. A lip-cup lately in the market has a fillet (A-B, each, rider: the inscriptions disposed as in the London lip-cup B 405, *CV*, pl. 14, 1).

<sup>7</sup> Ure (*l.c.* p. 117, note 5) mentions two cups in which the lower part of the inside of the stem is black inside: but in Berlin inv. 4495 (see p. 183) I was not sure that the foot belonged; and A 242 is not a normal little-master cup (see p. 184).

<sup>8</sup> One or two have lines (arranged one, three, one) on the flat underside of the foot: Nearchos cup; Eucheiros cup in London; . . . kles cup in Florence (see below, pp. 176, 175, 184); special lip-cup in Northwick (see p. 182: the outer lines red). These lines recur in Gordion cups (see p. 185), and some-

times in Siana cups and in eye-cups. One or two very large band-cups have more elaborate decoration on the underside (see p. 188).

<sup>9</sup> The interior is very rarely black all over. Ure (*l.c.* p. 118, note 2) quotes a cup in Dresden which I have not seen. I add the 'gageos' cup (see p. 174).

<sup>10</sup> The London Xenokles has five on A, four on B; a cup in Leningrad (210, St. 216, Waldhauer, *ARV*, p. 12 below) seven on each half. In Cambridge 68 (*CV*, pl. 20, 1) the animals extend even farther.

<sup>11</sup> In Karlsruhe 2596 (I, *AA*, 1890, p. 2, no. 1; A, Welter, pl. 4, 10) and Munich 2133 (J. 41: I, man courting boy) the palmettes are of the same sort as in the Berlin Ergotimos cup (*WV*, 1888, pl. 4, 2; H. p. 83), but without the bow-shaped adjunct next the handle.

or two cups an animal is substituted for each palmette.<sup>12</sup> There is a black line near the top of the handle-zone.

When there is figure-decoration inside, it is a tondo of no great size.<sup>13</sup> The border is nearly always a band of tongues, with three or more lines edging the band outside, and the same inside.<sup>14</sup> The tongues are alternately black and red. The dividing-lines between the tongues are relief-lines, except in a few early cups.<sup>15</sup> There is usually a white dot at the outer end of each dividing-line.

*Lip-cups (α) with figure-decoration outside only (LO).*

Here and elsewhere I begin with the signed cups, for they provide good examples of most though not all varieties. I correct previous descriptions freely and in general tacitly; and add fresh items.

ANAKLES

Paris, Mr. Morin-Jean, from Chiusi. *RA.* 1915, i, pp. 5-11, whence H. p. 49. A, fawn rubbing its nose; B, fawn grazing. Each, *ΑΝΑΚΛΕΣΤΟΙΕΣΕΝ*.

EUCHEIROS son of ERGOTIMOS

Berlin 1756, from Vulci. *JdI.* 11, p. 289, fig. 53; H. p. 85. A, female head in outline; B is lost. A, *ΕΥΧΕΙΡΣΤΟΙΕΣΕΝ* (the painter forgot the ο of the name and stuck it in as soon as he remembered it). On B, *ΗΡΓΟΤΙΜΟΛΗΙΣ*.

HERMOGENES

Louvre F 87, from Vulci. A, Pottier, pl. 69; H. p. 133; phot. Giraudon 16998. A-B, each, female head in outline. A-B, each, *ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΕΣΤΟΙΕΣΕΝΕΜΕ*.

Munich 2163 (J. 30). A, *JdI.* 22, p. 103, fig. 19, 1 = H. p. 129. Subjects and inscr. as Louvre F 87.

Munich 2164 (J. 28). *JdI.* 22, p. 103, fig. 19, 2 = H. p. 127. Subjects and inscr. as Louvre F 87.

Castle Ashby. H. p. 121. Detail of A, here, fig. 3. Subjects, and inscr. on B, as Louvre F 87; on A, *ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΕΣΤΟΙΕΣΕΝ*.

<sup>12</sup> Hope Xenokles (see p. 178: sphinxes); Tarquinia RC 4194 (see p. 178: sphinxes); New York Epitimos (pl. VIII; see p. 177: lions); Basseggio Tleson (see p. 172: cocks); Munich 2172 (J. 10: much repainted: sphinxes). Cf. p. 188, n. 27.

<sup>13</sup> The cup Louvre F 68 (Pottier, pl. 68; Pfuhl, fig. 212), in which the whole interior except the lip is decorated, is not Attic, or 'Attico-Ionic,' but pure East Greek—Fikellura style.

<sup>14</sup> Exceptions. In the Louvre Neandros there is a subsidiary pattern-band on each side of the tongue-band—dots alternately from top and bottom of the bounding-line. The same in the special lip-cup at Northwick (see p. 182). This richer border is common enough in Siana cups; and is regular in Gordion

cups (see p. 185). London B 419 (see p. 199) has a similar dot-band, but only outside the tongues.

Three cups have a simple border of three or four lines: Xenokles cups in Boston and in the Robinson collection, and an early cup in Cambridge (68, see p. 178).

Tarquinia RC 4194 (see p. 178) has a zone of figures, in lieu of border, round the tondo.

Vatican 316 has the ordinary tongue-border, but a red line outside it (Albizzati, pl. 34: the tondo is reversed in the reproduction).

<sup>15</sup> Munich 2171 (J. 20: I, man running; A-B, each, lioness). London B 419 (see p. 199). Oxford fr. (I, sphinx).

Boston 95. 17, from Gela. H. p. 119; the shape, Caskey, *Geometry GV*. p. 169. A, here, figs. 1-2. A-B, each, hen. A-B, each,  $\eta\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

## PHRYNOS

London B 424, from Vulci. *Él.* 1, pl. 56. New, *IA*. pp. 189 and 136. H. p. 315; *CV*. pl. 13, 2; *ABS*. pl. 1, 1-2. Here, pl. V. A, Herakles entering Olympus; B, Birth

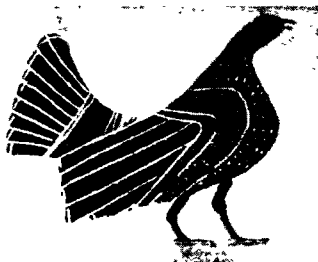


FIG. 2.—DETAIL OF FIG. 1, ENLARGED.

of Athena. A,  $\Phi\rho\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ . B,  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\iota\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\chi\iota$ . The foot may belong. The relief inside, added by the restorer, is part of a Calene cup (von Duhn in Pagenstecher, *Calenische Reliefkeramik*, p. 34).



FIG. 3.—LIP-CUP, SIGNED HERMOGENES, IN CASTLE ASHBY.

Boston 03. 855, fr. H. p. 313. Here, fig. 4. A-B, each, female head in outline. A,  $\Phi\rho\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\mu\epsilon$ . B,  $\Phi$  . . .

## SAKONIDES

Munich 2165 (J. 27), from Vulci. *Jdl.* 22, p. 104, figs. 20-1; H. p. 322. A-B, each, female head in outline. A,  $\Sigma\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\mu[\epsilon]$ . B,  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\iota\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\delta\iota$ . The  $-\tau\epsilon\delta\iota$  (probably for  $\tau\eta(\nu)\delta\iota$ , though  $\tau\eta(\iota)\delta\iota$ , 'here,' is also possible) recurs on lip-cups in the

Benedetti collection at Civitavecchia (outside, Herakles and the Lion) and in Cambridge (64, *CV*. pl. 19, 2).

Berlin inv. 3152, from Vulci. See under Tlempolemos.

## TALEIDES

Rome, Marchese Giorgio Guglielmi di Vulci; from Vulci. A, pl. VII, 1. A-B, each, lion. A, Τάλειδεςποίησεν. B, senseless and many of the letters not clear, Τ(ΕΝΓΙΟΔΑΝΕΙΔΛΔΝΕ. The palmettes have red hearts. Inside, two circles.

Leipsic T 51, from Italy. A, H. p. 341, above. A-B, each, two lions. A-B, each,

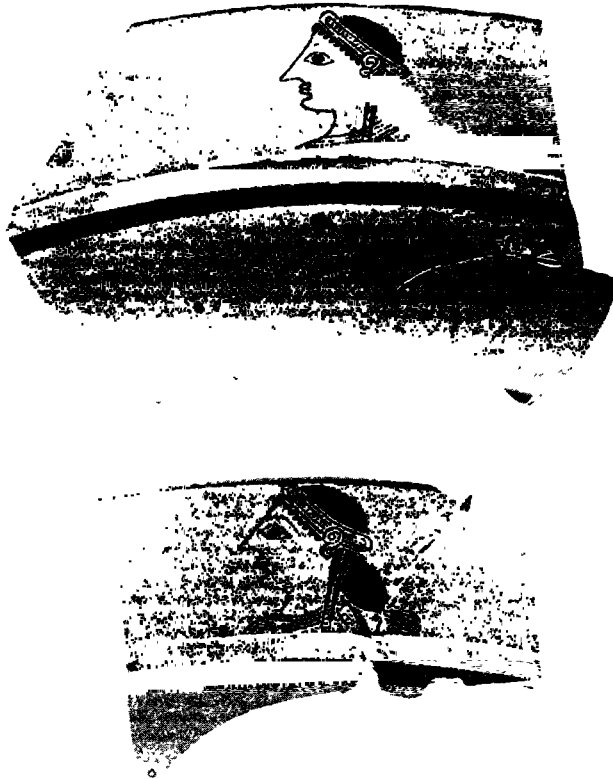


FIG. 4.—FRAGMENTS OF A LIP-CUP, SIGNED PHRYNOS, IN BOSTON, 03.855.

Τάλειδες : ποίησεν. The foot, according to Dr. Heidenreich, is much restored and does not certainly belong.

Vatican 321. A, Albizzati pl. 35; A, here, new, pl. VII, 2. A-B, each, sphinx. A, Τάλειδεςπ : οίησεν. B, Τάλειδεςπ : οίησ[εν]. The foot is alien and comes from a Droop cup (see *JHS*. 49, p. 270, bottom, and Ure in *JHS*. 52, p. 60).

Berlin 1762, from Vulci. A, *WT*. pl. 5, 5 (whence H. p. 338, but the swan has lost a leg on the way). A-B, each, swan. A, Τάλειδες : ποίησεν. B, Τάειδεςποίησεν.

## TLEMPOLEMOS

Berlin 1763, from Vulci. B, H. p. 364, and Schaal, *Sf.* fig. 33. A-B, each, two lions. A, Τλενπολεμος : μεποίησεν. B, Τλενπολεμε : κυνυυον. I attach no profound significance,



erotic (Duemmler, *KS.* iii, p. 359) or other, to the *κυνυυον*, which is probably as a mere flourish.<sup>16</sup>

Lost, from Vulci. A-B, each, 'two panthers.' A, *ΤΛΕΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ : ΜΕΤΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*. B, *ΤΛΕΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ : ΚΥΝΥΥΟΝ*. I suppose this is not the same cup as the last?

#### TLEMPOLEMOS and SAKONIDES

Berlin inv. 3152, from Vulci. H. p. 320. A-B, each, female head in outline. A, *ΤΛΕΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*. B, *ΣΑΚΟΝΙΔΕΣΕΓΓΡΑΦ[ΕΝ]*. One handle is modern, and possibly part of the stem.

#### TLESON SON OF NEARCHOS

The signature always has the form *ΤΛΕΣΟΝΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, except in the Leipsic sphinx cup, where the *ι* is omitted (cf. the Siena fr., p. 193).

London B 410, from Vulci. A, H. p. 384; A, *CV.* pl. 14, 6; A, *ABS.* pl. 1, 4. A-B, each, silen *δεφόμενος*. The incised sketch is unusually clear; the painter altered the attitude of the legs on B. The face and neck of the silen on B are red. For the subject, cf. the Berlin cup 1766, below, p. 174: it seems to have been a family favourite, for Nearchos has it on his aryballos in New York (see p. 196).

Munich 2150 (J. 34), from Vulci. H. p. 392. A, lion; B, fawn. The lion's tail and part of his left hind-leg are modern; and head, shoulder, legs of the fawn.

Civitavecchia, Marchese Benedetto Guglielmi di Vulci; from Vulci. A-B, each, sphinx. I hope to publish this cup soon.

Leipsic, fr., from Cervetri. A, sphinx.

Washington 136. 372, from Vulci. A, H. p. 403. A-B, each, sphinx.

Castle Ashby. A, H. p. 379. A-B, each, goat.

Boston 03. 851, fr. H. p. 372. A-B, each, goat (not stag, as H.).

Florence, fr. What remains is the part of a goat or fawn, and . . . *νεαρχος* . . .

Louvre F 86, from Etruria. A, Pottier, pl. 69; A, H. p. 398; phot. Giraudon 16999. A-B, each, ram. One side is much restored.

Formerly in the Chaix collection, from Corinth (Braun, *Bull.* 1849, p. 73). A-B, each, ram.

Castle Ashby. H. p. 378. Detail of A, here, fig. 5. A-B, each, cock.

Berlin 1760, from Etruria. Gerhard, *TG.* pl. 30, 4-5 = H. p. 367. A-B, each, cock.

Berlin 1759, from Etruria. Gerhard, *TG.* pl. 30, 6-7 = H. p. 366. A-B, each, hen.

Munich 2149 (J. 33). A, H. p. 391; A, Pfuhl fig. 253. A-B, each, hen. Restored.

Formerly in the Bourguignon collection, from Capua. A-B, each, hen.

Orvieto, Civico, from Orvieto. H. p. 396. A-B, each, swan (not goose, as H.).

Goluchow 25. A, Panofka, *Pourt.* pl. 41; A, De Witte, pl. 2 = H. p. 397; *CV.* pl. 13, 4. A-B, each, swan.

Lost, fr., from Vulci. A, swan. See *Bull.* 1880, p. 144 (misquoted by H., p. 404, no. 44).

Formerly in the Roman market (Basseggio). Part, *Annali*, 1859, pl. C, 1. A-B, each, Herakles and the Lion. 'Below, cock, and *ΤΛΕΣΟΝΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*.'

Where was the cock? Michaelis says 'below each of the pictures (of Herakles and the Lion) a cock, and then the inscription' (*Annali*, 1859, p. 62). De Witte, who refers to 'a tracing in Braun's possession,' says 'below, a cock' (*Noms des fabricants*, p. 80). Now the cock cannot have been in the middle of the handle-zone, for the inscription, as the facsimile shows, ran straight on. Michaelis' words ('a cock, and then . . .') suggest that this was one of the cups in which the handle-palmette is replaced by an animal<sup>17</sup>, and that

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the signature of Kriton on his oinochoe in Goluchow (*V. Pol.* p. 8, 5; *CV.* pl. 16, 2). The signature of Kleimachos in Eleusis might appear, from H. p. 142, to end in a similar flourish; but that is only because it is misreported. The inscription is complete, and reads *ΚΛΕΙΜΑΧΟΣΜΕΤΠΟΙΕΣΕΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝΟ*: that is, as Pollak showed (*AEM.* 1895, p. 22), *ΚΛΕΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΜΕΤΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΚΕΙΜΙ ΚΕΙΝΟΥ*. I add that this is a good

verse, — υ — υ υ — υ — υ —, glyc + ba, like *δύντος & βροδοάκτυλος σελάννα*. The fr. is from mouth and neck of a long-necked loutrophoros-like neck-amphora, much as Athens 1036 (*AM.* 18, pl. 2). H.'s plate (p. 143) gives not only this fr., but the fr. with the signature of Euphiletos (see *ABS.* p. 37), which have nothing to do with it.

<sup>17</sup> See p. 169.

the cock came next the handle. If so, there must have been another cock on the other side of the signature; and if our descriptions mention one cock only, that will be because Braun did not think it necessary to trace more than one of the four.

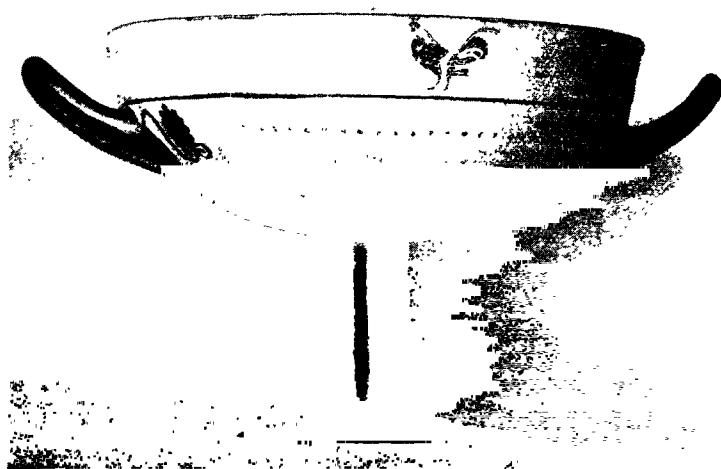


FIG. 5.—LIP-CUP, SIGNED TLESON, IN CASTLE ASHBY.

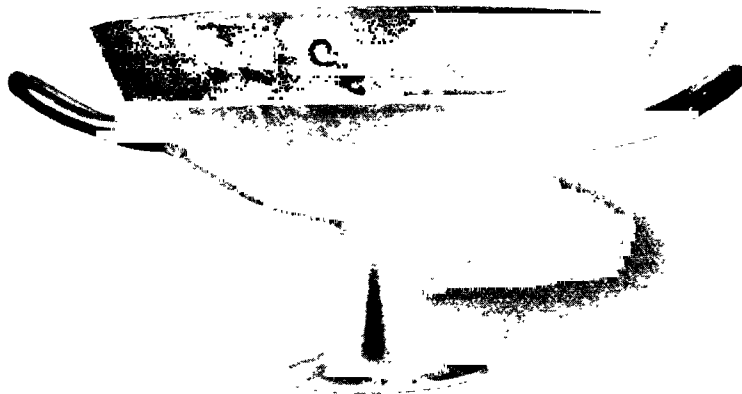


FIG. 6.—LIP-CUP IN THE COLLECTION OF MARCHESA ISABELLA GUGLIELMI IN ROME.

#### XENOKLES

Florence 76362, from Tarquinia. A-B, each, hen between two cocks. A, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ : B, [ΧΣ]ΕΝΟΚΛΕΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ[Υ :]. Palmettes. Dm. 200. Dr. Mingazzini kindly supplemented my scanty notes on this vase.

We now come to three doubtful signatures.

Villa Giulia 50679 (M. 604), from Cervetri? Mingazzini, pl. 89, 6, and pl. 94, 4-5; A only, H. p. 62. A, stag; B, fawn.

Mingazzini gives facsimiles of the inscriptions in his pl. 4. The letters, on the side I have seen, are clearer than in the facsimile: I saw Α . ΚΛΕΣ : ΠΟΙΕΣΝ. The letter before the kappa is intact, but is a mere dot. There is space for one letter between the dot and the first letter, but nothing was ever written there. The inscription on B appears from the facsimile to have been the same.

Hoppin, following Klein, takes these for signatures of Archikles:<sup>18</sup> Mingazzini would prefer Sokles or Prokles. Let us turn to another cup of the same type.

Berlin 1766. B, H. p. 47. A, silen δειφόμενος. B, goat (not stag, as H.).

The inscriptions, as Furtwängler's facsimiles show (Cat. p. 293, top), bear a remarkable resemblance to those on the Villa Giulia cup. Further, the Berlin goat is so like the Villa Giulia deer that it must be by the same hand as they. The Berlin inscriptions have been interpreted by Klein and Hoppin, though doubtfully, as signatures of Anakles. That is not impossible: although it must be admitted that the deer on the Villa Giulia cup bear no special resemblance to those on the Anakles cup in the Morin-Jean collection. What is certain is that the Berlin cup and the Villa Giulia go together, and are by one hand.

#### 'gageos'

Rome, Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi di Vulci; from Vulci. B, fig. 6. A, lion; B, lioness. A, ΑΛΛΕΟΞΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. B, ΑΛΛΕΟΞΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. Palmettes. The inside is black all over. The stem is of the usual type but shortish.

The cup was seen by Brunn in 1847 (*Geschichte der gr. Künstler*, p. 705). He read 'Laleos': Klein (*Meist.* p. 85) saw that the letters meant 'gageos' (or 'gageios'), but since that seems to be no more a Greek name than 'Laleos,' he concluded that it was a mere senseless conglomeration.

The writing is so deliberate and determined that one would like the inscription to be a signature: but the name is forbidding.

The cup, with its stout foot, black interior, solid short-legged animals, big firm lettering, gives the impression of being right early.

The signed cups are characteristic, so that I need not mention any unsigned. I give a list, however, of 'head-cups'—lip-cups in which the pictures are female heads and shoulders with the flesh done in outline. See *JdI.* 22, pp. 102-5 (Hackl); *ABS.* pp. 16-17; *JHS.* 49, pp. 268-9. I include the signed examples already mentioned above.

Eucheiros-Sakonides group. Berlin Eucheiros. Bryn Mawr, fr. (*AJA.* 1916, p. 320; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 267). London B 401 (*CV.* pl. 14, 9: Στροιβοςκαλος). London B 402 (*CV.* pl. 12, 10). Orvieto, Civico, 291 (phot. Armoni). London B 402, 1 (*JHS.* 49, pl. 16, 1: Στ[ροιβοςκαλος]). Munich Sakonides. Berlin Tiempolemos-and-Sakonides. Florence. Florence 71009. See p. 200.

Munich 2166 (*J.* 12: *JdI.* 22, p. 104). Somewhat akin to the last group, as it were a poor imitation.

Civitavecchia.

Hermogenes group. The Hermogenes cups in the Louvre, Munich, Munich, Castle Ashby.

Boston Phrynos.

Oxford G 137. 31, fr., from Naucratis. Fig. 7. I take the krobylos-like projection at the back of the head to be a blot.

Munich 2167 (*J.* 36: *JdI.* 22, p. 104, fig. 23-4; Pfuhl, fig. 252).

Berlin 1757, fr.

Philadelphia, Memorial Hall.

<sup>18</sup> But the cup seems to be entered twice in Klein: Anakles 3. for I suppose his Archikles 3 to be the same as his

Rome, Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi di Vulci: from Vulci. Crude.

Once in the van Branteghem collection (sale cat. no. 2), fr. I have not seen them.

To these we may append a fragment of a lip-cup in Boulogne: here the face is not in outline, but in ordinary bf. technique.

In the New York Epitimos cup (p. 177), outline heads form part of the decoration: a head of Dionysos on one side, and a female head (perhaps to be thought of as Ariadne) on the other. In the Berlin cup inv. 4495 (see p. 183) the outline head—Dionysos—is banished from its proper place, the lip, to the handle-zone.

On a lip-cup in Marseilles, the outline head finds another use. Four heads of Athena, set crest to crest, within the usual tongue-border, decorate the interior. Dot-'inscriptions' between each pair. The outside is plain, the foot shorter than usual.

There is no band-cup with this kind of decoration: but a 'band-kotyle' in Munich has it, though the head is not in outline (*Jdl.* 22, p. 105: see p. 203).



FIG. 7.—FRAGMENT OF A LIP-CUP IN OXFORD, G 137.31.

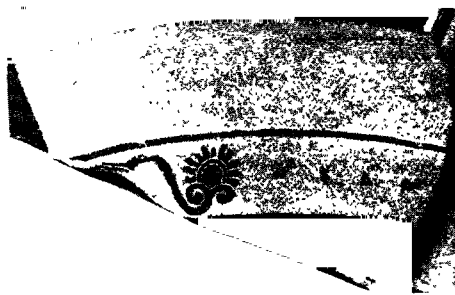


FIG. 8.—FRAGMENTARY LIP-CUP SIGNED NEARCHOS: ABOVE, IN CIVITAVECCHIA; BELOW, IN THE COLLECTION OF MARCHESA ISABELLA GUGLIELMI IN ROME.

### *Lip-cups (β) with figure-decoration inside only (LI).*

#### CHARITAIOS

Rome, Prince Torlonia, from Cervetri. *WT.* 1889, pl. 6, 3, whence H. p. 75. I, Herakles and the Lion. A, Χαριταῖος : ἐποίησεν ἐμὲ : εν. B, Χαριταῖος ἐποίησεν ἐμὲ.

#### EUCHEIROS son of ERGOTIMOS

London B 417. Micali, *Mon. ined.* pl. 42, 2; H. p. 87; *CV.* pl. 11, 1; I, *ABS.* pl. 5, 2. I, Chimaera. A, Εὐχεῖρος : ἐποίησεν. B, ἡγογιμοληνίης. The underside of the foot is decorated with black lines—one, three, one: see note 8.

#### NEANDROS

Louvre F 82, from Vulci. H. p. 171; I, phot. Giraudon 16993, 2. I, Herakles and the Lion. A, Νεανδρος ἐποίησεν. B, Νεανδρος ἐπο[ίησε]ν. Much restored. The foot is

modern. What is ancient in the picture is part of Herakles' hair; his r. shoulder, arm, and hand; his buttocks and heels: the hinder half of the lion (but not the hind-paws). Herakles held in his r. hand not a club (as at present) but the left fore-paw of the lion, as in the Charitaios cup and a lip-cup from Selinus in Palermo.<sup>19</sup> Part of the left paw is ancient. For the pattern on I, see note 14.

## NEARCHOS

Civitavecchia, Museo Civico; and Rome, Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi di Vulci: fragmentary; from Vulci. Fig. 8. The Marchesa's fragment, which gives a small portion of the exterior, with a left-hand palmette and the beginning of an inscription, Νεαρ . . ., must be from the same cup as the Civitavecchia fragments: whether it actually joins I am not sure from my notes, but think it likely. I have no photographs of the outside of the Civitavecchia fr.

I, sphinx. A, Νεαρχος[ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ]ΝΕΥ. B, [ΝεαρχοςΕΠ]ΟΙΕΣΕ[ΝΕΥ]. The palmettes have red hearts, and red spots on every other petal. The underside of the foot is as in the London Eucheiros cup (see note 8).

## TLESON SON OF NEARCHOS

The signature is always ΤΛΕΣΟΝΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

London B 421, from Vulci. H. p. 387; *CV*. pl. 11, 2. Fig. 9. I, hunter. It is not absolutely certain that the foot belongs.

Paris, Baron Seillière, from Vulci. H. p. 399. I, centaur. Part of the foot, if not the whole of it, must be alien.

Boston 98. 920, from Vulci. Gsell, *F. de Vulci*, pl. 9; H. p. 371; A, Hambidge, *Dyn. Symmetry*, p. 53, and pl. at p. 54, and Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 168. I, wounded stag. Gsell's drawing omits the red of the stag's neck, the white belly-line, the white inner edge of the tail, and the white dots in the border.

Castle Ashby. *Burl. Cat.* 1888, pl. 17, 101; H. p. 377; I, *ABS*. pl. 5, 1, and here, fig. 10. I, goats. For the subject cf. the cup Rhodes 12584 (Jacopi, *Necr. camiresi*, p. 373, fig. 421 and fig. 420, 2).

Cambridge 69, from Vulci. E. Gardner, pl. 25; H. p. 376; *CV*. pl. 20, 3 and pl. 19, 6. I, sphinx.

Naples 2532, from Etruria. H. p. 394. I, sphinx.

Munich 2135 (J. 32), from Vulci. H. p. 390. I, siren.

London B 420, from Capua? I, *CV*. pl. 14, 5; A-B, H. p. 386. I, siren.

Copenhagen 105. H. p. 381; *CV*. pl. 117, 4. I, siren.

## XENOKLES

Boston 98. 921, from Orvieto. H. p. 418: the shape, Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 171. I, youth riding the forepart of a horse. H. says 'only forepart left': but the picture is complete. I, ΟΡΙΤΤΟΣ (see Kretschmer, p. 177). A, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. B, the like. On the line-border, see note 14.

## A SON OF EUCHEIROS

Vatican, Magazine, fr. I, fig. 11. I, winged male. A (complete on the left, not necessarily on the right), ΕΥΧΕΡΟΗΥΗΥΣ. B, ho . . . hυιηυς (complete at both ends). There are traces of a letter after the omikron, perhaps epsilon: if so read hoE[υχερο]hυιηυς. Palmettes.

One unsigned cup deserves a mention here, because it is unusually late for a lip-cup and unusually bad.

Delos 605, from Delos. *Délos*, 10, pl. 50, 605 (Dugas). I, Achilles and Ajax playing. The outside is quite plain. The use of filling—dot-rosettes—is rare in little-master cups.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Gábrici, *Vasi greci . . . di Palermo e Agrigento* (from *Atti R. Acc. di Palermo*, 15), figs. 1 and 10. I, here, pl. VI, 2. I, Herakles and the Lion: A-B, each, Θεογνις; καλοςνεδια. Gábrici has already compared the Charitaios cup. Theognis does not occur elsewhere as a love-name; and I suppose this is our

earliest authority for the expression νη Δία, as the cup cannot be later than 550 B.C.

<sup>20</sup> Also in the lip-cup Oxford 233, the band-cups Toronto 286 (Robinson, pl. 28, and p. 101, top) and Munich 2197.



FIG. 9.—FROM A LIP-CUP, SIGNED TLESON, IN LONDON, B 421.



FIG. 10.—FROM A LIP-CUP, SIGNED TLESON, IN CASTLE ASHBY.

*Lip-cups* ( $\gamma$ ) with figure-decoration both inside and outside (*LIO*).

These are not very numerous.

#### EPITIMOS

New York, from Vulci. I and (?)A, H. p. 79. I. fig. 12; A-B, pl. VIII. I, riders. In outline, A, head of Dionysos, B, female head (Ariadne?). Lions instead of palmettes. A, ΕΠΙΤΙΜΟΣΕΤΟΙΕΣΕΝ. B, ΕΠΙΤΙΜ[ΟΣΕΤ]ΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

The hoplite on I must be dismounting. His companion is a youth wearing a short chiton and a tiara. For the subject cf. the cup with merrythought handles in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii, pl. 68, 1).

## EUCHEIROS

Rhodes 10527, from Ialysos. A-B, Jacopi, *Jalisso*, p. 34. I, 'a man' (Herakles?) 'and a centaur.' A, Triton. B, rider. A, καλον : εἰμιποτέριον. B, Ευχρος : εἰποιεσενεμε. Jacobsthal pointed out that Ευχρος was for Ευχ(ε)ρος. For the inscription on A cf. the 'Siana' cup Louvre F 66 (I, Pottier, pl. 68): and the Boeotian kantharos, *Harvard Studies*, 2, pp. 89-90.<sup>21</sup>

## EXEKIAS

Louvre F 54, from Etruria. *WV.* 1888, pl. 5, 2, whence H. p. 103. I, winged female (Nike?). A-B, each, fawn. A, Εχσεκίας : μεποιεσ[ε]ν : ευ[ι:]. B, Εχσεκίας : μεποιεσ[ε]ν : ευ : The foot is alien and comes from a 'Siana' cup.

## HERMOGENES

Formerly in the Canino collection, from Vulci. I, two runners. A-B, each, two lions. I, Λυσον, Φοινιχς, ἡδοισαοε. A, h[ε]ρμo]γενεσ[ε]ποιεσεν. B, [hερ]μο[γενεσ]ποιε[σεν].

## 'MYSPIOS'

Formerly in De Witte's collection; from Capua. I, winged female (Nike?). A, rider; B, the like. On A, μυσπιος : εἰποιεσεν. On B, μυσπιοσποιεσεν. The name is fishy: but see Kretschmer, p. 74, note 6.

## XENOKLES

Formerly in the Hope collection, from Vulci. Raoul-Rochette, pl. 49, 1; A only, H. p. 431. I, Judgment of Paris. A, Achilles pursuing Troilos. B, Herakles and Cerberus. Sphinxes instead of palmettes. A-B, each, Κσενoκλ[ε]σ[ε]ποιεσεν (at least RR. gives the first letter as kappa). In the picture on A, Αχιλεϋς.

London B 425, from Vulci. Panofka, *Blacas*, pl. 19; *Él.* i, pl. 24; H. p. 421; *CV.* pl. 13, 1; A, Schweitzer, *Herakles*, fig. 28. I, winged female (Nike?). A, between winged horses, Zeus, Poseidon and (Hades?). B, Dionysos with (Ariadne?), Hermes, and a woman. A-B, each, Χσενoκλ[ε]ς : εἰποιεσεν. The foot is alien, the description in the catalogue fantastic. For I cf. perhaps the cup-fragment Acropolis 1787 (Graef, pl. 87).

Baltimore, Prof. D. M. Robinson, from Chiusi. H. pp. 410-1, and p. 413 below. I, youth riding hippalectryon. A, siren between swans. B, swan between sirens. A, [Χσeno]κλ[ε]ς : εἰποιεσεν. On B, part of the εἰποιεσεν seems from the reproduction to remain.

Berlin 1770, from Cervetri? Gerhard, *Trinksch.* pl. 1, 5-6, whence H. p. 413, above. I, youth riding hippalectryon. A, swan between sirens. B, fawn between lionesses. A-B, each, Χσενoκλ[ε]ς : εἰποιεσεν.

Boston 95. 18, from Cervetri. *Burl. Cat.* 1888, pl. 2, 2; H. p. 417; A, Baur, *Centaurs*, pl. 2, 3, and, here, fig. 13; the shape, Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 174. I, sphinx. A, fight between two centaurs. B, lioness and fawn. A-B, each, Χσενoκλ[ε]ς : εἰποιεσεν. For A cf. Carlsruhe 259b (see p. 180).

I add the few unsigned cups of this group:—

Tarquinia RC. 4194, from Tarquinia. *Mon. Inst.* 11, pl. 41: I, phot. Brogi, and, new, here fig. 14. I, Herakles and Triton: in a zone round this, Nereids dancing in a ring: then black. A-B, each, chariot, between two columns. Sphinxes instead of palmettes. A-B, each, χαῖρεκαῖπτιεν. The foot is alien and was part of an early rf. cup type A. A large and excellent piece.

Berlin 1773, from Etruria. I, man courting youth. A-B, each, Nike. Meaningless inscriptions. Palmettes. Another excellent cup.

<sup>21</sup> I take what is written on the Louvre cup to be for καλον εἰμι, τὸ ποτήριον καλ(ον): Pottier takes it otherwise, *Cat.* p. 743. The inscr. on the Boeotian vase reads Γοργινιοσεμικοῦ τυλοςκαλοςκα[λ]οῦ, i.e. Γοργίνιος εἰμι, ὁ κύτλος καλὸς καλὸς ὅτι καλὸς καλοῦ. Possessive

adjective from Γοργίνιος. I punctuate after εἰμι; otherwise Rolfe (*Harv. St.* II, p. 90) and Bechtel (*Gr. Dial.* 1, p. 109). A rude iambic trimeter, with hiatus at the caesura.



FIG. 11.—FRAGMENTARY LIP-CUP, WITH THE SIGNATURE OF A SON OF EUCHEIROS, IN THE MAGAZINE OF THE VATICAN.



FIG. 12.—FROM A LIP-CUP, SIGNED EPITIMOS, IN NEW YORK.



Cambridge 68, from Vulci. I, E. Gardner, pl. 24; *CV*. pl. 20, 1; I, Schaal, *Sf.* fig. 55. I, rider. A-B, each, animals: A, lion and lioness attacking a bull, between a lioness and a lion; B, bulls. A, χαίρε : καίειεν. B, χαίρε : κ...ιεν. The pictures on A and B are unusually extensive: see p. 168. For the line-border on I see note 14. See also p. 168.

Carlsruhe 2596, from Orvieto. I, *AA*. 1890, p. 2, no. 1: A, Baur, *Centaurs*, pl. 1, 24 and Welter, *Karlsru.* pl. 4, 10. I, winged Artemis with lions. A, two centaurs fighting; B, cock-fight. A, χαίρεκαίτιπτιειεν : B, χαίρεκαίτιπτιειεν. For the subject of A cf. the Boston Xenokles cup 95. 18, and for the idea see *BSR*. 11, p. 2. For the palmettes see note 11.

Munich 2171 (J. 20), from Vulci. I, man running. A-B, each, panther. Mock inscriptions. No relief lines in the tongue-border on I. Small. Recalls some Siana cups.

I suppose it is possible that fragments of a large lip-cup in Athens may belong to this class.

Athens Acr. 1609, from Athens. Part, Graef, pl. 82. Inside, part of a border (tongues plus dot-band) remains. Outside, there is no trace of pictures on the lip, but not much of it remains. In the handle-zone, riders: but one at least of them seems, from Graef's description, to have been next the handle: and it may be that the horsemen were not in Indian file, but took the place of handle-palmettes, as animals do elsewhere (see p. 169).

The style of the Athens fragments connects them with the Cambridge cup 68 (above, p. 178) and with the plaque Acropolis 2526 (Graef and Langlotz, pl. 104).<sup>22</sup>

### *Lip-cups (8) without figure-decoration (LP).*

#### ARCHENEDES (Ἀρχενήδης)

London 1919. 6-20. 2, from Italy. H. p. 54; *CV*. pl. 12, 7. Αρχενειδηςμε.

#### ERGOTELES son of NEARCHOS

Berlin 1758, from Etruria. H. p. 80. Εργοτελεσεττοισενhovεαρχο.

#### EXEKIAS

Munich 2125 (J. 25). *WV*. 1888, pl. 7, 2 = H. p. 97. A, χσεκις : ετποες. B, χσεκις : ετποιεν. The inscriptions have not been given correctly hitherto: they are both complete.

#### GLAUKYTES

Berlin 1761. H. p. 113. A, Λλαυκυτεσεττοισεν. B, Λλαυκυεσεττοισεν.

#### HERMOGENES

Louvre F 88. H. p. 134; phot. Giraudon 17070, 2. ηερμογενεσεττοισεν. Roman market (recently). ηερμογενεσεττοισεν. Palmettes.

#### NEANDROS

Corinth, from Corinth. *AJA*. 1929, p. 536. A, Νεανδροςμεττοισεν. B, Νεανδροςεττοισεν.

#### TLESON son of NEARCHOS

Bonn (H. p. 368). Boston 92. 2655 (H. p. 369; Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 172, below). Brussels R 385B (H. p. 374; *CV*. pl. 2, 9). Brussels R 385C (H. p. 375; *CV*. pl. 2, 6). Dresden ZV 2714 (from Tarquinia, ex Leipsic, see *Jdl*. 11, p. 182, no. 18, and *AA*. 1925, p. 110, no. 20). Florence. Heidelberg S 29 and S 30, fr., presumably from a single cup. Leipsic T 52, from Italy (H. p. 382). London B 411, from Camiros (H. p. 385; *CV*. pl.

<sup>22</sup> I seize the opportunity of apologising for saying put together wrongly. (*JHS*. 49, p. 263) that the plaque-fragments were

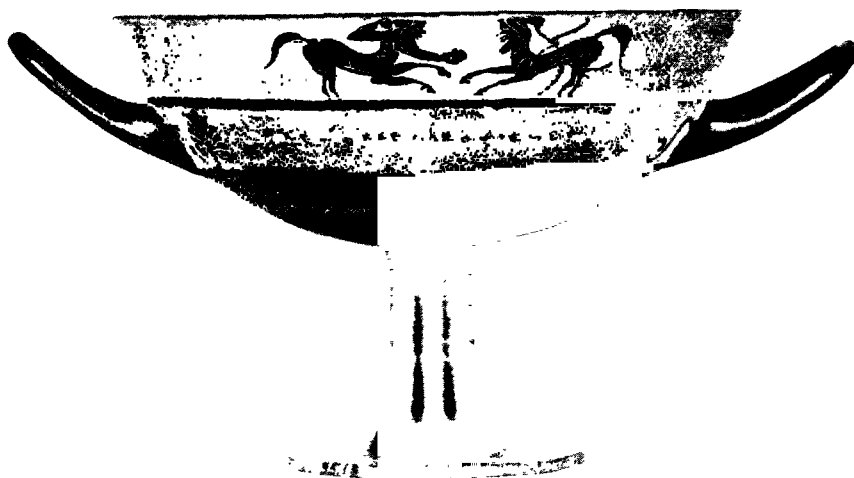


FIG. 13.—LIP-CUP, SIGNED XENOKLES, IN BOSTON, 95.18.

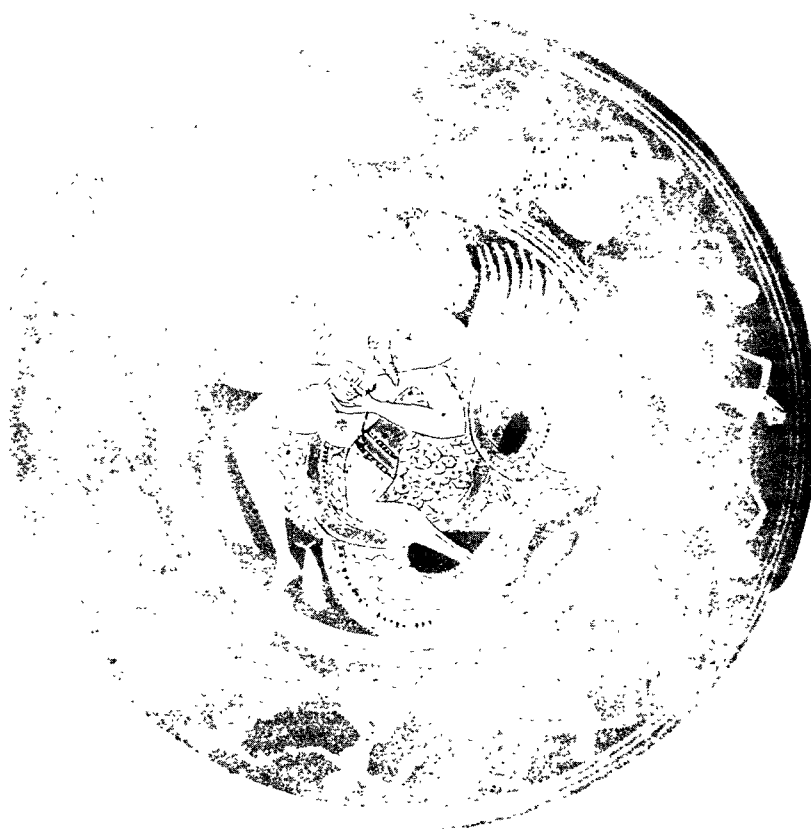


FIG. 14.—FROM A LIP-CUP IN TARQUINIA, RC 4194.

14, 4). Munich 2127 (J. 17: H. p. 388). Munich 2126 (J. 19: H. p. 389). Naples 2528, from Etruria (H. p. 393). Naples Stg. 271 (H. p. 395). Orvieto, Civico, from Orvieto. Syracuse 43985, from Gela. Taranto, from Taranto (*NSc.* 1903, p. 205 = H. p. 402). Vatican 322 (H. p. 401; Albizzati, pl. 34: the foot alien). Villa Giulia 50654 (H. p. 400; Mingazzini, pl. 92, 3: no final  $\nu$  on B).

## XENOKLES

Orvieto, Conte Faina, 90, from Orvieto. A, H. p. 425. A, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. B, . . . ΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ[ν].

Orvieto, Conte Faina, 91, from Orvieto. A, H. p. 426. A, ΧΣΕΝΟ[ΚΛ]ΕΣ : Ε[ΠΟΙ]ΕΣΕΝ. B, ΧΣΕΝΟ . . . (unless this fragment belongs to the last cup?).

New York 06. 1021. 155. Sambon, *Canessa*, pl. 17, 215; B, H. p. 424. A, ΧΣΕ[ΝΟΚΛΕ]Σ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣ. B, ΧΣΕΝΟΙΚΣΕΠΟ. I take this to be the same as *Coll. d'ant.* [Bourguignon] 11-14 *mai*, 1903, p. 22, no. 75, from Orvieto.

Vienna, Oest. Mus. 278, from Cervetri. Masner, pl. 5; H. p. 429. A, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ. B, ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

Most lip-cups belong to one or other of these four groups: but there are three other types of decoration.

*Lip-cups (ε) with ivy on the lip.*

Like (δ), except that the lip outside, instead of being plain, bears an ivy-wreath which runs right round the vase.

## HERMOGENES

Munich 2153 (J. 29). H. p. 128. Each, ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

London B 413. H. p. 126; *CV.* pl. 14, 7. A, ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝΕΜΕ. B, ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΕΣ[ΕΠΟΙ]ΙΕ-  
σεν. It is not quite certain that the foot belongs.

Leipsic T 434, fr., from Tarquinia. H. p. 124. A, ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

The other cups of the same type are these:—

Würzburg 161. Nonsense inscr. (see *V. Poland*, p. 4). Palmettes.  
Florence, four fragments. Palmettes.

Cups with floral ornament on the lip are common in the 'Siana' group.

I append the description of a unique cup which combines lip-ivy with an inside picture.

Northwick Park, Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill.

I, gorgon. A-B: on the lip, ivy, with red and white details; in the handle-zone, between the usual palmettes, +ΑΙΡΗΝΚΑΙΠΡΙΟΜΗΝ. The foot is of ordinary shape, but has lines on the underside, a red, three black, a red. The tongue-border on I has a dot-band on either side of it, as in the Louvre Neandros cup (see note 14). This border, and the underside of the foot, connect the cup with the Gordion cups (see p. 185). The same inscription recurs on a band-cup in Copenhagen (*CV.* pl. 117, 5), where Blinkenberg and Johansen consider it to be for χαίρε καὶ πρίω με. This is confirmed by the χαίρεκαίπριομε on a band-cup in the Louvre, from Elaius, and on a fragment of a little-master cup in Florence.

*Lip-cups (3) with figure-decoration outside in the handle-zone.*

Like (α), except that the figures are in the handle-zone and not on the lip: a transference of the *band-cup* principle to the lip-cup. There are half a dozen examples, none signed.

Munich 2169 (J. 706). A-B, each, Herakles and Nessos.  
 Rhodes 11822, from Ialysos. Jacopi, *Jalisso*, p. 231. A-B, each, warrior setting out.  
 Taranto, from Taranto. A-B, each, rider between youths.  
 Cambridge 66, from Vulci. E. Gardner, pl. 22; *CV*. pl. 19, 4. A-B, each, two cocks.  
 Munich 2168 (J. 15). A-B, each, in outline, a cock.  
 Munich 2170 (J. 595). A-B, each, komos (youths and naked women dancing).

In the first three there is a mock inscription on each side of the figures. The pictures are brief; except in the last, which has thirteen figures on each side, and the picture reaches from handle to handle, just as in the majority of band-cups.

*Lip-cups (η) with figure-decoration outside, both on the lip, and in the handle-zone.*

I know only one: for I do not count the cups in which animals take the place of the handle-palmettes (see p. 169).

Berlin inv. 4495, from Capua. *Coll. d'ant. 11-14 mai 1903*, p. 21. A-B, each, on the lip, a lion (not a monkey as the catalogue and Hoppin say); in the handle-zone, A, a male head in outline; B, remains of a head (for I suppose most of the head on B to be modern, although I have no note of B). Palmettes in the usual place. The foot seemed to me alien.

*Signed fragments of lip-cups.*

The following signed fragments are from lip-cups; but it is uncertain to which group the cups belonged.

## ANAKLES

Florence. The inscr., *Boll. d'arte*, 1928, fig. 15, 1, above. I, part of the tongue-border is preserved. Outside, between the handle-roots, downwards, *Ανακλες*. What remains of the outside (part of the lip and of the handle-zone) is plain, but I do not remember if it is enough to show that there was no figure decoration.

Leipsic, from Cervetri. There was probably no decoration outside. A, *Ανακ[λες]*: *μ[εττοισεν]*. B, *Ανακλ[ες . . .]*. Largish letters.

## ERG[OTELES?] or ERG[OTIMOS?]

Oxford, from Naucratis. *BSA*. 5, pl. 4, 50b. On I, part of the tongue-border remains: no relief-lines. A, . . . *εργ* . . . Not in Cambridge, as H. (p. 82). Not from the same cup as *BSA*. 5, pl. 4, 50a (see p. 192). Probably from a lip-cup, since decorated inside.

## EXEKIAS

Civitavecchia. There were no pictures outside. A, *Εχσεκίας : εττοιος* (complete, cf. the Munich Exekias cup 2125, and the New York Xenokles). B, *Εχσεκι . . .* Palmettes.

## HERMOGENES

Florence. *Boll. d'arte*, Nov. 1928, fig. 14, 2. There were no pictures outside.  $\eta\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon[\sigma\epsilon\nu]$ . Palmettes.

Florence. There were probably no pictures outside.  $\eta\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  . . . Palmettes.

## SONDROS

Villa Giulia, fr. Fig. 15, 2.  $\Sigma\omicron\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma\colon\mu\epsilon$  . . . Four-stroke sigma. Just enough of the lip inside remains to show that it was sharply offset: so the cup was not a band-cup, but either a lip-cup, or, possibly, a Gordion cup (see p. 185).

## TLESON SON OF NEARCHOS

Florence. Probably no pictures outside.  $\tau\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu\eta\omicron[ve]\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ . Palmettes.

Brunswick.  $\tau\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omicron[v \dots]$ ,  $[\dots]\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

Heidelberg S 28. No pictures outside. Palmettes.

Heidelberg. . . .  $\omicron\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ .

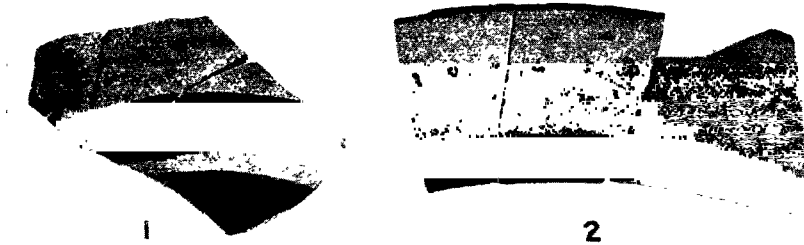


FIG. 15.—FRAGMENTS OF TWO CUPS, SIGNED SONDROS, IN THE VILLA GIULIA.

## XENOKLES

Orvieto, Civico, fr., from Orvieto. Part of a picture-border on I remains (lines), but of any outside decoration nothing, A,  $[X]\varsigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\colon\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

Orvieto, Civico, fr., from Orvieto. A, part of an animal group remains:—the upper part of the left-hand figure, a siren; and a wing of the middle figure, a bird, no doubt a swan.  $\chi\varsigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\colon\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon[\sigma\epsilon\nu]$ , very hasty, and the interpoints reduced to a stroke. I thought this was not from the same cup as the last. The fragment is described, though not quite accurately, by Pollak in *AE*, 1895, p. 15, whence H. p. 427.

## . . . KLES

Florence. I, rider. On A, in large letters, . . .  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota$  . . . The lip is lost; the foot is of ordinary shape, but the underside is decorated with lines—one, three, and one (see note 8). Round I, the usual tongue-border (with relief-lines). Probably from a lip-cup, since decorated inside.

## ANDRIAS?

Naples, from Cumae. *MonAnt.* 22, p. 494, b. A, lion or lioness, and  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$  . . . The chances are that this is part of a signature: but it may be a love-name.

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*Variant of the lip-cup.*

One small lip-cup differs from others in the foot, which approximates to that of the cup type A.

Louvre A 242, from Cyprus. Pottier, pl. 9. A, archer. B, sphinx. Archers are rare on lip-cups: another on a pretty lip-cup in Angers (*RA.* 1923, i, p. 51: A, an archer with a battle-axe rushing at B, a wounded griffin: an unusually early grypomachy).

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## GROUP OF THE ATHENS EXEKIAS

In this very small group, the cup except the foot is in the main a normal lip-cup, but the foot is short and flaring as in the Siana and Komast groups. The decoration is as in the lip-cup class δ.

A kind of modernisation of the Siana cup.

## HERMOGENES

London B 412, from Vulci. H. p. 125; *CV*. pl. 14, 8. A-B, each, *hermogenezetioesen*. The flat of the foot is reserved, the inside of the stem black; a spike from the underside of the bowl. The palmettes particularly delicate.

## EXEKIAS

Athens 1104 (CC. 692). Benndorf, *GSV*. pl. 30, 11; Heydemann, *GV*. pl. 10, 7; *WV*. 1888, pl. 7, 3 = H. p. 91. A, *Exsekiaseptioesen* (the alpha hitherto given after the first letter is a blot). B, *eneioinoioien*. The flat of the foot has three lines on it, the inside of the stem is black, there is no spike.

With these we may group an unsigned cup, although the proportions are somewhat different, and there is a picture inside.

New York, Mr. Albert Gallatin. I, sphinx. A, *kalisteфарθενον* (= *καλλίστη φαρθένων*, see *AJA*. 1927, p. 346). B, κ . . . . . The border inside is a combination of dot-bands and lines.

## GORDION CUPS

This small but attractive group, so called because the chief piece was found at Gordion in Phrygia, has already been treated by Payne and myself (*JHS*. 49, pp. 265-7). It is not a perfectly homogeneous group, for no two members of it are quite alike. The prime characteristic is the lip, which is marked clearly off (as in the lip-cup), but painted black (as in the band-cup). There is a black line near the top of the handle-zone (as in the lip-cup), and usually another near the bottom of it. Sometimes there is a reserved line on the inside of the lip, some way down; as in the Droop cup.<sup>23</sup> The interior pattern, whenever it is preserved, is a band of tongues with a dot-band on each side of it: which is very rare in the lip-cup (see p. 169), though not in the Siana cup. The underside of the foot is usually decorated with lines; as in one or two lip-cups (see note 8). The foot is sometimes of Siana-cup type, sometimes between that and the normal little-master type.

These are all early cups; and some at least of them seem to belong to a time when the canonical lip-cup and band-cup were not yet firmly established.

ERGOTIMOS and KLEITIAS<sup>24</sup>

Berlin, from Gordion. G. and A. Körte, *Gordion*, pl. 7 and p. 41; H. p. 149; Pfuhl, figs. 213-4. I, three dolphins and a fish. A, *Ergot[imosmetoi]esen*. B, *[Kleit]ias : megrafen*.

<sup>23</sup> See Ure in *JHS*. 52, p. 55.

p. 290.

<sup>24</sup> For the spelling, see Richter in *Bull. Metr.* 1931,

The foot is of Siana type. On the underside of it, five lines—a red, three a black, red. The lip convex.<sup>25</sup> Horizontal handle-palmettes. A black line near the top of the handle-zone and another near the bottom.

London B 601. 5. 3 and B 601. 4. 1 and 2, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49, pl. 17, figs. 14, 16, and 13. The three fragments probably came from a single cup. A, [Ε]ργασί-  
μοσε[πο]ίεσεν. B, [Κλιτι]ας : εγραψεν. A black line on the handle-zone above, and another below.

London B 601. 4. 3, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49, pl. 17, 12. B, [Κλιτ]ας : ε[γραψεν]. A black line on the handle-zone below (above, lost). The fragment London B 601. 10, as is noted in *JHS.* 49, p. 266, is in the same style as this cup and the last, and may belong to one of them: . . . 1κα, and a palmette.

## SOKLES

Madrid 10947 (L. 56), from Vulci. A, Leroux, pl. 4 = H. p. 331; *CV.* pl. 1, 1. I, Herakles and the Lion. A-B, each, Σοκλεσεποίησεν. A black line on the handle-zone, above. I have no information about the underside of the foot.

## SONDROS

London B 601. 6. 1 and 4 and 5, three fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49, pl. 17, figs. 22, 18, and 19. Probably from a single cup. Σονδρος : ε . . . , Σον[δρος . . . ], [ε]ποιε[ . . . ]. A black line on the handle-zone above, another below.

London B 601. 6. 2-3, two fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49, pl. 17, figs. 17 and 15. May be from a single cup. Σονδ[ρος . . . ], and [ . . . ε]ποίησεν. A black line on the handle-zone below (above, lost).

London B 601. 6. 6, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49, pl. 17, fig. 11. [Σ]ονδρ[ος . . . ]. A black line on the handle-zone above. B 601. 5. 1 (*ibid.* fig. 21) may belong (Σον[δρος . . . ]).

## TLESON son of NEARCHOS

Leipsic, fr., from Orvieto. H. p. 383 [Τ]λεσον . . . : The sharp offset of the lip inside (verified by Dr. Heidenreich), and the black line near the top of the handle-zone, show that the cup belonged to this group.

The rest are unsigned.

Berlin, inv. 4605. Korte, *Gordion*, pl. 8 and p. 142. I, rider. The foot is of nearly the same shape as in the Berlin dolphin cup, and the underside of it is the same. The tongues on I have no relief-line. The lip is convex (see note 25). A black line on the handle-zone, above, and another below: but there is no inscription; and the lip is *reserved*, not black.

Vatican 318, from Vulci. *Mus. Greg.* ii, pl. 64, 3; Albizzati, pl. 34. I, cock. Foot as in the last. A black line on the handle-zone, above, and another below.

Louvre F 98. No figure-decoration. Inside, a reserved disc, repainted. On A and B, unmeaning inscr. (see *JHS.* 49, p. 266). The foot probably belongs: it is a little short. A black line on the handle-zone, above.

I add here a cup which approximates to the ordinary lip-cup. The lip is black, and the stem a trifle short: but the underside of the foot is plain, there are no black lines on the handle-zone, and the pattern inside is normal.

## ARCHIKLES

London B 418, from Vulci. Panofka, *Blacas*, pl. 16, 2; new, H. p. 59; *CV.* pl. 15, 9. I, rider. A, Αρχικλεσεπο[ι]εσεν. B, Αρχικλεσεποίησεν. Large letters. Solid palmettes. The boy seems to be kicking his horse to make it go. No relief-line in the tongue-pattern.

<sup>25</sup> For the convex lip, rare in Attic, see *JHS.* 49, and 5845. It is common in Corinthian, Laconian, p. 259, and add two Siana cups in Taranto, 5829 Ionian.

## BAND-CUPS

The lip is black. The decoration is in the handle-zone, and usually fills it. There is seldom a picture inside.

The commonest and most characteristic decoration is a many-figured picture running from handle to handle (BO). The figures are sometimes closely packed, sometimes spread out.<sup>26</sup>

A few of these have a picture inside as well as outside (BIO): perhaps a transference from the lip-cup.

In a group of small cups, floral pattern is substituted for figure-scenes: 'floral band-cups.'

Much less common than many-figured decoration is a *brief* picture of the same kind as in the lip-cup (but of course in the handle-zone) (BOB). This may be thought of as a transference from the lip-cup.

Sometimes the picture is between 'brief' and 'many-figured': but it is nearly always definitely one or the other.

Some band-cups have no figure-decoration—only an inscription between handle-palmettes (BP): as in lip-cups of the LP class.

In a small class of band-cups the exterior is painted black except for a small rectangle on the level of the handles, which contains the picture. 'Patch band-cups': another attempt, perhaps, to adapt the lip-cup 'brief' picture to the band-cup.

Lastly, a special class of band-cups, 'Cassel cups,' mostly small, adopts a quite different sort of decoration.

*Band-cups with full decoration outside (BO).*

These are very numerous, but few of them are signed.

## ARCHIKLES and GLAUKYTES

Munich 2243 (J. 333), from Vulci. *MonInst.* 4, pl. 59; *WV.* 1889, pl. 2 = H. pp. 60-1; new, *FR.* pl. 153, 1, and iii, p. 219; A, Schaal, *Sf.* fig. 34. A, the Calydonian Boar; B, Theseus and the Minotaur. At the handles, sphinxes. At one handle,  $\Lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma | \mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ . At the other,  $\text{Αρχικλῆς} | \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

## GLAUKYTES

London B 400, from Vulci. *WV.* 1889, pl. 2, 1 = H. p. 115; A, Pfuhl, fig. 251; *CV.* pl. 18, 1. Fight (with chariots). At one handle,  $\Lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma | \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ . At the other,  $\eta\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma | \kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . The foot does not certainly belong.

<sup>26</sup> Good examples of both in the London *Corpus*. Louvre F 81 (phot. Giraudon 16750, 2: frontal chariot, with riders and others) has large handle-palmettes set horizontally with ivy-leaves or palmettes springing from the back of the inner volutes; and so has a band-cup of the 'brief' class in Carlsruhe (2597: Welter, pl. 4, 11: frontal chariot) which is in the same style. This type of palmette is known from Droop cups (Athens 12281, *JHS.* 52, pl. 3, 96: fr. in Florence), from a cup of 'Chalcidising' shape (*CV.* Scheurleer, III, He, pl. 2, 1), from a class of kotylai (Ure, *Sivth*, pp. 58 and 61 and pl. 17: add

Toronto 344, Robinson, pl. 52), and as Ure points out, from two Nicosthenic neck-amphorae (Torlonia, H. p. 271: Vatican, H. p. 275). The same kind of palmette, but without the leaflets, appears on band-cups in the Villa Giulia (*CV.* pl. 27, 4 and pl. 28) and in Florence (Minotaur): compare a kotyle in the Villa Giulia (Mingazzini, pl. 88, 7-8) and cups of eye-cup shape in London (64, 10-7, 167) and Rhodes (Jacopi, *Jahrb.* p. 245). Acropolis 1629 (Graef, pl. 84) gives a late version of the *normal* palmette; and the style of the figures is late (see p. 188).



## KAULOS and SAKONIDES

Taranto, from Leporano (near Taranto). *NSc.* 1903, pp. 34-7 = H. p. 323. 'On each side a zone of figures the meaning of which cannot be deciphered' (H.). There is no difficulty if it be realised that there are three scenes, not one, on each half of the cup. A king seated, his wife behind him, a winged woman approaching him: probably Zeus, Hera, Nike. Besides the main trio, there are three attendant figures on A, and one on B. To the left of each central group, a rider attended. To the right of it, the like. At one handle,  $\text{Καυλος} | \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ . At the other,  $\text{Σακονιδες} | \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

Animal decoration is common, although it does not occur on the signed cups. And decoration part animal part human: a siren flanked by youths, a maenad by cocks and swans.

The handle-palmettes are of the same type as in the lip-cup: with a few exceptions. Animals (nearly always sphinxes) are sometimes substituted for the handle-palmettes—much more readily than in the lip-cup.<sup>27</sup>

Two very late band-cups are Acropolis 1629 (Graef, pl. 84) and 1633 (*ib.* pl. 82). 1629 recalls the later phase of the late black-figure neck-amphora, and cannot be far from the end of the century.<sup>28</sup> 1633 resembles the work of the Menon painter. Both are, of course, mere fragments, and may, I suppose, have had pictures inside as well as out.

There are good band-cups, and of the unsigned I should like to mention the dionysiac in New York (a detail, *ABS.* pl. 1, 3; another, here Fig. 20); but the level is not so high as in the lip-cup.

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*Band-cups with pictures inside as well as outside (BIO).*

There are half a dozen of these, all large, some huge. The decoration is elaborate in other respects. In three of them, the underside of the foot is decorated; once with ivy,<sup>29</sup> twice with figures. One of them has rays at the base—common in other forms of cup, foreign to the little-master cup. Another is one of the few cups with rays on the upper half of the stem.<sup>30</sup> Two have a zone of warships round the edge inside: this also a loan from the new type of cup.

The first two cups in the list are early: the others, as the drapery shows, late. Berlin 1800 must have been painted about 520 B.C.

Berlin 1799, from Vulci. Gerhard, *AV.* pl. 61-2. I, frontal chariot: in the exergue, hound pursuing hare. A-B, each, Herakles and Kyknos? At one handle,  $\text{η}\nu\kappa\omicron\kappa\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma | \kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . The other handle-space is lost. The foot is alien.

Munich 2240 (J. 881), from Vulci. I, Baur, *Centaurs*, pl. 8. I, Herakles and Nessos. B(a) chariots. (b) Chariot and horsemen.

Munich 2238 (J. 418), from Vulci. I, Greek and Amazon (much repainted). A,

<sup>27</sup> See p. 169. The handle-sphinxes are sometimes 'taken seriously': on a cup in the Villa Giulia (Mingazzini, pl. 91, 5 and pl. 93, 2-3) they are attacked by youths.

<sup>28</sup> On the palmettes see note 26.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the Droop cup Toronto 289 (Robinson, pl. 29; *JHS.* 52, p. 66), and an eye-cup-foot in London.

<sup>30</sup> The others are Munich 2107; Munich 2089; London B 426 (*CI.* pl. 21); Munich 2244 (*JHS.* 52,

pl. 4). The first two are variants of the eye-cup; the third is a huge eye-cup by the Lysippides painter; the fourth is an abnormally large and elaborate Droop cup. If the reproduction in *MonInst.* (9, pl. 13) is to be trusted, a giant band-cup represented in the Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti at Tarquinia has rays on the lower part of the stem: but the painting is damaged and fragmentary (Weege, pl. 68).

fight. B, three youths and a man mounting chariots. On the underside of the foot, two men dancing at a tripod. Very large.

Villa Giulia 50712 (M. 610). Mingazzini, pl. 91, 12, pl. 92, 8, pl. 97, 5, and pl. 95, 1-4. I, fight. A, three scenes: middle scene, fight; left-hand scene, departure—a man mounting his chariot; right-hand scene, the like. B, the like. On the underside of the foot, ivy. Very large (dm. 38 cm.).

Berlin 1800, from Vulci. I, fight. Round the edge of the cup, warships. A, three scenes: middle scene, Herakles and the Lion; left-hand scene, departure—a man mounting his chariot; right-hand scene, the like. B, fight. On the underside of the foot, foreparts of animals—two lions, two horses.<sup>31</sup> On the upper half of the stem, rays. A monster cup (dm. 43 cm.).

Louvre F 145, from Etruria. I, Pottier, pl. 75. Poseidon riding a sea-horse. Round the edge of the cup, warships. A-B, chariots. Much restored.

That the inside-picture in these cups is a loan from the lip-cup is suggested by the extreme rarity of band-cups with picture inside only. There is one in Taranto (I, rider: outside, the handle-zone void), and even that is not quite normal in shape, the foot being shortish.

### *Small band-cups with floral decoration outside ('floral band-cups').*

Examples: Berlin 2041 (ivy). Cassel? (Boehlau, *Nekr.* pl. 8, 20: ivy, different). Munich 2252 (double floral pattern). Thebes (Ἐφημ. 1915, p. 120, fig. 10). Munich 2250, Munich 2251 (single floral pattern: cf. the Nicosthenic neck-amphorae H. pp. 195, 241, 249, 266, 273, and Acropolis, Graef pl. 55, 831). See also Ure in Ἐφημ. 1915, p. 119, C 2, and Mingazzini, *Castellani*, pl. 92, 4 and 9 and p. 331.

### *Band-cups with brief pictures outside (BOB).*

These are not very numerous. Transference, as was noted above, of the lip-cup principle to the band-cup. Most of them have handle-palmettes, and inscriptions. The inscription is in the same zone as the picture; half to left, half to right of the picture. The proportion of signed pieces is unusually high.

#### HERMOGENES

The signature is *hermogēnes epioisēneue*, except in the Oxford cup, which has *hermogēnes epioisēn*, and on B of Castle Ashby, which has *epioisēneue[ε] epioisēneue*.

Cambridge 63, from Vulci. E. Gardner, pl. 23 = H. p. 122; *CV.* pl. 19, 1, and pl. 20, 5. A-B, each, warrior and his chariot.

Florence 70996, from Vulci. H. p. 123. The same subject.

Munich 2332 (J. 1082), from Vulci. *AZ.* 1885, pl. 16, 2; H. p. 130. The same subject.

Castle Ashby. H. p. 120. The same subject.

Oxford 231, from Bolsena. *Burl. Cat.* 1888, pl. 2, 4; P. Gardner, p. 14; H. p. 131; A, *AM.* 41, p. 222. A-B, each, warrior mounting chariot.

#### THRAX

Taranto, from Leporano (near Taranto). *NSc.* 1903, pp. 36-8; H. p. 356. A-B, each, warrior and his chariot. A, *Θραιχς επιοισεν.* B, the same, but the first letter is a phi.

#### HISCHYLOS

Civitavecchia 1524, from Etruria. A-B, each, galloping chariot. A, *hischylos epioisēn.* B, *hisch[u]losme epioisēn.*

<sup>31</sup> For the idea cf. the Acropolis dinos 606 (Graef, pl. 32).

New York. *Bull. Metr.* 25, p. 137, fig. 6. A-B, each, frontal chariot, with a youth on each side of it. *ἡσχυλὸς ἐποίησεν*. The foot is modern.

#### ANAKLES and NIKOSTHENES

Berlin 1801, from Orvieto. *WV.* 1889, pl. 7, 3 = H. p. 181; A, Pfuhl, fig. 250. A-B, each, Herakles and the Hydra. A, *Ἀνα[κ]λέσμε ἐποίησεν* χαίρε. B, *Νικοσθένης με ἐποίησεν* χαίρε. Not certain that the foot belongs.

It is curious that out of the nine signed band-cups of this type, eight have chariot-scenes. It looks almost as if a chariot-scene was part of the original creation. Hermogenes has a claim to be considered the creator.

Two of the unsigned have chariots, frontal: Villa Giulia 5199 (*CV.* pl. 26, 1-2), and Karlsruhe 2597 (Welter, pl. 4, 11). On the Karlsruhe cup, and its special palmettes, see note 26. Animals occur, although not



FIG. 16.—BAND-CUP, SIGNED SOKLES, IN OXFORD, 1929-498.

on the signed cups: examples, London B 394 (*CV.* pl. 15, 4, ram) and B 395 (*CV.* pl. 15, 2; dog, not fox: the signature of Priapos does not belong, see below, p. 193), Louvre (ex coll. Messaksoudy: deer). In Munich 2193 (J 700: stag), the handle-palmettes are replaced by panthers: cf. pp. 169, 188.

A fragment in Athens would appear to be from a band-cup of this type. I have not seen it, and rely on Graef's description. Two rare features: the drawing of the palmette is unusual; and what remains of the interior, except the lip, is white.<sup>32</sup> The chances are that the inscription is part of a signature; but a love-name is also possible.

<sup>32</sup> From the catalogue, Toronto 285 (*Forman.* 319, plate; Baur, *Centaur.* 1, p. 25; Robinson, pl. 28 and p. 99) would appear to be another band-cup of peculiar technique. But I take it that it has been

discoloured in firing; that the 'brown' flesh was originally black, and the 'red' beards, cloaks, etc., originally red.

Athens Acr. 1742, from Athens. Graef, pl. 86. Outside, remains of a bird. Between palmette and bird, ΣΜΙΚΡΙΟΝ.

*Band-cups without figure-decoration (BP).*

This class corresponds to the lip-cups LP. The decoration consists of an inscription between handle-palmettes.

ARCHEKLES

London B 398, from Vulci. A, H. p. 57; A, *CV*. pl. 15, 10. A, ΑΡΧΕΚΛΕΣ : ΜΕΤΠΟΙΕΣ[Ε]Ν. B, ΑΡΧΕΚ[ΛΕ]Σ : ΜΕΤΠΟΙ[Ι]ΕΣΕΝ. The foot may belong.

HERMOGENES

Berlin 1779, from Vulci. A, H. p. 118. A and B, each, ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΕΣΤΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. The foot modern.

SOKLES

Oxford 1929, 498, from Greece, A, Fig. 16. A and B, each, ΣΟΚΛΕΣΤΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. Dm. 167.

Berlin 1781, fragment. A, ΣΟΚΛΕΣΤΠ[ΟΙΕΣΕΝ]. Part of a band-cup, doubtless of just the same type as the last.

TLESON SON OF NEARCHOS

Florence, fragmentary. *Boll. d' Arte*, Nov. 1928, fig. 14, 1. A, ΤΛΕΣΟΝΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟ-ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. Part of the reserved disc on I remains.

Formerly in Hartwig's possession, fr. ΤΛΕΣΟΝΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ . . . I know this fragment from a drawing by Hartwig: it seems to be part of a band-cup.

XENOKLES

Villa Giulia 50696 (M. 592). H. p. 428, below. Each, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

Louvre F 89, from Cervetri. H. p. 428, above. Phot. Giraudon 17070, 1. Each, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

Munich 2187 (J. 31). H. p. 422. Each, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

Boston 99. 529. H. p. 419; the shape, Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 419. Each, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

Berlin 1778. H. p. 415. A, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. B, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ : ΕΠΟΚΛΕΣΕΝ.

Naples RC 114, from Cumae. H. p. 423. A, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣΤΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. B, ΣΧΕΝΟΚΛΕΣΤΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

Two of the unsigned specimens have a rather deeper bowl than usual, and a shorter, Siana-like stem:—Cab. Méd. 316 (*CV*. pl. 47, 1 and 4), and Syracuse (*VSc*. 1893, p. 460).

*Patch band-cups (see p. 187).*

Berlin 1802, from Vulci. A-B, each, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.

Florence, from Chiusi. A-B, each, man courting boy.

Rome, Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi di Vulci: from Vulci. A-B, each, rider and two youths.

Dresden, from Alexandria. Pagenstecher, *Exp. Sieglin*, ii, 3, pl. 11, 6. A-B, each, Nike.

CASSEL CUPS

A class of small cups keeps the band-cup shape, but discards the band-cup type of decoration; drops the use of black (with reserved belt) for the lower part of the bowl; drops, ordinarily, the black lip; covers lip and bowl

with bands of pattern, floral and other, occasionally varied, in the handle-zone, by little animals or people, done in silhouette; welcomes the base-rays, shunned by true band-cup and lip-cup. To our list of Cassel cups in *JHS.* 49, p. 271, below, add five in Taranto (one with a cock, one with a sphinx), three in Syracuse, two in Rhodes (Jacopi, *Jalisso*, p. 230, 2, and *Camiros*, p. 81, fig. 60, 2), one each in Tarquinia, Cervetri, Bari, Rome (Conservatori), one in the Paris market (Mikas: deer between youths), one in Prof. D. S. Robertson's possession at Cambridge, fragments in the Vatican, a fragment in Marseilles (Vasseur, pl. 11, 13). Our no. 3 is now published by Mingazzini (*Castellani*, pl. 92, 5 and 10). See also von Mercklin in *RM.* 38-9, pp. 73-4.

Würzburg 159 stands apart from the rest as an exceptionally large and elaborate piece.

#### FRAGMENTS OF LITTLE-MASTER CUPS

For the sake of completeness, I add certain signed fragments which were part of little-master cups, but what kind of little-master cup—lip-cup, band-cup, variant—the fragments do not tell. I put with them the Chiron cup, and a few fragments which I have not seen.

##### CHARITAIOS

Louvre, fr. A, [Χαρι]ταῖος: [ . . . ].

##### CHIRON

Vatican. No figures. A-B, each, Χίρωνεποίησεν. I have not seen this cup, and it is said to have disappeared from the Vatican about 1880 (Albizzati, p. 111). It has been seen there, however, by Mr. Philippart (or he would not have recorded it in his *Collections de céramique grecque en Italie* [1931], p. 23): but I do not know whether before 1880 or since.

##### ERGOTELES SON OF NEARCHOS

Florence market (Pacini), fragments. A-B, Εργοτ[ελες . . . ], [ . . . εποίησ]εν[ον-εαρχο], . . . ζεποίησεν . . . See Pollak in *AEM.* 16, pp. 250-1: a 'cup' in Pacini's possession was made up of fragments from at least two cups, one with the signature of Ergoteles, the other with that of Tleson. Hoppin's account (pp. 80 and 380) is garbled.

##### EUCHEIROS SON OF ERGOTIMOS

Formerly in Sarteano, Lunghini collection. 'Fragmentary cup without figures.' A, . . . στήμω . . . B, χαίρεκαίπτε . . . (Brunn, *KG.* p. 681).

London, 1900. 2-14. 4; from Naucratis. *BSA.* 5, pl. 4, 40A; *JHS.* 49, pl. 17, 20 . . . ργοτι[μ . . . ]. There seems to have been a black line at the top of the handle-zone, and I am inclined to think that the cup may have been a Gordion rather than a lip-cup, although the lettering is of the smaller, later type. I think a son of Ergotimos rather than he himself.

##### [?NEA]NDROS (OR SONDROS?)

Castle Ashby, fragment. [Νεα]νδροσεποίησεν. Or of course [Σο]νδρος-. I never saw this in Castle Ashby.

Vatican, fragment. . . . δρο . . . (*i.e.* [Νεαν]δρο[ς . . . ] or [Σον]δρο[ς . . . ].

##### NIKOSTHENES

Athens, Acr. 1748, from Athens. Graef, pl. 85. [Νικο]σθενεστω[ίεσεν].

Athens, Acr. 1746, from Athens. Graef, pl. 86. [Νικ]σθενες[ . . . ].

## PRIAPOS

London, two fragments, now let into the alien cup B 395. Πριάπος and ἐποίησεν.

## SONDROS

Villa Giulia, fr. Σον[δρος . . .]. Fig. 15, 1. Mentioned in *JHS.* 49, p. 266. See also above, under Neandros.

## TALEIDES

Leipsic, fr., from Cervetri. The inscriptions, H. p. 341, below. A, Τα[λειδ]ες : μεποίησεν : ]. B, [Ταλ]ειδες : μ[επ]οισεν :

## TLESON SON OF NEARCHOS

New York, Mr. W. R. Hearst. No figure-decoration.

Florence, fr. of a dozen signatures.



FIG. 17.—CUP-HANDLES, SIGNED THYPHEITHIDES, IN LONDON.

Formerly in the Florence market (Pacini), fr. (see Pollak in *AEM.* 16, pp. 250-1, and above, p. 192).

Siena, Marchese Chigi, fr. of two signatures. . . . σονετο . . . and . . . χοετοεσεν (see Pellegrini in *Stud. Mat.* 2. p. 313).

Villa Giulia, fr. with . . . χοετοι . . .

Once Toscanella, Valeri.

Once in the Roman market (Campanari).

## THYPHEITHIDES

London. Fig. 17. A pair of handles. In the left-hand one a small part at the top is modern. Between the handle-roots, ἐποίησεν | Θυφειθιδες. The handles were applied by a restorer to the cup London E 4, but have now been removed. 'There is absolutely nothing to show whether Th. should be included among the black or the red figure masters' (H. p. 357). But first, no rf. cup has handles of this shape: they must have been part of a little-master cup—either a band-cup or a lip-cup. Secondly, the black below the handles has a straight upper edge, not a convex as in rf. cups. Thirdly, the position of the inscriptions has no exact analogy in red-figure, in black-figure many; for signatures, Archikles-Glaukytes cup in Munich, Glaukytes cup in London, Kaulos-Sakonides cup in Taranto,

Anakles cup in Florence; for love-names, Glaukytes cup in London (Hippokritos), band-cup Berlin 1799 (Hippokritos: see p. 188), Basseggio cup Gerhard, *AI*. pl. 190-1 (Stroibos).

The name is peculiar. According to Kretschmer (*Vaseninschriften*, p. 152) it is for 'Τυφειδίδης, an unrecorded formation from Τυφών and εἶδος': one who looks like Typhon, then. This really seems to me rather improbable. I should prefer to think that Θυφειθίδης was for Θοφειθίδης = a Θουπειθίδης standing to θεοπειθής as Θουκυδίδης to θεοκυδής.

## II

## THE LITTLE-MASTERS

Over 150 signed little-master cups have reached us whole or as fragments, and some 30 different signatures. The number of different signatures must have been much larger originally, for seven are known to us from one cup each.<sup>33</sup> Five of the 30 occur on other kinds of lip-cup as well;<sup>34</sup> two on rf. cups in addition to bf.;<sup>35</sup> ten on other kinds of bf. vase.<sup>36</sup> The verb is nearly always *epoiesen*. The only *egrapsen*-signers are Kleitias and Sakonides. Kleitias' *egrapsen*-signature seems to be always coupled with the *epoiesen*-signature of Ergotimos. Similarly Sakonides collaborated with Tlempolemos and with Kaulos (and, in a cup of another type, with Hischylos). His lip-cup in Munich is the only little-master cup that has *egrapsen* without an *epoiesen*. Twice we find two different *epoiesen*-signatures on a single cup.<sup>37</sup>

We know the names of some five-and-fifty Attic black-figure artists in all: so that more than half are known from little-master cups and nearly half from little-master cups only. What is the reason for this preponderance?

Is it not that whereas, in most sorts of vase, inscriptions are an inessential adjunct to the decoration, in the little-master cup, and especially in the lip-cup, they are an integral part of the total design? What is the idea of lip-cup decoration? The inside plain or pictured; the outside adorned, on the lip with a brief picture, on the handle-zone with an inscription. Or I may dispense with pictures, and let my sole decoration be a line of writing on the handle-zone, perhaps with a palmette at each end. What shall I write? There are three natural topics:—you, me, the cup. A greeting to you, the drinker—χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὔ. A statement about myself and the cup—ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίησεν. Several cups have both sorts of inscription, one on each half, or together.<sup>38</sup>

These are the chief topics. Others are rare. 'My father was so-and-so (the potter)' (Ergotimos, Nearchos, Eucheiros). 'So-and-so is beautiful' (Stroibos, Theognis, Lykis, Kallistanthe). I may tire of inscriptions—I have written χαῖρε and ἐποίησεν and all that so often. I don't care if I

<sup>33</sup> Archenedes, Chiron, Epitimos, Kaulos, 'Mys-pios,' Thrax, Thyphethides.

<sup>34</sup> Ergotimos, Exekias, Hischylos, Nikosthenes, Sakonides.

<sup>35</sup> Hischylos, Nikosthenes. Tleson?

<sup>36</sup> Charitaios, Ergotimos, Exekias, Hermogenes,

Kleitias, Nearchos, Nikosthenes, Priapos, Taleides, Xenokles.

<sup>37</sup> Archikles and Glaukytes. Anakles and Nikosthenes.

<sup>38</sup> Munich Sakonides. London Phrynos. Berlin Anakles-Nikosthenes.

am spelling right or not. I don't care if I write sense or nonsense. All that really matters is a line of letters between the handles. That I really ought to put, for it is part of the idea.

There are fewer signatures on band-cups. In the band-cup, if decorated with a many-figured composition, an inscription is not called for, since the handle-zone, the home of the inscription, is full. If, however, a brief picture is preferred, the inscription goes very well left and right of it. And if there is no figure-decoration, the handle-zone is free for the inscription just as in the lip-cup. So it comes that three of our *many-figured* band-cups are signed; nine of our *brief* band-cups, and eleven of our plain band-cups. If eleven plain are signed, and only three many-figured, it is not because the plain are, or were thought by the potter to be more subtly curved, more beautifully proportioned, or more happily decorated, than the many-figured: but because in the many-figured an inscription is not an essential part of the decoration, while in the plain it is; and the most appropriate kinds of inscription are, first, a greeting to the drinker, and second, a statement about the potter and the pot.

Three potters stand out among the thirty, for the number of their signed cups: Tleson with some 60, Hermogenes with 20, Xenokles with 19. Then comes Taleides with 5. I treat these four first; then Phrynos because of his excellence; and the rest alphabetically.

#### TLESON

LO, 19. LI, 9. LP, 18. L fr., 1.

GORD., 1.

BP, 2.

Err., ten or so.

Total, 50 + 10.

Tleson is in many respects the typical, the classic, little-master. Yet note that he did not practise all the sorts impartially. He loves the lip-cup; but for the band-cup he has no great liking. We have 46 lip-cups with his signature, and one band-cup, possibly two. The lip-cup numbers are so large that we may perhaps draw an inference: he produced, roughly speaking, one LP to each LO, and one LI to each two LO. In one of his LO, animals are substituted for the handle-palmettes: but the most elaborate kind of lip-cup, LIO, is not represented among extant Tleson cups.

The form of signature is always Τλεσονηονεαρχοεπιοισεν. The only variation is επιοισεν instead of εποισεν, on two or three cups. The palmettes have black petals and red heart, a common type.<sup>39</sup> The figures are scrupulously neat and fine; spirited, though without the fury of some artists. The Louvre rams, if I remember, fall below standard, and so does the damaged siren in London. Replicas are regular.

Were all these cups decorated by a single hand? That would be hard to prove: but where comparison is possible, there is likeness. The fowls

<sup>39</sup> More elaborate, the palmette forming part of is in different case. the picture on the goat cup in Castle Ashby: but that



go together; the goats; the swans; the sphinxes. We can take a step farther and link one kind of animal with another. Let us look at a band-cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (317: De Ridder, pl. 8, and p. 211; *CV*. pl. 47, 5-8). It is unsigned: but the cocks and hens are the exact counterparts of the Tlesonian in Berlin, Castle Ashby, Munich. Now the other half of the Paris cup shows a stag between two sirens; and the stag bears a real resemblance to the Tlesonian in Boston, while the sirens may be compared with the Tlesonian in Copenhagen. Another band-cup, in the Loeb collection (Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Bronzen Terrakotten Vasen*, pl. 43, 1, and p. 55: here, pl. IX), repeats, on one half, the cocks and hens of the Paris cup. On the other half, it has a goat between sirens: the sirens have recurved wings this time, which brings them into line with the sphinx of the Washington Tleson; the goat is just like the Tlesonian goats in Boston and Castle Ashby. The cocks and hens on the two band-cups must be by the same hand as the Tlesonian cocks and hens; the goat, the stag, the sirens as the Tlesonian goats, stags, sirens: and this suggests that the painter of the Tleson cups with cocks and hens is not different from those of the Tleson cups with goats, stags, sirens.

To link the human representations with the animals is not so easy. But there is some likeness, in body and legs, between the Boston stag and the hound of the London hunter cup. The Herakles of the lost cup, as far as can be told from the drawings, goes well enough with the London hunter. To establish a definite connexion between these and the London satyrs is hardly possible without fresh evidence. The satyrs resemble those on the aryballos signed by Tleson's father Nearchos; not only in action and attitude, but in spite of the different proportions, in drawing, I fancy, as well.

A beautiful hen in the Villa Giulia, on a fragment from the outside of a lip-cup, is perfectly Tlesonian, and the cup may have been signed.

Away from little-master cups, Tleson is not traceable either by signature or by style. Except (can it be?) in the Boston cup, of the rare type with merrythought handles, which has amusing pictures of Circe on one side, and of Polyphemus on the other (*AJA*. 1913, pp. 2 and 4, and 1923, p. 427; A, Buschor, *GV*. p. 128).

A red-figured cup in Naples (2627: *RM*. 4, p. 164, whence *H.Rf.* p. 455) has an inscription beginning Τλεσον and ending εποισεν (facsimile, Heydemann, pl. 6: H.'s version is inaccurate). This may be our Tleson: but it would not date him, as H. thinks, 'in the last part of the sixth century': it would only show that he survived to that time. The picture on the Naples cup is an early work of Oltos (*Att. V*. p. 16, no. 61).

#### HERMOGENES

LO, 5. LTO, 1. LP, 2. L ivy, 3. L, fr. 2.  
L of special shape (group of Athens Exekias), 1.  
BB, 5. BP, 1.

His special favourites are the band-cup decorated lip-cupwise with a brief picture of a chariot outside (five); the lip-cup decorated with female heads in outline (four); and the lip-cup with ivy on the lip (three). No

other potter has left so many signed examples of the first two classes; or any signed example at all of the third.

The signature is sometimes  $\eta\epsilon\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ , sometimes the same with  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  added. The rho has the form  $\rho$  (which is also used by Sakonides). The palmettes vary: in several of his cups, the middle petal is red, the rest black; in others, the petals are alternately black and red.

The five BB go together, and four of them are replicas. The four head-cups go together: it is hard to compare the heads with the chariots of the BB; but they show at least the same tartness and extreme vigour. Wrede notes (*AM.* 41, p. 361), in the Oxford cup, the contrast between the tiny scale of the drawing and the gigantic energy of the warrior mounting the chariot.

On the two kotylai with this signature see below, p. 203.

#### XENOKLES

LO, 1. LI, 1. LIO, 5. LO or LIO, 1. LI or LIO, 1. LP, 4.  
BP, 6.

He likes the lip-cup with picture inside as well as out, and has left five signed specimens, whereas no other potter has left more than one. He also likes plain cups: we have ten—four lip and six band.

The usual form of signature is  $\chi\sigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ . The writing is hasty, with tendency to backhand and to rounded corners. The petals of the palmettes are sometimes black, sometimes alternately black and red. The pictures are evidently by one hand: the style is not lacking in vigour, but rapid and ragged, and the figures have a quaint, old-fashioned look. His gods are like gaffers and gammers. One of them has been chosen to adorn the cover of the British *Corpus Vasorum*.

Xenokles has no real feeling for the little-master cup. Its terse and fastidious scheme of decoration is foreign to his nature. Of the various lip-cup types, he likes best, as we have seen, the richest: that in which the inside is decorated as well as the outside. Moreover, the single-figure exterior, regular in Tleson and Hermogenes, seemed meagre to Xenokles. Four of his cups have three animals on each half of the exterior; a fourth cup a pair; the London and Basseggio cups have mythological scenes of three, four, or five figures outside. The Basseggio cup has a crowded interior as well: four figures stuffed into the tondo, which they nearly burst.

Late in life he was able to secure the collaboration of the filthy Kleisophos. The oinochoe Athens 1045 (*WV.* 1889, pl. 1, 3; *H.* p. 145), which bears the signatures of both, has no kinship with the cups.

I doubt if Tleson had a high opinion of Xenokles. But if we are tempted to disparage Xenokles, we need only turn to one of the neck-amphorae, or one of the kyathoi, signed Nikosthenes.

#### TALEIDES

LO, 4. 1 fr.

Ordinary lip-cups decorated outside.

The signature varies: the commonest form is Τάλειδες : ποιῆσεν. The palmettes are like Tleson's—nothing unusual. The cups are slight, rather casual work: imitations, one might almost think, of Tleson's, without his precision. Of other vases signed Taleides, the oinochoe in Boston (H. p.



FIG. 18.—AMPHORA IN WÜRZBURG, 255.

339),<sup>40</sup> and the little amphora in the Cowdray collection (Tillyard, *Hope Vases*, pl. 1, no. 13, and pl. 2) go with the cups. The tripping lions of the cups, and the long-bodied sphinx, so unballasted that her forefeet will not

<sup>40</sup> The second figure from the left is not Poseidon (as H.) but probably Zeus. The flesh of the women is not white but black, and the eye of the left-hand one (the other eye is lost) is accordingly of 'male'

shape: cf. the oinochoai, of the same shape, by the Amasis painter, in the Louvre, F 37 (Pottier, pl. 67) and in Oxford (*CV*. pl. 3, 28) (arms and feet black, face red, 'male' eye).

stay on the ground, recall the lightfoot Theseus, Minotaur, onlookers, of the Cowdray amphora. On the oinochooi in Petrograd (*WV*. 1889, pl. 4, 6; *H.* p. 342) and Berlin <sup>41</sup> (*WV*. 1889, pl. 4, 5; *H.* p. 343), neither well preserved, the figures are stouter, and the hand need not be the same.

## PHRYNOS

LO, 2 (one of them a head-cup).

We have only two signed pieces; and the Boston heads in outline are not easily compared with the myths of the London cup. The London Phrynos is the best of all little-master cups, and a masterpiece of black-figure painting. Enlarge it twenty times, and you will still wonder at the firmness, expressiveness, and subtlety of the drawing.

Another beautiful work by the same hand is the unsigned lip-cup in the Vatican with, inside, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles (*Mus. Greg.* ii, pl. 67, 2; new, Albizzati, pl. 34, 317; new, here, pl. VI, 1: on A—B, each, χαίρεκαίπτεi). It is not in perfect preservation, for there is a circular gash, partly repainted, in the middle. A third work of the same painter is the fine amphora with courting-scenes in Würzburg (255: A, Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 13, 5, and, here, fig. 18); and a small neck-amphora in Brussels (A 714: *CV.* III He, pl. 1, 1) is at least closely connected with the Würzburg vase.

ANAKLES. LO, 1. LI (or LIO?), 1. L. fr., 1.  
BB, 1 (with Nicosthenes, *q.v.*).

ARCHENEDES. LP, 1.

ARCHIKLES. Special, akin to the Gordions, 1.  
BO (together with Glaukytes, *q.v.*), 1. BP, 1.

The special cup London B 418, with its big letters, stout tendrils, lack of relief-line in the tongue-pattern, seems very early. The quaint style finds an analogy in the unsigned lip-cup London B 419 (*CV.* pl. 11, 4), which shows, inside, two riders on an unlikely pair of swaybacked, pop-eyed horses.<sup>42</sup> The Munich band-cup with the signatures of A. and Glaukytes is a good piece, typical of its class: it has no stylistic connexion with London B 418. The plain band-cup London B 398 cannot be connected with either of the other signed cups. It writes Archekles instead of Archikles.

CHARITAIOS. LI, 1. And a fr.

The name recurs, though spelt differently (Καριθαίος ἐποίησεν) on a hydria formerly in the possession of Depoletti (*WV*. 1889, pl. 6, 2 = *H.* p. 77),<sup>43</sup> which is much later than the cup, and has no stylistic connexion with it: Pfuhl (*AA.* 1917, p. 38) has pointed out a second hydria by the same hand (C. Smith, *Forman Cat.* no. 285, plate), now in Boston (01. 8060: Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 106).

Pollak conjectured the . . . αριτα . . . of a plaque-fragment in Athens to be part of the same signature, and was followed by H. (*H.* p. 74): this has been disposed of by Pfuhl

<sup>41</sup> Prof. Zahn showed me the vase some years ago, then just acquired. The greeting is χαίρεκαίπτεi . . . , perhaps incomplete, for a break after the iota. The head of the left-hand man is lost, and was probably modern.

<sup>42</sup> The unusual foot, shortish, with a slight groove at the lower end of the stem, seems to belong. On

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the inside pattern, see p. 169. No relief-line in the tongues.

<sup>43</sup> The description in H. is wrong: the animals are not on the shoulder, but in a predella below the main picture. The shoulder-picture is that marked *d*. There must be some restorations.

(p. 279), and Rumpf (*Gnomon*, 1, p. 334) has shown that the fragment belongs to the same set as the plaques by Exekias in Berlin (*AD.* 2, pll. 9-11 and pp. 5-6).

CHIRON. One plain cup. The name misspelt in H.

The name [Ch]eiron may occur on a cup-fragment in Athens (Graef, pll. 83 and 87, 1780; H. p. 312): [Ph]eidon has also been read, but the third letter seems to be a rho. This Cheiron need not be the same as our Chiron; and his cup was probably a Siana cup or the like, and a good deal earlier, one may suppose, than Chiron's.

EPITIMOS. LIO, 1. The style of his fine cup in New York somewhat recalls the painter of London B 148 (*JHS.* 52, pp. 283-4; Richter in *Bull. Metr.* 1932, pp. 74-9).

ERGOTELES son of NEARCHOS. LP, 1. One or two fr. He puts the patronymic after the *εποίησεν*, and not before like his brother Tleson.

ERGOTIMOS. He has left no normal lip-cups or band-cups. His name appears on a Gordion cup, and on fragments of another: together with the name of Kleitias as painter. A fr. of a third, similar cup gives part of Kleitias's name: whether Ergotimos's was there also is uncertain. Two fragmentary signatures may be Ergotimos's: if so, the smaller lettering would put them later.

On the other vases signed Ergotimos see *ABS.* pp. 15-16, and Richter in *Bull. Metr.* 1931, pp. 289-291. They are four:—(1) volute-krater in Florence, 'François vase'; (2) small stand in New York (*Bull. Metr.* 1931, pp. 290-1); (3) fr. 'of a skyphos' in Delphi (*BCH.* 1924, pl. 13, 1, and p. 321); (4) stemless cup with merrythought handles in Berlin. 1 and 2 bear the signature of Klitias as painter; 3 is painted by Klitias, whether it was signed by him or not; 4 is signed by Ergotimos only: the style is not absolutely unlike Klitias's.

EUCHEIROS son of ERGOTIMOS. Three lip-cups (one LO, one LI, one LIO), and a fragment. The signatures are in largish letters. Thrice the patronymic is added, *ἡγογότης εὐχέϊρος υἱοῦ ἐργότιμος*. The fine chimaera in London recalls the François vase. The Berlin head-cup belongs to a compact group of eight such cups (see p. 174). It may be counted no. 1 in the series, and differs from the rest in the long neck of the woman and the larger letters of the inscription. At the other end of the series come two cups signed by the painter Sakonides; and it would be natural to suppose that the other six also were painted by him. I see that the lines are harder in the Munich Sakonides than in the Berlin Eucheiros, and had we these two only we might be inclined to think that the Munich cup was an imitation of the Berlin, or rather of cups like it, and that is quite possible: but we have a whole series, and I cannot so far find a joint to get a knife in.

A son of a EUCHEIROS. Fragments of a LI. Largish lettering. Not late.

EXEKIAS. One LIO, one LP, one fr. of L, one plain lip-cup with special foot. The signatures vary, and there are several misspellings. The palmettes have black petals and a red heart, like Tleson's. On Exekias' other vases, signed and unsigned, see *ABS.* pp. 17-21 and 29-31 and Jacobsthal in *Ad.* 1931, p. 227. There is nothing in Exekias' little-master cups to distinguish him from the rank and file. It has sometimes been assumed that Exekias was a leader in the lip-cup as elsewhere: but there is no evidence for this; and if he contributed to the development of the cup, the eye-cup will probably have been his field, not the little-master cup.

GLAUKYTES. Two BO (one of them with Archikles); one LP. Two large many-figured band-cups, typical of the class, bear his signature under one handle: under the other handle, the Munich cup has a second signature, *Ἀρχικλῆς ἐποίησεν*, the London the love-name Hippokritos. The two cups, though of the same type, seem to be by different hands. Another band-cup, Berlin 1799 (see p. 188), has the same love-name as the London under one handle, and in the same unusual form ([h]ιποκρίτος καλίστο[ς]): the other handle-space is missing, and Furtwängler conjectured that it bore the signature of Glaukytes. This may be so: but I cannot persuade myself that the cup is by the same hand as the London.

HISCHYLOS. Two BOB. They go together; and are of a type used by Hermogenes. The signature recurs on a bf. eye-cup in Cambridge (60: H. p. 321; *CV*. pl. 18, 1), which is painted and signed by Sakonides, and cannot be connected stylistically with the two band-cups. Besides this, we have nine bilingual cups (inside, bf., outside rf.) with the signature of Hischylos, and three rf. cups.<sup>44</sup> Four of the bilinguals and one of the rf. are signed by the painter Epiktetos; one of the rf. is signed by the painter Pheidippos, and two of the bilingual, though unsigned, are by the same painter. The rest are by other hands.

KAULOS. One BO, with the painter Sakonides, *q.v.*

KLEITIAS. See Ergotimos.

‘MYSPIOS.’ One LIO, lost.

NEANDROS. One LI. One LP.

NEARCHOS. One LI. The big letters, the stout palmette, the lines on the underside of the foot, the style of the sphinx, put it early. The name is known from three other vases: two large kantharoi in Athens, Acropolis 611 (Graef, pl. 36, whence H. p. 173) and 612 (Graef, pl. 36, whence H. p. 175),<sup>45</sup> and a round aryballos in New York.<sup>46</sup> The signature on Acr. 611 is Νεάρχῳ με γράφειν κα[ποίησεν or the like, probably], on 612 Νεάρχο . . . , or the aryballos Νεάρχῳ ἐποίησέν με. Father of Tleson and Ergoteles.

NIKOSTHENES. One BOB, with Anakes. Two fr. The band-cup is of the type favoured by Hermogenes. There are many other bf. cups with the signature of Nikosthenes, but they are all of eye-cup type or variants of it, with the exception of a unique cup, which I hope to publish soon, in the collection of Marchese Benedetto Guglielmi at Civitavecchia. There are also bilingual and red-figured cups with the signature, painted by various artists. And many other vases, mostly bf., some rf. Whether the band-cup is by the same hand as, say, the neck-amphorae, I cannot tell.

PRIAPOS. One fragment. On the four other vases with the signature of Priapos, see *BSA*. 29, pp. 202-4: one of them, in Mykonos, is a cup-kotyle of Hermogenian type (see p. 203).

SAKONIDES. Like Kleitias, he always signs with ἐγράφειν. Two LO (one of them for Tlempolemos). One BO, for Kaulos. Besides, an eye-cup for Hischylos (Cambridge 60: H. p. 321; *CV*. pl. 18, 1). Without the signatures, it would hardly be possible, apart from fresh evidence, to show that these four cups were by one hand. The head-cups, of course, go together; for the stylistic group to which they belong, see p. 174. The band-cup is a disappointing piece, and foreshadows, as Ure notes, the decadence: for the style, cf. the pyxis of ‘Nicothenic’ shape Louvre F 150 (Pottier, pl. 75: phot. Alinari 23717, 2).

SONDROS. Fr. of at least three Gordion cups; fr. of a Gordion cup or a lip-cup; and another fragment. The Sondros fragments fall into three groups. (1) London B601.6. 1 and 4 and 5; and B601.6. 2-3: the character of the fine lettering connects these with the Ergotimos-Kleitias Gordions. (2) London B601.6. 6; and Villa Giulia fig. 15, right: the lettering is less bold, and in both, whether by coincidence or not, the black has gone unusually light. (3) Villa Giulia fig. 15, left: the lettering, again bold, but thicker and coarser than in (1), and the stocky palmettes go closely with the Civitavecchia Nearchos cup (fig. 8).

<sup>44</sup> The bilingual and rf. Hischylos cups, new and old, will be dealt with in my *Campana Fragments*. Note meanwhile that the Berlin fr. (H. p. 137) is from a bilingual, as Kraiker shows (*JdI*. 44, p. 152), and that nos. 3 and 4 of H.’s rf. list (*Rf*. pp. 114-7) are not signed by Hischylos and have nothing to do with him.

<sup>45</sup> The inscriptions are given imperfectly by H. (see Graef) and he figures with 611 two fragments of Acr. 693, which have nothing to do with Nearchos.

<sup>46</sup> Miss Richter has now published it (*ASA*. 1932, p. 272): she has shown me that I was wrong to doubt its genuineness (*BSA*. 29, p. 200).

SOKLES. One Gordion. 2 BP.

THRAX. One BOB. It is of the same type as the chariot-cups signed Hermogenes, and Pfuhl thought it was by the same hand (*Malerei*, p. 275). It is connected; but tamer, and I take it to be an imitation.

'THYPHEITHIDES.' FRG. of one cup.

TLEMPOLEMOS. Two LO. One of them, a head-cup, is signed by the painter Sakonides as well.

I have not seen the cup Athens 2466 (H. p. 351), which has been supposed to bear a signature 'Telesaia,' nor has Payne been able to find it for me. Telesaia is hardly a possible name (much less Telesaia[s], which is H.'s suggestion).

I end with two important painters, known from other vases, who have left us unsigned band-cups. One is the Amasis painter; his cups are Louvre

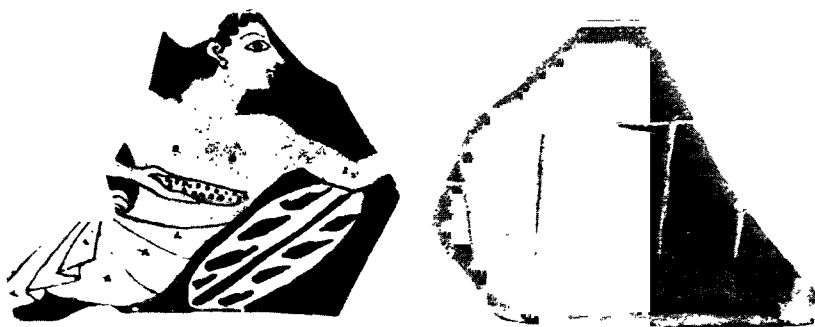


FIG. 19.—FRAGMENT OF A LIP-CUP IN LONDON, E 134<sup>2</sup>.

F 75 (see *JHS.* 51, pl. 12 and p. 274) and London B 601.37 (*ABS.* p. 36, no. 41; *JHS.* 49, p. 269, no. 54, pl. 15, 26 and pl. 17, 28). The other is the painter of Louvre E 705 ('Elbows out'; see *BSR.* 11, pp. 4-5): to the cup-fragment London B 601.34 (which I attributed to him in *JHS.* 49, p. 270, no. 57), I can now add a band-cup, with erotic scenes, in Marchese Benedetto Guglielmi's collection at Civitavecchia, another published by Boehlau (*Aus ionischen Nekr.* pl. 10, 11: komos), and perhaps two others in Naples (2496, fight; 2500, stag-hunt).

### III

#### KOTYLAI

A word should be said about certain classes of kotylai which are akin to the little-master cup, and especially to the band-cup and the Gordion. I have spoken of the two most important classes elsewhere (*V. Pol.* pp. 3-4).

(1) The Cracow class. See *V. Pol.* p. 3. Sister-form of the band-cup. The decoration may be *many-figured* (e.g. Jacopi, *Necr. Camiresi*, p. 79), *brief* (e.g. Masner, pl. 5, 287), or *floral* (Ure, *Ἐφημ.* 1915, p. 120, fig. 11;

Jacopi, *op. cit.* p. 173). One kotyle borrows *head*-decoration from the lip-cup (Munich 2181: *Jdl.* 22, p. 105), although the heads are not in outline, but in ordinary bf. technique. The inside of these kotylai has the same disc, decorated with dot and circle, as the little-master cup. There are no signed examples, although the Cracow kotyle toys with the notion of a signature.

(2) The Hermogenean class. See *V. Pol.* pp. 3-4, note 6, latter part, and Ure, *Sixth*, p. 71, O. This is less close to the band-cup than to the Gordion cup. The make is lighter, the lip is marked sharply off, and the handle-zone has a black line above it. Three are signed:—

Würzburg 290, from Vulci. H. p. 135. *hermoyenegetoiesen*.

Villa Giulia, fr. The signature was *Hermogeneseptiesen*, but, unless I am mistaken, somewhat garbled. Another Villa Giulia fr. with . . . *iesen* belongs either to this or to a similar vase.

Mykonos, from Rheneia. *Πριπο[ς]επτοισ[εν]*. A fr. in Florence, with *Πριποξεπτοισ[εν]* (*Boll. d' arte*, Nov. 1928, fig. 15, 3) may come from a similar vase.

The decoration of the signed vases is plain—signature between handle-palmettes. So also in a Taranto kotyle (inscr. *επτοισχι*). In the others the decoration is either *brief*, or spread-out *many-figured*.

(3) Ure's class K 3 (*Sixth*, p. 69). Variants, his classes K 2 and K 1. Survivals. Hideous.

#### IV

#### A RED-FIGURED LIP-CUP OF BF. TYPE

London E 134<sup>2</sup>, a fragment from Naucratis (Fig. 19), is described by Cecil Smith as follows (*Cat.* iii, p. 134). 'The fragment is broken from the offset lip of a large kylix of which the diameter must have been over 15½ inches [*c.* 40 cm.]. The exterior is left unpainted, except for a thin black line at the lower edge. . . . The interior is occupied with a frieze in the usual red-figure technique, of rough archaic style. . . .'

The shape of the fragment shows that it came from a *little-master cup*, and in fact from a *lip-cup* of the regular black-figure type, the only extant little-master cup with red-figure decoration. When I argued therefore, some way back, that the Thyphethides handles, being from a little-master cup, must have been from a black-figure cup, I was not absolutely honest: but rf. little-master cups must have been so extraordinarily rare, that I have let the phrase, with a warning, stand.

The lip outside preserves hardly any trace of tooling-off from the bowl. For this we may compare the London cup B 409 (*CV.* pl. 12, 3), where the tooling-off is very slight indeed. The incised dedication does not concern us at present.

Below the usual bold black line near the lower edge of the lip there is a touch of black preserved just before the fracture. This is part of the handle-black: for certain scrapes on the outside of the fragment prove that the handle-root was adjacent.

The technique of the drawing is that of the very earliest red-figured



vases. Total absence of relief-line: brown lines throughout. Incision for the wreath-band as well as for the contour of the hair. The style somewhat recalls the fragments of a very early oinochoe in Oxford (*CV.* pl. 42, 8).

We may presume that the symposion, from which we have one figure, ran right round the inside of the rim: and guess, that part of the decoration was in black-figure.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

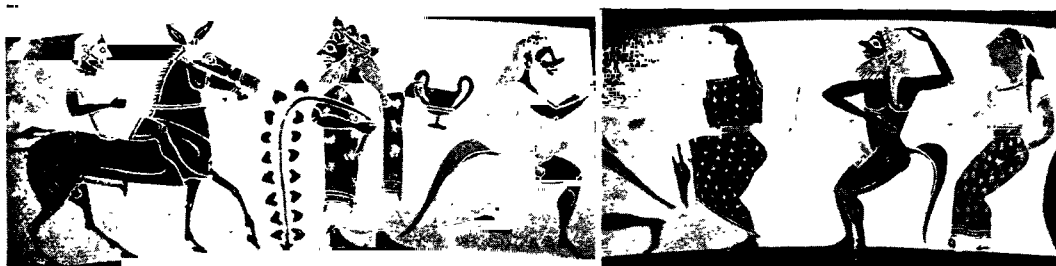


FIG. 20.—FROM A BAND-CUP IN NEW YORK.

## THUCYDIDES THE SON OF MELESIAS

### A STUDY OF PERIKLEAN POLICY

AT the crisis of Perikles' career, in the middle 'forties, Thucydides of the deme Alopekê, the son of Melesias, withstood the great man for a little while, until he was swept aside. He was ostracised (the last important ostracism of which we hear) and with that Perikles begins his fifteen years' principate.

*Impar congressus Achilli*, Thucydides is damned by another Latin tag also: he is *magni nominis umbra*. Thucydides, for us and for most ancient writers, means the son of Oloros, the historian; and it has long been recognised that the second *Vita* prefixed to our texts of Thucydides' *History* contains information about the son of Melesias.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty of disentangling him from his namesakes,<sup>2</sup> more perhaps than the overtoweringness of his rival, has deterred historians from constating about the son of Melesias things which I think can yet be constated and should be. For indeed Kimon's political heir, who resisted Perikles on behalf of the Attic aristocracy, in the days when this aristocracy (to Athens' own irreparable damage) was being ruined,<sup>3</sup> is a sufficiently important figure.

His importance in the aristocratic tradition of Plato and Aristotle is unmistakable, if rather surprising. 'Αθ. πολ. 28, Aristotle names the leaders of the upper classes, after Kimon, as Thucydides, Nikias, Theramenes: and adds, 'the best statesmen in Athens, μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους, seem to have been Nikias and Thucydides and Theramenes. As to Nikias and Thucydides, practically everyone is agreed that they were not only fine gentlemen (ἄνδρας καλοὺς κάγαθούς) but statesmen also, who treated the whole city πατρικῶς, as a nobleman treats his inheritance.' A tendencious judgment, but striking. In the opening speech of the *Laches*, Plato pairs him with Aristides: and in the *Meno*, he is instanced along with Themistokles, Aristides and Perikles, to show that virtue is a thing unteachable, since none of these managed to have it taught their sons.

So he was undoubtedly important. For what he did, however, we must turn to late writers, especially Plutarch. From him we learn that after Kimon's death he organised the opposition to Perikles and brought matters to the issue of ostracism.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A. Busolt, *GG.* III. 1. pp. 442 and 497 sq., is rather doubtful how far the reference to Melesias' son may be safely assumed. The identification of Melesias (*v. infra*) enables me to claim for his son with more confidence certain hitherto doubtful passages.

<sup>2</sup> I regret extremely that Kirchner's *Beitrage zur*

*Geschichte attischer Familien* in the *Festschrift fur d. Berl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium* (Berlin, 1897), in which he disentangles these namesakes, is inaccessible to me. Its conclusions are incorporated in the *Prosopogr. Attica*.

<sup>3</sup> Méautis, *L'Aristocratie athénienne*, Paris, 1927, pp. 17 sqq.

I. *The Ostracism and its Causes.*

He was ostracised in spring 443, and eleven of the *ostraka* cast against him are extant (*IG*. I<sup>2</sup>. 911). The date is not absolutely certain, but the probability is strong. Plutarch says (*Perikles* 16. 3) that after Thucydides' ostracism Perikles held a single and continuous position of power and authority of not less than fifteen years in his yearly *strategiai*. The phrase is rhetorical, the figures possibly round (cf. in the preceding clause τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἔτη πρωτεύων, etc.): but the probable interpretation is, that Perikles was elected Strategos fifteen times running, beginning with the election of 443 for the year 443-2. This is true at the lower end: Perikles was elected Strategos in 430 for 430-29, and again in 429 for 429-8. In neither year did he serve the full twelve months: he was deposed in the course of 430-29, and died in the course of 429-8. But if we are not to count these uncompleted years, then the first of the fifteen elections is put back to 445, and this is out of the question. The ostracism was preceded by a period in which Thucydides had almost equal authority<sup>4</sup> with Perikles: this is impossible in 446. We may be more exact: since the fifteen years of continuous *strategia* begin from the ostracism, it is a fair inference that Perikles was *not* Strategos in the year immediately preceding: yet he was certainly elected in 446 for 446-5. I take it, therefore, as the most probable hypothesis, that Perikles failed of election in 444 for 444-3; that an ostracism was demanded that winter, and in spring 443 Thucydides was ostracised and Perikles was elected for 443-2, the first of his fifteen continuous elections. I hope what I say later may serve to confirm this hypothesis.<sup>5</sup>

On the actual issue between the two men, Plutarch says (*Perikles* 14): '§ 1. When the speakers on Thucydides' side abused Perikles for squandering the money and destroying the revenues, he asked the Ekklesia if they thought the expense had been heavy: and when they replied "Very heavy," "Then charge it," he said, "not to yourselves but to me: and I will dedicate the offerings in my name." § 2. So, whether struck by his generosity or moved to overbid him in noble zeal, they cried out and bade him spend from the revenues and spare nothing. § 3. And at last he faced the struggle and ordeal of ostracism against Thucydides, and removed him from Athens and ended the opposition.'

One issue, then, was the opposition to the building programme: for it is clear that by 'the offerings' (τὰ ἀναθήματα) Plutarch means (as he does in 12. 1, ἡ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατασκευή) the great buildings of the Akropolis. The Peace with Persia in 449 ended the hopes of a specific indemnity for the burnt temples: the failure of the Panhellenic Congress immediately after (see note 47 *infra*) decided Perikles to use the resources he had, of which a very large proportion was surplus Tribute: it is possible that he put through

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Perikles* 11. 1, ἐς ἀντίπαλον. Cf. 6.2. δυνεῖν εὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πλείᾳ δυναστειῶν: and *Vita Anon. Thuc.* §§ 6-7 (see Appendix A).

<sup>5</sup> There is no other indication of exact date. A fragment of the Θραῦται of Kratinos (quoted Plut.

*Perikles* 13. 10) mentions τεῦστροakon but should probably not be referred to this time; since another fragment mentions Euathlos, who is still a young man in 425. Geissler, *Chronologie der altattische Komodie*, pp. 21-22.

in 449 a special statute authorising this (see Appendix B). As to the date of the opposition offered, it may be that his opponents fought him inch by inch and kept the question open till the ostracism of 443: but such accounts as we have refer (I think) to the first broaching of the question, in the early 'forties. In the *Perikles*, ch. 12, where Plutarch describes the controversy at most length, the last sentence of § 1 indicates the morrow of the Peace with Persia.<sup>6</sup> The story I quoted above (*Perikles* 14) is perhaps legendary and not to be dated: but it suits the early (better than the later) 'forties,<sup>7</sup> when the principle of large expense was still in doubt and before the total outlay was yet enormous. For Perikles was only moderately rich ('Αθ. πολ. XXVII. 4) and cannot have offered to pay for the Parthenon!

The building programme involved a good deal. Athens had been, like Sparta, a war executive: it made of her a peace-time capital also, with absolute disposal of her imperial revenues. Further, it involved the question of taste, it could be called pretentious and hubristic. And the question of the disposal of Tribute touched the Kimonians more nearly if Prof. West's thesis in a recent important paper<sup>8</sup> is right, that Kimon was responsible for making Euboea tributary just before his death, so that the Peace, instead of ending her service, merely confirmed her new (and now inferior) status. (There is little doubt, I think, that when Sparta, having encouraged Euboea to revolt,<sup>9</sup> left her, as usual, to face the consequences, the solid gain for Athens was the formal admission of her right to Tribute in peace-time.) Euboea, then, may have been especially on the conscience of Kimon's political heir, and the question of the use of her Tribute a vital question.

The case against and for the building programme is excellently put by Plutarch in his *Perikles* 12. The opposition chose to see it as a question of political morality and of taste. Perikles defended it on economic grounds. He desired, in peace as in war, an ἐμμισθος πόλις, a population in government service. For a community can accustom itself to a high or low standard of living, to this or that economic basis: only the standard or basis must (for economic health) be constant. It was not merely that Athens was now facing demobilisation for the first time since before Salamis. Suppose she could make that effort, reabsorb her sailors, once more become a private city like another: what was to happen at the next emergency? Neither the economic miracle (the discovery of the Maroneia vein at Laureion) nor the moral miracle (the abandonment of the city) was to be looked for regularly. Those two miracles had made of Athens the Imperial City that Sparta could not be: to this destiny Perikles meant to hold. The Opposition, with narrower (perhaps intenser) vision, saw only what was

<sup>6</sup> Ἡ δ' ἐνεστὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν προφασέων, δέισαντα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκείθεν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ὄχυρῳ τὰ κοινά, ταύτην ἀνήρην: Περικλῆς.

<sup>7</sup> The ostracism is the *ultimate* result (14. 3, τέλος δέ) of the rivalry of which this is an (early) instance. The rivalry was a matter of years (8. 5, πλείστον ἀντεπολιτεύσατο χρόνον).

<sup>8</sup> *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 35, pp. 267 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> I imagine the crisis of 446 was staged when the Spartans went to Delphi, probably in 448: we find the confederates in West Boeotia next year (Thuc. I. 113. 2). For Tolmides is aware of it, and first takes a cleruchy to Euboea (Diod. XI. 88. 3: Andok. *Peace* 9) and then seeks to nip the bud of revolt in West Boeotia. He succeeds in precipitating events in that one area: the rest synchronises, according to plan, with the expiry of the Five Years' Truce.

being lost: the modest, proud, spontaneous aristocracy which trusted in God and valour to preserve the sweetness of their life. Let Persians or Semites organise and govern: the Greeks knew how to live.<sup>10</sup>

Perikles and his rival, then, were making for different worlds. If the building programme first crystallised their end, it is not likely to have been the only issue: I suggest later that the proximate cause of the ostracism was the question of Thouria. The rivalry had one profound and disastrous result: it created the Class War. The son of Melesias first clearly constated that the successes of the Demos were against his party's interest, that Perikles' difficulty was his opportunity. The tone of the Pamphlet on the *Constitution of Athens*, preserved among Xenophon's works, is the natural development of this: so too is that disease of *Stasis* (the Class War) so bitterly diagnosed by the historian Thucydides. The method which the son of Melesias invented is comparable to the modern Caucus, or the Whip system: the Opposition was instructed to vote, not on the merits of the case, but as it bore on the question of breaking Perikles; not by their private judgment, but as the party decreed. The party, a state within the state, sat as one body on the Pnyx: after the Revolution of 411 the Demos made these tactics, in the Boule at least, illegal.<sup>11</sup>

So much is familiar enough. I wish, however, to explore further the *milieu* of this statesman; especially his family connexions, which I believe to be both discoverable and important.

## II. *Melesias*.

Melesias, to modern scholars, is nothing but the father of Thucydides. Thucydides in his turn had a son called Melesias after his grandfather, and he in his turn a son called Thucydides. The younger Melesias, and his son the younger Thucydides, are characters in Plato's *Laches*: we do not indeed learn much of them, except that Young Thucydides is completing his education, and Melesias is regretting that he himself had not been educated with more care and less indulgence.

The date is somewhere about 420, after the battle of Delion (181*b*) and before Laches' death in 418: Thucydides II is of young undergraduate age.<sup>12</sup> Melesias II will have been the same about 450, Thucydides I about 480, Melesias I about 510. They can hardly have been much younger than this. Marriage under thirty (for a man) was not common.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, though some scholars regard Plato's dramatic dates with more scepticism than Prof. Taylor does, yet I cannot doubt that Lysimachos II and Melesias II, Aristides II and Thucydides II, respectively, were in fact (as Plato represents them, *Laches* 179) more or less contemporaries: and I am already

<sup>10</sup> Pindar's view: in its extremest form in Pythian VIII, to which I come soon.

<sup>11</sup> The system is described in Plut. *Perikles* 11. The Bouleutai, in 410 and thenceforth, have to swear to take their seats by lot; Philochoros fr. 119, *FHG.*; the Class War, Thuc. III. 82-84. The judgment of

Aristotle, 'Αθ. πολ. XXVIII. 5, is emphatic that Thucydides himself was not a mere class leader. He stands indeed half-way between Kimon and Kritias.

<sup>12</sup> Μειράκιον, νεάνισκος, Plato, *Laches* 179 *b*, *c*.

<sup>13</sup> Solon, fr. 19 (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*), line 9.

making Thucydides I considerably younger than Aristides I, who was archon in 489 B.C.<sup>14</sup>

Thucydides then was older than Perikles: he was born about 500 B.C. or perhaps earlier. The adventurous thesis of M. Cavaignac (to which I come later), that he is maternal grandfather of his namesake the historian,<sup>15</sup> is suited by this date: and the bent old man in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 703, may well, so far as the dates go, be our Thucydides.

The *Acharnians* was played in the spring of 425, when he would be seventy-five years old or more. The Choros say (I paraphrase briefly lines 703-710), 'Shall a bent old man like Thucydides wrestle with Kephisodemos and be ruined! It made me cry to see the old man so muddled; when he was the Thucydides we knew, he'd have thrown ten Euathloi.' <sup>16</sup> Euathlos was a notorious young accuser; Kephisodemos, it seems, another: from line 716 it appears that Alkibiades was of their gang. Many scholars <sup>17</sup> have noted that the wrestling metaphors (συμπλακέντα 704, κατεπάλαισε 710) were especially applied to our Thucydides; and since the point is cardinal, I assemble the instances.

Plutarch, *Perikles* 11. 1, says of him that 'wrestling with Perikles' (περὶ τὸ βῆμα τῷ Περικλεῖ συμπλεκόμενος) he soon brought things level. *Ibid.* 8. 5 (= *Moral.* 802e), King Archidamos of Sparta asked him whether he or Perikles were the better wrestler (παλαίει βέλτιον), and he replied, 'Who can tell? When I throw him, he argues that he never fell, and wins his point and persuades the crowd.' Thucydides' wrestling is metaphorical: but his sons wrestled literally. In Plato's *Meno* Sokrates maintains that statesmen cannot teach their sons statesmanship, though they teach them (or have them taught) much else: thus Thucydides brought up his two sons to be the finest wrestlers in Athens. Ἐπαίδευσεν τὰ τε ἄλλα εὖ καὶ ἐπάλαισαν κάλλιστα Ἀθηναίων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ξανθίᾳ ἔδωκε τὸν δὲ Εὐδῶρῳ (*Meno* 94c). They were the best wrestlers in Athens and had the best masters.

Seeing we know so little of Thucydides altogether, this is a striking accumulation, and I think justifies us in identifying the old wrestler and broken great man of the *Acharnians* with Perikles' rival. That is to say, the accumulation is not accidental but has a reason.<sup>18</sup> What reason? No one, to my knowledge, has found or even sought it; yet I believe it lies close enough to hand. *Thucydides' father, Melesias, was in his day the greatest wrestling master in Greece.* We know him from three Odes of Pindar, of which one, Olympian VIII, belongs to 460 B.C.: the other two, Nemean IV and VI, cannot be so certainly dated, but they are both, I think, considerably earlier.<sup>19</sup> By 460 Melesias has a long career behind him and thirty victories to his credit (Olympian VIII. 66). In Nemean V, which is probably nearer

<sup>14</sup> And therefore born about 520: not later certainly, nor, I think, much earlier.

<sup>15</sup> *RevPhil.* 1929, pp. 28 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> I have omitted the difficult line 709, which deserves further attention.

<sup>17</sup> Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* 7268; van Leeuwen, *Acharnenses* (Leiden, 1901), p. 121; Rennie, *Achar-*

*nians* (London, 1909), pp. 197 sqq.

<sup>18</sup> 'Apparet cum patrem tum filios luctae fuisse peritissimos': van Leeuwen on Ar. *Ach.* 703 sqq.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix C. I hope to deal elsewhere in detail with the chronology of all Pindar's Aeginetan Odes (Melesias' pupils are all Aeginetans).

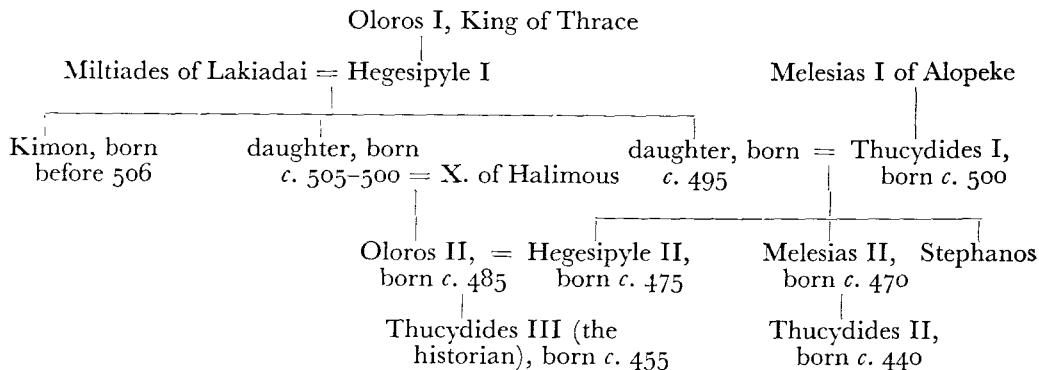
490 than 480, another Athenian<sup>20</sup> wrestling master, Menandros, is mentioned in terms which suggest that Melesias has already started practice.<sup>21</sup>

Melesias is a rarish name: but I am convinced of the identification not so much by this rarity, as because the wrestling *motif* is hereby perfectly explained. It is the family's heraldic symbol: the Master's son wrestles in metaphor: his grandsons revert to literal wrestling. I think no one who knows much of Pindar or indeed of the structure of early fifth-century Greek society will doubt that poet, trainer, and athlete alike belong to the same class, the international aristocracy of Greece: so that Plato aptly says of Thucydides (*Meno* 94d), οἰκίας μεγάλης ἦν καὶ ἐδύνατο μέγα ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν.

Melesias was probably growing up, we saw, about 510 B.C.: so he was born not much after 530, and was not much under seventy when he trained his thirtieth victor in 460. He is an older contemporary of Pindar, five to ten years older. The three passages in which Pindar mentions him are all rather obscure, nor will I here try to expound them (see p. 212 *infra*). It is clear at least that the two men were friends; I should think indeed that Melesias was Pindar's closest Athenian friend. Trainer and praiser of athletes, especially Aeginetan athletes, they had certain fundamental tastes (and distastes) in common.

My thesis, therefore, brings Melesias' son, Thucydides, into the intimate circle of Pindar: and this is, to me, its most valuable and pregnant result.

M. Cavaignac has recently sought to establish the following *stemma* (*RevPhil.* 1929, 28): [I add the sons and grandson of Thucydides I]—



It is a most ingenious piece of reasoning. For the historian's paternal ancestry, it agrees with Kirchner in the *Prosopographia Attica*, II. p. 42, and, I think, is convincing. His maternal ancestry is more adventurous. It depends on the truth of Marcellinus' statement (*Vita*, § 2) that his mother was Hegesipyle. [The statement is commonly rejected, since (a) the name

<sup>20</sup> Melesias was an Athenian, sch. Nem. IV. 155a. [The suggestion in the *inscriptio* to O. VIII. (Drachm. pp. 236, line 2, 237, line 12), that he was Aeginetan, is evidently guesswork.]

<sup>21</sup> Line 49: χρή δ' ἀπ' Ἀθαιᾶν τέκτον' ἀθληταῖσιν

ἔμμεν, 'the masters all come from Athens.' This suggests to me that Pindar was especially interested in the other Athenian, i.e. that Melesias was already his personal friend.

Hegesipyle may be 'simply taken' from the elder Oloros' daughter, (*b*) it is not easy to see what document or tradition would have preserved the name of the historian's mother. Neither objection is very cogent.] If true, it makes it probable that he descended on both sides from Miltiades' family: and since the statesman Thucydides is known to have married into Miltiades' family, it becomes exceedingly likely that the historian's mother was the issue of that marriage, and the historian's name thence derived.<sup>22</sup>

Aristotle says and Plutarch repeats that the statesman was κηδεστής Κίμωνος.<sup>23</sup> His wife, who bore him a son not much after 470 (Melesias II, p. 208 *supra*), can hardly be Kimon's daughter, so that κηδεστής must here mean *brother-in-law*. So too, I imagine, does γαμβρός in the well-informed scholiast on Aelius Aristides (III. 446 Dind.).<sup>24</sup>

By 460, then, Thucydides had been for some years married to Kimon's sister.

### III. Pindar and the First Peloponnesian War.

By 460 Kimon was ostracised, Ephialtes murdered, and Perikles (little over thirty years old) the first man in Athens. Athens had quarrelled with Sparta and the Spartan group, and was on the verge of that war whose early outcome was the conquest of Aegina, and the Thirty Years' Peace its shabby end. In this year, 460, Pindar wrote his last words of praise for any Athenian; their difficult and apologetic phrase may excuse the harshness of my version (O. VIII. 54-66).

- If for Melesias I should lead back my song  
To the fame he has from young athletes,  
55 Let no sharp stone of envy strike me.  
I will tell, too, of this joy he won  
Himself at Nemea,  
And that later he fought with men  
In the Fighting Match.<sup>25</sup> (Who knows for himself  
60 Will more easily teach: not to learn first, is folly,  
Since untried men have less weight to their minds.)  
But here is the Master, to say beyond others  
The right way for the man to go  
Who'd get from the holy Games  
His heart's desire of glory.  
65 Now Alkimedon is his pride, and wins him  
A thirtieth victory.*

<sup>22</sup> The historian inherits, on his mother's side, both Miltiades' blood (if her name be Hegesipyle) and the statesman's name (if it be the statesman who brought the name Thucydides into Miltiades' family). The historian inherits the latter *on his mother's side*, since the statesman cannot be father of Oloros (their demes are different).

<sup>23</sup> 'Αθ. πολ. XXVIII. 2: Plut. *Perikles* 11, § 1.

<sup>24</sup> Γαμβρός most often means *son-in-law*, but by no means always: e.g. Herod. I. 73. Astyages is γαμβρός of Croesus, having married his sister Aryenis. It means someone who has married into the family: Croesus could not be called γαμβρός of Astyages.

<sup>25</sup> *I.e.* Melesias in his youth won the boys' wrestling and the men's pankration.



Here (especially 59-61) is Pindar's stickiest style: he is embarrassed. 'Il le loue dignement,' says Puech:<sup>26</sup> yet how different are these careful platitudes, from the high-spirited *argot* of the earlier mentions.<sup>27</sup>

The poem was sung at Aegina,<sup>28</sup> where it was difficult to praise any Athenian: the death-struggle between the two sea-powers was in sight.<sup>29</sup> Melesias was indeed an international figure: he had had many years' connexion with Aegina especially: his son was closely allied, by marriage and policy, with Kimon the leader of the pro-Peloponnesian party. The fall of Kimon, the breach with Sparta, the victory of democracy, were still provoking the angriest resentment in Athens,<sup>30</sup> and Melesias was moved by every tie to deplore what was now inevitable. Nevertheless, he was Athenian, and when the pull came, no proud Athenian, not Kimon himself, was going to favour the enemy: the few traitors were shamed into silence by the crisis of Tanagra.<sup>31</sup> And the exaltation of the following months, when Boeotia and Aegina were conquered, healed all divisions in Athens.

The First Peloponnesian War, which began so splendidly, ended in failure. Athens' star was crossed this time by Egypt: next time by Syracuse. I hold this double thwarting for sheer disaster: it means the failure of Athens, the failure of the fifth century, the failure of Greece as a world power. And the first thwarting is so much the more tragic as Athens held more promise, material and spiritual, in 456 than forty years later. Yet it was hardly for Pindar to agree. He lived in that dying world which Athens meant to break and build again: which, instead, was broken and remained so.

In 455 (or 454) the armada in Egypt was destroyed. The *mirage orientale* lingered a few years more, but on Kimon's death in 450 Perikles resolved to abandon that shadowy quest and secure something substantial. With pealings of bells and dedications to Victory, peace with Persia was concluded at last.<sup>32</sup> Cyprus and Egypt and the sovereignty of those waters were lost, and the *mirage* with them; the hope of the endless gold of Persia, or the endless corn of Egypt. After all, the Athenian League was extremely rich, and could with a little care control the corn-supply from the Black Sea. Perikles set about making sure of these things.

The next ten years, the 'forties, are the crisis of Perikles and Athens. The process on which Perikles now embarked is thus described by the Mytileneans: 'When we saw Athens drop the war with Persia and prepare slavery for her allies, we felt no longer safe' (Thuc. III. 10. 4). That is a hostile statement: but the words put in Perikles' own mouth in his last

<sup>26</sup> Puech, *Olympiques*, p. 104.

<sup>27</sup> Nemean IV. 93: VI. 63. For the *argot*, see the editors *ad loca*; also Bury's *Nemean Odes*, Appendix A, notes 5 and 7, for some ingenious suggestions; δελφινίζω is interesting.

<sup>28</sup> Puech, *Olympiques*, pp. 101-2.

<sup>29</sup> Olympian VIII. 28-9, ὁ δ' ἐπαντέλλων χρόνος τοῦτο πράσσω μὴ κάμοι.

<sup>30</sup> The most vivid contemporary document is the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, played in the spring of 458.

See Livingstone, *The Problem of the Eumenides*, *JHS*. XLV. 1925, pp. 120 *sqq.*

<sup>31</sup> Thuc. I. 107. 4: Plut. *Kimon* 17. 4-9: *Perikles* 10. 1-5. The appearance of Kimon on the battlefield, and his recall after the battle, are flourishes of fourth-century rhetoric.

<sup>32</sup> *IG*. I<sup>2</sup>. 24: Welther, *AM*. XLVIII. 1923, pp. 190 *sqq.*; *Vom Nikepyrgos*. For the Ionic lettering of the Peace (Theopomp. fr. 154, Jacoby) cf. *IG*. I<sup>2</sup>. 16.

speech to the Athenians (Thuc. II. 63. 2) say in effect the same: 'Your Empire is now a Tyranny; and if you were wrong to take it, yet you dare not let it go.' It was this 'crisis of the 'forties' (it, and the means used to meet it) which turned the League into a Tyranny: the widespread cleruchies, the absolute disposal of the Tribute surplus, above all the suppression of the two major revolts, of Euboea and of Samos and Byzantion. Athens was left with a large treasure at her disposal and the North-East corn route absolutely secure (these, to console her for the Oriental *mirage*), and by the Thirty Years' Peace Sparta formally acknowledged her rights over the Empire, including the taking of Tribute.

Yet neither Perikles nor Athens was unharmed. Once the iron hand had been used, the velvet glove was never again convincing; and Athens was to enter the Second Peloponnesian War weaker, in the moral elements of power, than she did the First.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Athens had lost her land Empire. This is sometimes called a slight loss; and no doubt the 'sailor crowd,' henceforward always more powerful, cared little. Their vision was hardly wider or acuter than the average Spartan's: for such, the dualism was good enough. But others (we may perhaps take Tolmides as their type) cared greatly: and for myself, I cannot see where else the salvation of Greece lay: I think we take too readily as inevitable the failure of fifth-century Greece: the steady decline from 450 onwards, the ultimate futile chaos. Sparta was always just too tough for Athens: incapable of leading Greece herself, she can prevent Athens doing so, and plays always for stalemate and no decision. Yet before Tolmides' death in 447, things were nearer decision than ever before or after, except perhaps on the morning of the battle of Delion. The disasters of 447 and 446 (cf. Thuc. IV. 21. 3) compelled Athens to accept a provisional solution, which Perikles (I think) never meant to be more than provisional,<sup>34</sup> the Sparta-Athens dualism. Unhappily this provisional solution became canonised: with every restatement of it (the most grotesque was in 369 B.C., Xen. *Hell.* VII. 1. 14) Greece sinks a little lower: it was especially dear to Persia.

Rome made a world-power of Italy: Athens (in spite of Salamis, the Eurymedon, Oinophyta) made none of Greece.

The First Peloponnesian War was Athens' first bid for the control of Greece, and it had failed. Perikles handled the crisis well, and Athens emerged with three useful gains, namely Naupaktos, Aegina, and Sparta's acknowledgment of her Empire. Enough to make the nucleus of a second

<sup>33</sup> Ionian hoplites fight at Tanagra: Perikles dares not use them in 431.

<sup>34</sup> Wilamowitz says of Perikles: Er hat sein Volk, das ueber Rhodos und Miletos gebot, allerdings zum Herrn auch ueber Sparta und Korinth machen wollen: die Herrschaft in Hellas war sein Programm 462: er hat es trotz den Zwischenstreichen der kimonischen Politik und trotz dem schweren Frieden von 445 nicht geandert (*Arist. und Athen.* II. 98). It was harder after 445. The loss of the Land Empire meant beginning again: it meant also, that hence-

forth hoplites and farmers count little, sailors and cockneys much. This caused, if not all the harm the conservatives imagined, at least the discontent of valuable citizens. The fears of 457 (Thuc. I. 107. 4) are realised by the evacuation in 431 (Thuc. II. 14-16). For the good old days of the Land Empire, Μυρωνίδης δ' ἤρχεν ὁ γεννάδας, see Aristoph. *Ekkles.* 303 sqq.: lament over the hoplite, Plato, *Laws*, 706c-707b: cf. Xen. *Hipparch.* 7 (the ἄλλη πόλις cares little about beating the Boeotians).

attempt: but little to show for fifteen years of intermittent fighting, for the exaltation and sacrifices of the early 'fifties.

When the crisis was past, a certain psychological reaction set in, such as often follows when men have reached out after greatness and not attained it completely. It was the ἐπιβδᾶ, the day after the feast, the morning headache:<sup>35</sup> in the wreck of hope, the once desired greatness seemed tawdry. Thucydides the son of Melesias caught at this moment of disillusion and nearly broke his rival: in the spring of 444, Perikles (for the last time in his life) failed to be elected Strategos.<sup>36</sup>

Here let me turn once more to Pindar, the friend of Melesias, the most articulate voice of that aristocratic order for which Thucydides stood. In 446, Pindar wrote the Eighth Pythian. He was an old man; and once more, after fourteen years, he is praising a boy wrestler from Aegina, Aristomenes son of Xenarkes. It seems to me one of his very greatest poems, passionate, rapt, serene. I have no space to quote the whole; and short of that, comment is to little purpose. It begins with the invocation of Peace, daughter of Right, and ends with the prayer for righteous Aegina's freedom. The heart of the poem is the αἴγλα διόδοτος, the sunlight of God: it alone makes man more than a shadow in a dream: no man can command it, so that confident ambition is folly.

I believe Pindar's moral (not explicit nor very systematic) is this: *Leave Athens to the Gods: you violent young man, delight is a brittle thing, be careful.* But his mind is filled not so much with this moral as with the facts (as he saw them) of light and darkness. In righteous Aegina, in this Procession with Right standing beside it, with the Aiakidai close round and Apollo raining melody, here is Quietness, and shining light, and life sweet as honey. The light is crossed by death in war, by the peace-breakers (the Giants—and Athens), by the element of violence in Aristomenes himself, by the crooked twists of thought.<sup>37</sup>

In the circumstances of 446 there was no mistaking the reference to Athens. Pindar was not a statesman, he is seldom concerned to diagnose forces or prescribe action: poet and prophet, he discerns and proclaims the intimate or the eternal values. The Athenian Empire sought to build a confident structure by troubling other men's peace: a pretentious, contemptible thing, outside real joy, an offence to God.<sup>38</sup>

The effect of the poem was, I expect, tremendous: especially on those Athenians who were sensitive to that sort of opinion and disillusioned with greatness.<sup>39</sup> Those who knew pre-Persian Athens might remember the

<sup>35</sup> There was also something of a famine: sch. Ar. *Wasps*, 718, *IG*. I<sup>2</sup>. 31.

<sup>36</sup> *Ide supra*, p. 206.

<sup>37</sup> Μείλιχος αἰών, 97, and ἀμείλιχος κότος, 8-9. The detail of the passages referred to is: [Light] 21-2, 70-1, 22-3, 68, 1 *sqq.*, 96-7, 97: [Darkness] 51-3, 6-17, 73-82, 94.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>39</sup> I do not know how Pindar's poems were published. It is quite possible that Thucydides was one of the house party at Aegina, or at least met members

of it. The host (Aristomenes' father) was Xenarkes: a comparison of P. VIII. 70-71 with N. IV. 12 makes me suspect some play on the name, and that Xenarkes was perhaps there when Nemean IV was sung. If so, he and Melesias were fellow-guests. And Thucydides did not drop his Aeginetan friends: at least, I infer from the malicious tale in *Vita Anon. Thuc.* 7 (cf. Marcell. *Vita* 24) that he spent part of his ten years of ostracism with them. (The story cannot apply to the historian, since Aegina became a cleruchy in 431, Thuc. II. 27. There is difficulty indeed

giant-slaying Athena, in that Gigantomachy pediment which the Persians threw down and our generation has recovered.<sup>40</sup> I think Pindar remembered it.

*Kind-hearted Quiet, daughter of Right,  
You who make mightiest cities  
And hold the last keys of counsel and war :  
—Porphyrion did not know you  
When he aroused you too far !*

The new Parthenon was now going up, and made the city like a vain, extravagant woman who took men's money.—Or so the opposition said.

#### IV. *Perikles and the Athens-Sparta Dualism.*

With all this, Perikles waged war to the knife. Anticipating, let me quote words put in his mouth some fifteen years later, whose concentrated contempt I cannot translate (Thuc. II. 63).

ἤς [sc. the Empire] οὐδ' ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνην ἀνδραγαθίζεται· ὥς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἡδὴ ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀφείναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον. τάχιστ' ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἑτέρους τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπραγμον οὐ σώζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν.<sup>41</sup>

I anticipate these words here, because they point sharply the contrast to Pythian VIII. I think also they aim at the son of Melesias. He had come back in 433, to form once again the nucleus for any movement against Perikles: whom indeed he survived, and found his successors, Alkibiades<sup>42</sup> and company, more merciless (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 703 sqq., *immo* 679 sqq.).

Perikles meant the Sparta-Athens dualism to be provisional. The years 445-431 were not, nor were meant to be, a millennium: Athens had recoiled, to jump better. The Korkyra treaty of 433 was a stage in a process of whose earlier stages we are not wholly ignorant: possibly Phor-

about the son of Melesias, if we accept the inevitable correction ἐκτός for ἐντός in the law of 480, 'Ath. πολ. 22. 8: yet laws may be broken.)—For other possible connexions of Xenarkes and the πάτρα Μειδυλιδῶν, see Xenarkes the great Akarnanian pankratiast (?) in Paus. VI. 2. § 1-2 (on which passage cf. Robert in *Hermes* 35. 176), and the name Meidylides current in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries (*Prosop. Att.* 9731-9734).

<sup>40</sup> *Acropolis Museum Catalogue*, No. 631. Pindar was in youth passionately devoted to Athens and had lived there. The Panathenaia commemorated Athena's defeat of the Giant Asterios (Aristotle fr. 637): she is armed, with raised spear, on the Panathenaic amphoras (which Pindar liked, *Nem.* X. 35-6).

<sup>41</sup> 'You cannot drop the Empire now, not though J.H.S.—VOL. LII.

loss of nerve in the crisis drive some to make a virtue of inaction. For what you have now is like a tyranny, which (so it seems) it is wrong to take but unsafe to let go. Men of the sort I mean quickly ruin a city, if anyone listens to them, or if anywhere they are their own masters: since the inactive cannot survive except by the support of the active: and the safety of submission may do for a subject city, but not for a leading Power.'

<sup>42</sup> The way to ruin the Empire is 'quietism and aristocratic niceness': εἰ γε ἡσυχάζοιεν πάντες ἢ φυλοκρῖνοίεν οἷς χρεὼν βοηθεῖν, according to Alkibiades in 416 (Thuc. VI. 18. 2). That whole speech is the last and desperate plea against acquiescence in the dualism, which has now become almost canonised.

mion's Akarnanian alliance (Thuc. II. 68. 8, cf. 9. 4), more certainly the treaties with Rhegion and Leontinoi.<sup>43</sup> This relentless pressure westwards was aimed directly at Korinth, indirectly at Sparta: Korinth was to be forced out of the Spartan league (Thuc. I. 71. 4) or, if necessary, ruined.<sup>44</sup>

A recent study of Atheno-Korinthian relations (O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth*, Baltimore, 1930) arrives at a contrary conclusion by omitting these earlier stages. The treaties with Leontinoi and Rhegion are assumed [impossibly: see note 43] to have been first made in 433 (*op. cit.* p. 237): the alliance with Akarnania is ignored altogether. [I believe indeed that the Akarnanian Treaty is subsequent to the battle of Sybota: though prevailing opinion at present puts it in the early 'thirties,<sup>45</sup> and it certainly made an implacable enemy of Ambrakia and was a direct check to Korinthian expansion.] Keulen, *De Pericle Pacificatore* (*Mnemosyne*, 1920, pp. 239 *sqq.*), nourishes his thesis yet more scantily: he just affirms that the Decree inviting first-fruits for Eleusis (*IG. I<sup>2</sup>. 76*) and the Decree inviting delegates to a Congress at Athens (Plut. *Perikles* 17) both belong to the years immediately following the Peace of 445: so in these years Perikles was Peacemaker. But in fact neither Decree belongs to those years, nor illustrates his policy at that time. The Eleusis Decree is a very great deal later (probably Peace of Nikias):<sup>46</sup> the Congress Decree belongs to 449, 448, or early 447.<sup>47</sup>

The Eleusis Decree is not Periklean: moreover, it is issued under Delphic Sanction, and does not compare with the Congress Decree in which Athens aims at a position like (or better than) Delphi's. I therefore leave it out of account.

<sup>43</sup> *IG. I<sup>2</sup>. 51* and 52. The treaties were renewed in 433-2, after the battle of Sybota: that is the date of the existing prescripts. The texts of the treaties are about ten years older (*IG. ad loca*). [This can be verified on the stone easily: 51 is in the British Museum.]

<sup>44</sup> Each successive Athenian attempt at domination involved more destruction: though of course never anything comparable to Rome's record in Italy.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., Busolt, *GG. III. 2*, p. 763, note 6, Beloch, *Att. Polit.* 299. Yet personally I am convinced that Phormion made it in the spring of 432, and that the previous seizure of Argos (Thuc. II. 68. 6) is parallel to the seizure of Anaktorion (I. 55. 1), two attempts by Korinth, on the morrow of Sybota, to secure at least the Ambrakiot Gulf. Thucydides' narrative of near-western events is *not* continuous after the battle of Sybota; and Phormion had time for such action before he was sent to Potidaia. [I think the appearance of Potidaia and Strepsa in the Quota List of 433-2 is decisive against putting the events of Thuc. I. 59-62 before the spring of 432. See Jacoby, *Thukyd. und d. Vorgesch. d. Pelop. Krieger*, in *Gott. Nachr.* 1928: Kolbe, *Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung d. I. Buches in Thukyd. im Lichte d. Urkunden* (Stuttgart, 1930): Pohlenz in *Gott. gel. Anz.* 1932, pp. 21-28: Keil in *PhW.* 1932, 513-518.]

<sup>46</sup> See Koerte in Noack's *Eleusis* (1927), p. 313; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens* (1932), p. 340; Merritt,

*Ath. Financ. Documents* (1932), p. 172.

<sup>47</sup> *I.e.* after peace with Persia, and before the Parthenon was begun. Keulen in doubting the latter gravely misconceives the programme of the Congress: e.g. p. 240, 'ut communi sumptu et certa ratione tota Graecia artis operibus exornetur.' Perikles said *περί τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν ἃ κατέπρησαν οἱ βάρβαροι*: the Persians did not burn temples all over Greece. The land they most ravaged was Attica: the temples to be rebuilt are *imprimis* the Akropolis temples: and then perhaps Hera in Nypete (*AJL.* 1929, p. 400) and a few in the still intact Land Empire (Abai, Haliartos; Paus. X. 35. 2); which in the event were left ruined (Paus. *l.c.*): some too in Ionia (Isokr. IV. 156): but none in Peloponnese or in any Korinthian sphere. Again, after the Peace of 445 there was no question who should police the seas: Athens, out of the tribute of her now acknowledged Empire! In fact, the two questions before the Congress were: (1) Who should pay for the Parthenon? (2) Who should pay for the Athenian fleet? Questions actual enough on the morrow of the Peace with Persia, when the indemnity had been foregone and the tribute had become questionable (cf. West, *Am. Hist. Rev.* 35, pp. 267 *sqq.*: and even if West's general thesis be denied, there is the Quota List of 448-7 of about one-third the normal length; it is decisive as to the questionableness of tribute payment). In 445 these questions were settled.

The Congress Decree aimed at making Athens the capital of Greece. She would be the seat of an Amphiktyony greater than Delphi's, and the naval executive for the whole Greek world. When Sparta refused to bless this reorganisation and extension of Athens' League, and staged instead the crisis of 446, Athens lost her chance of peaceful hegemony. The dualism had now to be accepted until it could be smashed. I have argued that the means she chose to smash it was Western expansion. I now come to my *crux*, the colony of Thouria in 444-3.

## V. *Thouria*.

The events which culminated in the founding of Thouria <sup>48</sup> in 444-3, <sup>49</sup> in what had been Sybarite land, appear to have offered a heaven-sent opportunity to Athens to establish herself in Western Greece. It all came in the end to very little. After ten years, the colony disowned its Athenian parentage: after the Syracusan disaster, the Thourian ships joined the Peloponnesian fleet. The story is so parallel to that of Amphipolis, that some of this failure must be ascribed to a general wane of Athenian prestige. Yet Thouria's defection is more gradual (she takes half-hearted part in the siege of Syracuse, Thuc. VII. 57. 11), it was not precipitated by the genius of Brasidas, and it begins as early as 434-3, when Perikles was still powerful and Athens' prestige was on the whole sound.<sup>50</sup> The failure therefore must lie partly in the special circumstances.

Thouria, though founded by Athens, was a 'Panhellenic colony.' They sent heralds, Diodoros says, round the cities of Peloponnese, offering a share in the colony to any who chose to take it (XII. 10. 4). It is usual to see in this a gesture of conciliation, a disavowal of specifically Athenian ambition in the West, a sop to Korinth. So O'Neill (*Ancient Corinth*, p. 196, etc.) conceives it, and takes the Korinthian action in not supporting the revolt of Samos in 440 as proof that Korinth had picked up the sop. I do not think this is wholly false, though Korinth does not appear to have accepted the invitation to a share in Thouria,<sup>51</sup> and though the treaties with Leontinoi

<sup>48</sup> *Thouria* is the Thucydidean form: his usage is probably constant, *Thouria* for the town (VI. 61. 7, 88. 9, VII. 33. 5, 6), *Thourias* for the land (VII. 35. 1), *Thourioi* for the people (VI. 61. 6, 104. 3). [Pappritz (see next note) curiously denies this in VII. 33: he says *Thouria* there means the land, and translates VII. 33. 5: 'they met (in the district) the anti-Athenians expelled (from the town).' I think no one will doubt that the words really mean 'they found (on arrival at the town) that the anti-Athenians had just been expelled.'] On the coins, *Thourioi* (like *Athenaioi*, etc.) means the people. *Thourioi* for the town, ps.-Andok. IV. 12. The Roman form varies, but *Thurii* has good authority.

<sup>49</sup> The mid-century coins of Sybaris-Thouria reveal three stages: (1) Sybaris proper, (2) an Atticised Sybaris, (3) Thouria. This enables us to disentangle the confused narratives, and constate that Athens reinforced the Sybarites probably in 446-5; quarrelled with them; and sent out a fresh colony in

444-3 (ἐπὶ Πραξιτέλους, ps.-Plutarch 835c) led by the oracle-expert Lampon, who determined the new site of Thouria. Diodoros confuses the Sybaris and Thouria missions. It is not more than a slight anachronism of language, when Aristotle (*Pol.* 1303a) puts the quarrel with the Sybarites (Strab. VI. 1. 13, Diod. XII. 11. 1-2) ἐν Θουρίοις, among the *Thourians*. The detail is in Busolt, *GG.* III. 1. pp. 518 *sqq.*, who follows Pappritz, *Thurii* (Berlin, 1895: this dissertation, though unmethodical and full of misprints, is still most useful).

<sup>50</sup> The stream of discontented allies to Thouria (ps.-Andok. IV. 12) will hardly have begun by then. For the influence of Kleandridas, see Appendix E.

<sup>51</sup> I judge from the Thourian tribe-names (Diod. XII. 11. 3): the Peloponnesians who took part come from Achaia, Arkadia, Elis. A possible share in the tribe *Doris* was hardly proportionate to Korinth's pretensions.

and Rhegion are probably before 440 and cannot have seemed friendly. I think in 440 Korinth was trying to leave ill alone: <sup>52</sup> yet the gesture of Thouria may have helped in some degree. The problem to my mind is, Why did Athens make that gesture?

If the 'Panhellenism' of Thouria meant that Athens 'did not meditate any further aggrandisement' (O'Neill, p. 236), then it has little in common with the Congress Decree of c. 449: it is a new notion and needs to be accounted for. If on the other hand it (like the Congress Decree) aimed to make Athens the capital of Greece, the aim was very bad. Now Perikles might indeed aim badly: but it is pertinent to observe that 444-3 is the year when Perikles was out of office. *I submit that we see, in the execution of the Thouria project, the hand of his rival.*

Thucydides the son of Melesias was, like his father, a Panhellenic figure.<sup>53</sup> He was the true Panhellenist: and I think Perikles, in the Congress Decree, stole his thunder. To Perikles, Panhellenism was a thing which could be made to serve Athens: to Thucydides, it meant equality of all Greek states, the renouncement of Athenian domination. I think the Panhellenism of Thouria is of this second sort. That enterprise had begun as an imperial venture. Athens had accepted the Sybarites' invitation to help to refound their town, and had soon ejected the Sybarites.<sup>54</sup> Lampon thereupon produced oracles that Athens should colonise the land, with a new city on a new site. But then the co-operation of Peloponnese was invited, and this ruined Thouria as an imperial venture. Athens seems to be speaking with two voices, and we know there were just now, in fact, fluctuations of power. Fortunately we are not left to mere conjecture, and it is worth while to assemble the facts.

Both the two founders<sup>55</sup> were Perikleans: Lampon the prophet prophesied Thucydides' defeat (Plut. *Per.* 6. 2), Xenokritos hastened it by a prosecution (*Vit. Anon. Thuc.* § 7). The latter passage, torn as it is from its original context,<sup>56</sup> yet preserves valuable information. We hear that Thucydides resisted Perikles in the law-courts, became προστάτης του δήμου, and was elected Strategos [this if true (see Appendix A) refers to the year 444-3]: but he soon lost his standing, since *after a visit to Sybaris he was prosecuted by Xenokritos and then ostracised for ten years*. For a detailed treatment of these alleged facts, I refer to Appendix A: but that Thucydides took more than a casual interest in the Thouria project seems beyond all doubt, and it

<sup>52</sup> Mr. O'Neill will excuse me if I quote a sentence of his (p. 193) and deliberately misdate it. 'Modern historians do not sufficiently bring out the helplessness of Corinth at this stage of her history.' He writes this of the later 'fifties: it is true, I believe, of 440 also. War with Athens could hardly fail to be disastrous to Korinth and she knew it. After Sybota, in 433, she was just desperate: the war ruined her more surely than Athens.

<sup>53</sup> Οὐκ ἦσαν αὐτῷ πλείστοι φίλοι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων; . . . ἐδύνατο μέγα ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν. Plato, *Meno*, 94d. This agrees

well with the Panhellenism of Thouria: the tribes there were named Arkas, Achais, Eleia, Boiotia, Amphiktyonis, Doris, Ias, Athenais, Eubois, Nesiotis (Diod. XII. 11. 3).

<sup>54</sup> Strabo, VI. 1. 13, speaks (at this stage already) of 'Athenians and other Hellenes'—i.e. Athenian allies.

<sup>55</sup> Lampon and Xenokritos: Diod. XII. 10. 3: Photius, s.v. Θουριομάντις (see Appendix E).

<sup>56</sup> The *Anonymus* intends it for the historian: but I think it certain that his ultimate source meant it for the son of Melesias. See Appendix A.

appears that his action was resented by the Periklean founders.<sup>57</sup> I imagine he sent the heralds round Peloponnese.

For the dates, probably Lampon produced his oracles (see especially sch. Ar. *Clouds* 332) in the course of 444, and Thucydides sent the heralds to Peloponnese, etc., in the winter following. He was ostracised next spring, and I imagine the colonists set sail soon after.

The ostracism had decided the personal issue between the two statesmen: but as regards Thouria, it left Athens committed to a mongrel policy. We have here a first instance of what we meet too often later: a project conceived by imperialists, but its execution marred by men who dislike it. Later, this ruined the campaigns of Mantinea and Syracuse. The orthodox solution was ostracism, and in 443 it was applied: too late for Thouria, but in time to prevent further inconsistency.<sup>58</sup> [Had it been applied as honestly in 417, after Mantinea, it might have saved the ruin in Sicily: for the failure to choose between Nikias and Alkibiades, one way or the other, was a main cause of that disaster.] The need for both Policy and Executive to be continuous is now recognised, and Perikles enjoys henceforth a virtual principate, expressed constitutionally by his special position amongst the Strategoi. His nine colleagues are chosen 'one from each tribe,'<sup>59</sup> Perikles 'from all Athenians.'

We find this system first in 441-0,<sup>60</sup> when we have the full list of Strategoi for the year: again in 439 (whether 440-39 or 439-8) in a document I have recently published (*ClPh.* XXVI, 309-313) regarding the conclusion of the Samian War. It evidently held for the rest of Perikles' life.<sup>61</sup>

## VI. *The Return of Thucydides.*

Ἐξοστράκιζεται ἔτη δέκα (*Vita Anon.* 7):<sup>62</sup> we may assume he returned in the spring of 433,<sup>63</sup> and I think he made himself felt.

<sup>57</sup> There was, naturally, little mutual confidence between the 'Periklean' founders and the 'Thucydidean' colonists whom they had to lead. See Diod. XII. 35. 1.

<sup>58</sup> The treaties with Leontinoi and Rhegion may belong to that year, and mark the resumption of imperial ambition. The Quota-List for 443-2 (*SEG.* V. Titulus xii) more certainly reflects Perikles' new security: the five *Provinces of the Empire* (Ionia, Hellespont, Thrace, Karia, Islands) appear for the first time; and in 443-2 and 442-1 the Hellenotamiai have an additional secretary, to cope with the new organisation.

The Chairman of the Hellenotamiai in 443-2 (as we know from the same document) was the poet Sophokles: who is thus one of Perikles' right-hand men at the critical moment. In 441-0 he was elected Strategos—on the strength of his *Antigone*, we are told (*Antigone* ὑπεθεσας), which was thus produced in the spring of 441. The Athenian people saw statesmanship in the play, and deemed its author a proper man for the highest Executive. We should not forget this in reading it: for it is, as it were, the

στάσιμον following the violent ἐπεισόδιον of the 'forties. [The picture of Sophokles as a munitions profiteer, in *AJPh.* XLVII, 1926, pp. 358-360, seems to me malicious.]

<sup>59</sup> Nine, from ten tribes: which tribe is left out? I have given elsewhere (*ClQu.* 25, 1931, p. 89) my reasons for inferring from Plato, *Laws* 759 D, the following, viz.: the whole Demos elects one Strategos from each of the ten tribes; then he of the ten elected who has fewest votes is dropped.

<sup>60</sup> See the lists in Beloch, *GG.*<sup>2</sup> II. 2. pp. 260 sqq. This full list is quoted in a scholium first published complete by Wilamowitz, *De Rhesi Scholiis*, p. 13.

<sup>61</sup> He has a colleague from his own tribe in 433-2 and 432-1. We have no details between 439 and 433.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. sch. Ar. *Wasps* 947.

<sup>63</sup> Carcopino, in support of his untenable thesis that the *ostracisés* never stayed away their full ten years, proposes to identify him with the Thucydides in Thuc. I. 117. 2 (*Hist. de l'Ostrac. athen.* pp. 210 sqq.). This is quite groundless.



It was in the course of that year that Perikles took the decisive step of accepting Korkyra's alliance and sending out a fleet with orders to fight, if necessary, against the Corinthians. The intransigence which Perikles showed from this moment to the declaration of war was ascribed by some to his personal embarrassments. Plutarch and Diodoros record a series of criminal trials directed against his dependents and intimates, Pheidias, Anaxagoras, Aspasia: <sup>64</sup> and Satyros <sup>65</sup> says that the prosecution of Anaxagoras was conducted by the son of Melesias. Perikles (I need not say) did not make war solely to put a stop to this nuisance, yet these tales, if true, are not irrelevant: though it is more likely that the prosecutions were meant to stop the war than *vice versa*.

But first, do the prosecutions belong in this context at all? Satyros <sup>66</sup> (Prof. Taylor observes) appears to imagine that Thucydides prosecuted Anaxagoras soon after 450, for he makes the charge not only impiety but Medism: a charge obsolete in 433, but not perhaps soon after 450 amongst those who disliked the Peace with Persia. I am not sure that this really indicates more than that Thucydides' politics in 433 were old-fashioned—that he had forgotten nothing and learnt nothing: and I cannot grant that Prof. Taylor has 'decided the point absolutely' that Anaxagoras was tried soon after 450: <sup>67</sup> still less (what Prof. Taylor does not, I think, contend) that there was no attack on the 'impiety' of Perikles' friends about the year 433. The Decree of Diopeithes, which launched that attack, is not to be moved from the date at which Plutarch puts it: <sup>68</sup> not, certainly, back to 450, for Diopeithes the χρησολόγος is familiar in the War Comedians, and we find him still practising his trade in Sparta at the beginning of the next century (Xen. *Hell.* III. iii. 3). Indeed if Plutarch is wrong in dating Anaxagoras' trial about 433, his error is that he wrongly connects it with

<sup>64</sup> Plut. *Perikles* 32: Diod. XII. 39. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Quoted by Diog. Laert. II. 12.

<sup>66</sup> A considerable fragment of Satyros, dealing with Anaxagoras' influence on Euripides, has been found at Oxyrhynchos: *Ox. Pap.* IX. 1176. The statement quoted by Diogenes Laertius was probably parenthetical to the Life of Euripides.

<sup>67</sup> *On the Date of the Trial of Anaxagoras*, *ClQu.* 1917, 81 sqq. It is agreed he lived from about 500 to soon after 430: the question at issue is where, in that space, his Athenian period comes. On this the ancient statements are contradictory (the materials in Diels, *Vorsokratiker*). Since therefore there has been definite error somewhere, it is unsafe to argue (as Prof. Taylor does constantly) from the *necessary implications* of our sources. It is not safe to say what Demetrios meant by the entry in his *Archontes* (*ClQu.* p. 81). That Isokrates, XV. 235, 'states in so many words that Anaxagoras' connexion with Perikles went back to the early years of the latter' is untrue: what he does say applies to Damon equally, and it is notorious that Perikles was Damon's 'pupil' late in life, Plato, *Alkib.* I. 118c. No one suggests that Anaxagoras 'died almost as soon as he reached Lampsakos' (*ClQu.* p. 85), for even if he was con-

demned in 433, he lived there five years: and the 'doxographers' tradition' that Archelaos 'succeeded Anaxagoras and was succeeded by Sokrates' (so in effect *ClQu.* p. 86 top) is (a) not a safe inference from the statements (D. Laert. II. 16, Suidas 'Ἀρχέλαος) that he was pupil of Anaxagoras and teacher of Sokrates, and (Clement, *Strom.* I. 63) that Anaxagoras was succeeded by Archelaos, Sokrates' master: (b) sufficiently accounted for if Eusebios is right (*Prep. Ev.* X. 14, § 13) in saying that Archelaos took over the Lampsakos school, presumably in 427.

Prof. Taylor has been more decidedly answered by M. Derenne in *Les Procès d'Impiété* (Liège-Paris 1930). I did not know his book when I wrote this note: which I leave, since it puts the *negative* case as strongly as I am prepared to. The *positive* arguments for 433 are well marshalled by M. Derenne, pp. 34 sqq.: especially the anecdote in Plut. *Per.* 6, §§ 2-3, which presupposes that Anaxagoras was in Athens in the middle 'forties; Plato, *Cratylus* 409a, δ ἑκεῖνος νεωστὶ ἐλθὼν; and the likelihood of a reference to Anaxagoras' trial and exile in Eurip. *Medea* 292-301 and 214-224 (spring of 431 B.C.).

<sup>68</sup> Plut. *Perikles* 32, περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον: sc. just before the beginning of the war.

Diopieithes' Decree.<sup>69</sup> We have therefore to constate that the return of Thucydides coincides with an outbreak of malicious litigation.

Thucydides the historian, his namesake and possibly his grandson, says no word of this, nor anywhere anything of the son of Melesias' career. I think this is due, like many Thucydidean silences, to contempt: contempt for mere obstruction, for the ἀπράγμων who stands in the way of the δρᾶν τι βουλόμενος.<sup>70</sup> For the younger Thucydides was caught wholly by the glamour of Perikles: he thinks his Principate (gained over the elder Thucydides' body) most admirable: <sup>71</sup> to him, the pity was that Perikles' ideas were inherited by Alkibiades, a man bound to ruin them by the fatal resentments which he created.<sup>72</sup> He makes the Korinthians say of Athens <sup>73</sup> the same things in effect which Pindar had said in Pythian VIII: yet what Pindar saw with disdain, Thucydides' Korinthians see with admiring envy. Perikles made him drunk with the idea of power, nor to the end of his life did Thucydides forget it.

*Fall'n Cherubs! to be weak is miserable,  
Doing or suffering.*

#### APPENDIX A

*Vita Anon. Thuc. §§ 6-7. (See notes 1 and 56.)*

The *Vita Anon. Thuc.* § 6 says that the historian πρὸ τῆς συγγραφῆς προέστη τῶν πραγμάτων 'before writing his history was a leading statesman.' This is manifestly untrue of the son of Oloros, who was little over thirty when he was exiled. (This follows from Marcellin. *Vita* 34, and much else: see *Prosop. Att.* 7267, and Schwartz, *Das Geschichtswerk des Th.* p. 217.) The 'leading statesman' is, I have no doubt, the son of Melesias; and I imagine the information which follows in §§ 6-7 is from a 'Life' of him<sup>74</sup>: not a very good one, though we must not attribute all the stupidity of the *Anonymus* to his source. The alleged facts are:—

1. He defended Pylilampes who had killed a boy in a love affair, and though Perikles prosecuted, won his case.
2. He was consequently elected Strategos and became προστάτης τοῦ δήμου (*i.e.* the dominant statesman in Athens: cf. 'Αθ. πολ. XXIII. 3, XXV. 1, etc.).
3. Owing to his pride and avarice, he soon lost this position: since
4. he went to Sybaris, and when he returned he was accused by Xenokritos [one of the founders of Thouria, Diod. XII. 10] and condemned; and later was ostracised.
5. He spent part of his ostracism at Aegina.

1. Pylilampes, Plato's stepfather, was wounded at Delion in 424 (Plut. *Gen. Socr.* 518D): but since his son was by then a famous beauty (Plato, *Gorgias* 481e, 513b) and was

<sup>69</sup> It is pretty certain that the trial of Ἀσπασία καὶ κύριος (*i.e.* Perikles: sch. Ar. *Knights* 969) cannot be so early in her career as c. 450. Her crime was ἀσεβεία, Athen. XIII. 589E: she apparently gave her girls the names of the Muses (sch. Hermog. in Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* VII. 165). Some at least of this information must come from the documents of the trial.

<sup>70</sup> II. 64. 3-4. Moreover, Thucydides, the scientist aiming at control and power, is in strong reaction against Pindar's acquiescent obscurantism which

culminates in P. VIII. 73-77. Contrast, *e.g.*, Th. I. 144. 4, V. 111. 3, VIII. 27: and see, for his intellectual affinities, Cochrane, *Thucydides and the Science of History* (Oxf. Univ. Press, 1929).

<sup>71</sup> II. 65. 9-10.

<sup>72</sup> VI. 15. 4: cf. 28. 2 and II. 65. 11.

<sup>73</sup> I. 70, 71: especially 70. 9, πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοῦς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἔσθαι.

<sup>74</sup> Ultimately, perhaps, from Stesimbrotos (see Athen. 589D).

a grown man before Eupolis died (Eup. in sch. Ar. *Wasps* 98), Pyrilampes' wild oats were probably sown well back in the 'forties. We may perhaps date the trial to c. 445, if its result was really the next stage, viz. :—

2. The brief political eclipse of Perikles. I question Thucydides' actual *strategia*, since the word *Strategos* is used inexactly by the late grammarians. The sentence clearly refers to the year 444-3.

3. [The taunt of avarice <sup>75</sup> betrays the democratic source: unless it be the general malice of Stesimbrotos of Thasos, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους (Athen. XIII. 589b).]

4. His fall is connected with a visit to Sybaris <sup>76</sup> and a successful prosecution <sup>77</sup> by Xenokritos: this precedes the ostracism. [Sch. Ar., *Wasps* 947, says the same: κατεδικάσθη εἶτα ἐξωστρακίσθη.] Since the execution of the Thouria project was (I have argued) a main preoccupation of his year of power, this seems entirely credible. Xenokritos then (like Lampon, see note 55 *supra*) is a Periklean, and attacks him on the Thouria question. 'Sybaris' is correct: there is no 'Thouria' till Lampon has arrived there, identified the spot and chosen the name.

Yet ostracism only touched the highest, and is not a usual sequel to a judicial condemnation: οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἶνεκ' ὄστραχ' ἡύρεθη.

5. For the likelihood, and the difficulty, of this story, see note 39 *supra*. It recurs in Marcellinus § 24.

I would trust the details (the causation, sequence) of this narrative extremely little: but I think it refers beyond question to the son of Melesias. I add a short note on two other passages, where it is questionable which Thucydides is meant.

Timaïos says the son of Oloros spent [some part of] his exile in Italy, and died and was buried there (ap. Marcellin. 25 and 33). Timaïos had the reputation of an indefatigable bookworm with little judgment: it is likely he has got the wrong Thucydides, but there is no great reason to suppose it is the son of Melesias.

Finally, Ar. *Wasps* 946-7. The scholiast (whom I have quoted above) refers this to the prosecution by Xenokritos c. 444: but if it refers to the son of Melesias at all, it will be to the prosecution by Kephisodemos c. 426 (*Acham.* 703 *sqq.*). However, the *historian* Thucydides had been exiled (and perhaps stood his trial) the year before the *Wasps* was played, so that it may be he.

## APPENDIX B

### *Who Paid for the Parthenon?* (See page 207.)

The enemies of Perikles (Plut. *Perikles* 12. 2) said, *Hellas* paid for the adornment of Athens: τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς Ἑλλάδος) ἀναγκαιῶς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμᾶς (sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους) τὴν πόλιν καταχρυσοῦντας καὶ καλλωπίζοντας. 'The money contributed by Hellas perforce for the war' means, Tribute money.

The actual accounts <sup>78</sup> of the Parthenon, and the Chryselephantine Athena, give the λεμματα, the moneys received by the officers in charge of the works; and, as a rule, the first item is from last year's officers, the second (and sometimes third) from the Tamiai of the Goddess, the third or fourth from the Hellenotamiai. We never have sufficient of the actual figures to determine the amounts of these receipts, but it is probable that the more substantial amounts stand first, and are from the Tamiai. And in the accounts of the Propylaia we get at last a description of the money paid by the Hellenotamiai (*IG.* I<sup>2</sup>. 364,

<sup>75</sup> Its recurrence in both the Sybaris and Aegina stories suggests that this whole narrative (§§ 6-7) hangs together and refers *en bloc* to the son of Melesias.

<sup>76</sup> He is perhaps a *Kataskopos* (cf. Thuc. IV. 27. 3): ἀποδημήσας does not necessarily imply a private visit, even in good Greek: e.g. Derkylidas is φιλαπόδημος because he likes foreign commands, Xen. *Hell.* IV. iii. 2.

<sup>77</sup> Ζυγχύσεως δικαστηρίου: otherwise unknown. Lipsius in his revision of Meier-Schoemann, *Att.*

*Process*, withholds any opinion of its content: and in his *Att. Recht.* he leaves it unnoticed. It can hardly be bribery ('Αθ. πολ. XXVII. 5). Possibly a form of ἀπάτη, 'failure to substantiate,' cf. Dem. XX. 100, ἐάν τις ὑποσχόμενός τι τὸν δῆμον ἢ τὴν βουλὴν ἢ δικαστήριον ἐξαπατήσῃ.

<sup>78</sup> Parthenon, *IG.* I<sup>2</sup>. 339-353: Chryselephantine Statue, *ib.* 354-362. The latter contains no moneys received from Hellenotamiai.

lines 63-65, and 365, lines 17-19): το χυμμαχικο φορο μνα απο ταλαντο: *i.e.* it is Athena's Quota of the Tribute, that sixtieth part which she received as her own.

If this were all the Tribute money spent on these works, Perikles' enemies were unfair in their accusations: nor could Athena's Quota be called 'money contributed for the war' (Plut. *Perikles* 12. 2). I think they spoke with better reason than that, and that the Tribute money spent on these works is to be sought in the moneys received from the Tamiai of the Goddess. There is (I think) little doubt that Mr. Stevenson<sup>79</sup> is right in supposing that the mass of surplus Tribute money was in the hands of these Tamiai throughout the 'forties, as we know it was in the 'thirties and later. However we estimate the amount of this surplus, it certainly formed a considerable proportion of the total treasure of these Tamiai: and justified those who said that the Parthenon, built out of that treasure, was built out of Tribute money.

Did they hold, then, that once Athena had taken charge of this Tribute surplus, she was bound to use none of her Treasure for her own temple and cult? I think not: the complaint is that she spends *so much*: like an extravagant woman's, the money runs through her fingers. The magnificence of the Parthenon was due to the fact that the Tamiai held that surplus.

It is just possible that we have the law whereby Perikles established this principle, that the surplus of Tribute be spent on the Akropolis buildings. The *Anonymus Argentinensis*, lines 5 to 8, contains a law of Perikles: it is too fragmentary for certain restoration and I know none which is free from objection. It stands after a note on the beginnings of the Parthenon and before one on the Boule's shipbuilding duties. It is probably part of one or the other: which? Wilcken, *Hermes*, XLII, 1907, pp. 390 *sqq.* thinks the latter, and refers the law to the legislation of 431 (Thuc. II. 24). His thesis will not stand, unless την πολιν be corrected to τον πολεμον.<sup>80</sup> Beloch's thesis (*G.G.*<sup>2</sup> II. 2. p. 328) that the law belongs to 450-49, and is preliminary to the building of the Parthenon, has never been presented in detail: I have suggested (*JHS.* LI, 1931, p. 85) that the new note on shipbuilding perhaps begins in line 8, οτι νο[μ]ος ην Αθηνησιν etc. This leaves μετεκειν (before οτι) unexplained: could it perhaps introduce the new excerpt (= 'item')<sup>81</sup>? Or, since the Parthenon and shipbuilding notes are in fact out of sequence (being glosses on Dem. XXII. § 13 and § 8, respectively),<sup>82</sup> was it once a marginal adjustment (= 'this note should come after the next')?

If the law belonged to 450-49, it would tighten the chronology of these years. Winter 450-49, negotiations with Persia: early spring 449, the Congress Decree (Plut. *Perikles* 17): the present Decree is consequent on the failure of the Congress (see p. 216 *supra*) and gives the alternative answer to the question, How shall the temples be rebuilt? It must come before midsummer 449.

The Archon, Euthydemos, will do for either year: for though the Archon of 450-49 was Euthynos in fact, we know from Diodoros XII. 3 that his name in the Archon lists was at some stage corrupted to Euthydemos.

## APPENDIX C

### *The Dates of Nemeans IV and VI. (See note 19.)*

The only sure indication of the date of Nemean VI is that Praxidamas, the victor's grandfather, was himself a victor in 544 B.C.<sup>83</sup> Put sixty-six years for the two generations, and deduct six, since Praxidamas' was a man's victory and his grandson's a boy's, and this brings us to (544-60) about 484 B.C. This cannot be held, of course, to within ten years either way: but (in spite of the sombreness of the first *strophe*) I get an impression of youthfulness (esp. 24-6, cf. P. X. 4, N. V. 14) and would put it before the Sicilian journey<sup>84</sup>: and Melesias is still as quick as a dolphin (64).

Nemean IV I would date, with more precision, to the Nemead of 477. The Aiakidai

<sup>79</sup> *JHS.* XLIV. 1924, pp. 5 *sqq.*

<sup>80</sup> I do not think [αναλίσκ]ειν εις την πολιν could mean 'spend on state purposes, *i.e.* the war.' See my note in *JHS.* LI, 1931, pp. 84 *sq.*

<sup>81</sup> This is against the custom of the excerptor.

<sup>82</sup> See Wilcken, *l.c.* p. 403.

<sup>83</sup> Line 15, Paus. VI. 18. 7.

<sup>84</sup> Lines 24-26 have echoes in Pyth. I. 43-45, Ol. II. 89: compare also line 57 with Ol. II. 32-3, and line 30 with Pyth. I. 94.

come in all Aeginetan odes: but here, the rapid succession, in lines 46-49, of Aegina, Cyprus, Salamis, the Euxine, and the long Thessalian development in the next lines, are due, I am confident, to the exploits of the Aeginetan fleet: which fought at Salamis in 480, at Cyprus and the Euxine<sup>85</sup> in 478, and had now sailed to Thessaly and would spend the winter of 477 at Pagasai.<sup>86</sup> I add a few words on the difficult lines 33-43. They correspond, in general, to such lines as Isth. V. 51-53, VIII. 6 *sqq.*; the Theban poet feels his shame. The victor has won at Nemea (17) and Athens (19) and Thebes (19)—a town of friends, since Herakles and Telamon were partners (20-32). Then come the lines in question (33-43): then the Aiakidai (44 *sqq.*). The *θυγ* which pulls at his heart (35), and the *ἐπιβουλία* which he bids his heart pull against (37), are the same or nearly the same: his own distress, his enemies' malice.

## APPENDIX D

Ἕσυχία and ἀπραγμοσύνη. (See notes 38, 41, etc.)

I have taken Pindar's Ἕσυχία in Pythian VIII to be that Peace which Athens, like Porphyryon, tries to destroy. Prof. Robertson, reviewing *The Pythian Odes of Pindar* (translated by Mr. Bowra and myself, Nonesuch Press, 1928), has questioned this, on the ground that ἀσυχία means rather 'internal concord,' the opposite not of πόλεμος but of στάσις (*Cl. Rev.* XLII. 1928, p. 178). I think the distinction is unreal: ἀσυχία is a brightness of the spirit (μεγαλάνορος Ἕσυχίας τὸ φαιδρὸν φᾶος, frag. 109) which is darkened equally by πόλεμος and στάσις. But how constantly it is opposed to 'restless external ambition' will be clear from the following instances<sup>87</sup>:

Hdt. I. 66: καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρησθηρίζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ.

Hell. Oxyr. *cap.* II, § 2: οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμοεῖν.

Hdt. VII. 150. 3 [The Argives, wishing to keep out of the Persian War, demand a share in the High Command]: ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσις ἡσυχίην ἄγῃ.

Xen. *Hell.* VI. 1. 14 [Polydamas is urging the Spartans to fight Jason if they can fight in full force]: εἰ δὲ νεοδαμῶδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οἴεσθε ἀρκέσειν, συμβουλεύω ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν.

Thuc. I. 124. 2: ἐκ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνην μᾶλλον βεβαιοῦται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐκ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον.

About twenty further instances could be quoted from Thucydides: see especially the sentence quoted above in note 73: the Athenians neither want ἡσυχία themselves nor allow it to others (I. 70. 9).

Pindar says, *Hesychia* is daughter of *Diké*, and so makes the quality connote 'keeping to your own.' 'Not keeping to your own' is ἀδικία, and this is how Periklean Athens doubtless appeared to him. But short of actual ἀδικία, the quality could be less contentiously named πολυπραγμοσύνη: a word commonly of blame which Athens accepted with pride. Πράσσειν σὺ πόλλ' εἴωθας ἥ τε σὴ πόλις: and Theseus answers τοιγὰρ πονοῦσα πολλὰ πόλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ.<sup>88</sup> In an exhaustive study of the word ἀπραγμοσύνη and its cognates,<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> See Pausanias' dedication, quoted Athenaeus XII. 50 (p. 536b).

<sup>86</sup> Plut. *Themistokles* 20. 1: for the date, Beloch, *GG*<sup>2</sup>. II. 1, p. 62, II. 2, p. 190: Busolt, *GG*. III. 1, p. 83: Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, XVII, pp. 67-73: Heichelheim, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XL (1930), pp. 17-22: Johnston, *Hermathena* XLVI (1931), pp. 106-111. Leotychidas was deposed in consequence of this campaign (Hdt. VI. 72): this must be after the poem of Timokreon quoted Plut. *Them.* 21. 4 was written (I think this invalidates the date given in *CAH*. V. 466). I believe the seven years between this deposition (476) and the 'accession of Archidamos' (469, see Plut.

*Kimón*. 16. 4) are probably due to Archidamos' minority, and are the real cause of the famous seven years' error in Diodoros' dates for the Eurypontid Kings (Meyer, *Forsch.* II. 504 *sqq.*).

<sup>87</sup> My instances are from the historians. We find the word in more *private* senses in, e.g., Lysias VII. 1, IX. 4, 'keeping oneself to oneself.'

<sup>88</sup> Eurip. *Suppl.* 576-7. Contrast the ironical opening of the *Herakleidai*. The case is formally argued both ways in the scene between Zethos and Amphion in the *Antiope*: see von Arnim's *Supplementum Euripideum*, pp. 11-15.

<sup>89</sup> *Philologus*, LXXXI, 1925, pp. 129 *sqq.*

Nestle shows that this *fain'ance* is, on the whole, unsympathetic to Thucydides the historian, and sympathetic to Plato: and he suggests that the attack on the ἀπράγμων in Thuc. II. 63 (which I believe is aimed at the son of Melesias, p. 215 *supra*) is aimed at Sokrates. I cannot believe that Sokrates in 430 was a figure of any political consequence: and I hope Nestle would accept my alternative. The pretensions of Athens were of course repugnant to the aristocratic tradition, and both Pindar and Plato are inevitably hostile: Pindar, because that tradition was still so good a thing: Plato, because those pretensions had, in fact, done such harm.

I may add that the leadership of the ἀπράγμονες, after the son of Melesias' death, devolved to some extent on Nikias<sup>90</sup>: cf. Thuc. V. 16. 1, and VI. 18. 6, ἡ Νικίου τῶν λόγων ἀπραγμοσύνη. Also the ἀπράγμων in Eupolis' *Marikas*, quoted Plut. *Nikias* 4. 6, is a devout Nikian: ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ φρενοβλαβεῖς, λάβοιτ' ἂν ἄνδρ' ἄριστον ἐν κακῷ τινί;

## APPENDIX E

*Kleandridas at Thouria.* (See notes 50 and 55.)

Photius Θουριομάντεις should, I think, be read as follows:—

Τοὺς περὶ Λάμπωνα· τὴν γὰρ εἰς Σύβαριν ἀποικίαν οἱ μὲν Λάμπωνι ἀνατιθέασιν οἱ δὲ Ζενοκρίτῳ οἱ δὲ τῷ Χαλκῷ (codd. Χαλκιδεῖ) Διονυσίῳ οἱ δὲ Κλεαρίδῃ (codd. Καθάριοι) τῷ Λάκωνι οἱ δὲ Λυσίᾳ τῷ (codd. Πλησίππῳ) Ἀθηναίῳ.

Χαλκῷ: cf. Plut. *Nikias* 5. 3: *Prosop. Att.* 4084. Κλεαρίδῃ: this form must, I think, lie behind Καθάριοι (ΛΕ in many hands was written as like ΑΘ as possible), as behind Κλεαρχὸν in Diodoros XIII. 106. 10. Λυσίᾳ: *Vit. X Orat.* 835c.—Neither Klea[nd]ridas nor Lysias was a 'Founder': the former was an exile, ἀπολις, and therefore unqualified.

Kleandridas had been Ephor in 446 and exiled from Sparta after the fiasco of that year, when the Spartan army retreated and left Perikles leisure to reduce Euboea.<sup>91</sup> We know nothing of how he came to Thouria (perhaps he went straight to Sybaris in 446), but once there he proved himself the most capable man in their frequent emergencies. He was Commander-in-Chief against the Lucanians and against Taras.<sup>92</sup> His service against Taras, a Spartan colony, makes it unlikely that he ever recovered his status at Sparta. [His son Gylippos was given the Syracuse venture, to 'make good,' but was later disgraced himself.<sup>93</sup> The ex-Spartan Kleandridas,<sup>94</sup> who in the fourth century fought with Thebes against Sparta, is possibly a grandson.]

He is dead by 414, for when his son Gylippos arrived that year at Thouria (Thuc. VI. 104. 2), he 'revived in his own person'<sup>95</sup> his father's title of citizen.' From this we may perhaps infer that Kleandridas had been no more than a πολίτης. However, he must have been an outstanding figure. The leading Athenians (e.g. Dionysios and Lampon) did not stay at Thouria, but went home: men of the first mark did not usually, unless they had been 'unfortunate,' stay in a colony. This must have contributed to the decline of Attic prestige there.

## APPENDIX F

*The Chronology of Plutarch's 'Perikles'; and Χερρονεσιται in the Quota Lists.*

I have read Weizsäcker's *Untersuchungen über Plutarchs biographische Technik*<sup>95</sup> (which throughout uses the *Perikles* as the basis of discussion) with so much pleasure and profit that I regret to find how frequently I have to reject his historical conclusions.

<sup>90</sup> Aristotle regards Nikias as successor to the son of Melesias: 'Αθ. πολ. XXVIII. § 2-3: *ib.* § 5.

<sup>91</sup> Plut. *Perikles* 22. 3: Diod. XIII. 106. 10.

<sup>92</sup> Polyainos II. 10: Strabo VI. 1. 14.

<sup>93</sup> Plut. *Lysandros* 16-17: Diod. XIII. 106. 8-10: Suidas Ἐφοροί.

<sup>94</sup> Diod. XV. 54: codd. Λεανδρίας.

<sup>95</sup> This is the force of the middle, ἀναεωσάμενος, cf. ἀναεώσασθαι, VI. 43. 2: Gylippos 'revived' his dead father's citizenship exactly as Alkibiades meant

to revive his dead grandfather's proxeny. The middle voice is decisive against translating 'he revived (in Thouria) the *Constitution* of Kleandridas': nor indeed was Gylippos in a position to make constitutional changes. The Thourians had had to admit him because they had under-estimated his fleet (Thuc. VI. 104. 3), but they refuse to help him (104. 2) and continue to help Nikias (VII. 57. 11, cf. 33. 6).

<sup>95a</sup> *Problemata* Heft 2. Berlin 1931.

With his main thesis I agree. Plutarch is a moralist, who liked history because it is morality in action. He therefore approaches the material of history (which is, by its nature, in the time-dimension) with the moralist's classifying mind: whence comes what Weizsäcker calls his *chronographisch-eidologische Polarität*. Plutarch (that is to say) categorises incidents by their kind (*eidologisch*); and though his task of biography compels him to relate events in the time-dimension (*chronographisch*), the compulsion remains external and the homage to chronography is perfunctory. [And how misleading this perfunctory homage can be, Weizsäcker (p. 62) well illustrates from the *Kimón*, ch. 8: Kimón and his colleagues are appointed judges of tragedy in the spring of 468: Plutarch groups this (*eidologisch*) with other 'Ehrungen überhaupt,' and attaches them all (perfunctory *chronographisch*) to the Skyros exploit. Weizsäcker well insists that this chronography is wrong: the incident of spring 468 has no connexion with Skyros, but is the result of the Eurymedon, which we may therefore date (at last!) to 469.]

But he proceeds to discriminate between 'universal eidologies' where the time-dimension is irrelevant, and 'period-eidologies' where it is not: and placing *Perikles* 19-20, § 2 in the latter category, to present to us the dilemma 'is the period (to which the expeditions to the Gulf of Korinth, the Chersonese, the Pontos, all belong) the early 'forties (which Plutarch seems to imply) or the late 'fifties (which he might with difficulty be held to mean)?' In this dichotomy Weizsäcker, with a nice show of reluctance, decides for the latter: since Thucydides puts the expedition to the Gulf beyond question in the late 'fifties. He concludes, the cleruchy in the Chersonese was created in the late 'fifties.

In insisting, as against this, on Plutarch's pragmatische Uninteressiertheit, I should have thought I had Weizsäcker with me (see, e.g., his p. 38). I certainly deny cogency to all stages of this special argument (pp. 33-44 and Exkurs A).<sup>96</sup> The date (447 B.C.) which I have assumed in the narrative, and given in the Time-Table, for the cleruchy in the Chersonese, is based chiefly on the Quota Lists. The *Χερρονεσῖται* pay eighteen talents' Tribute in spring 447 (as in 453 and 451), and Tolmides is killed in the course of that year: ergo the cleruchy in the Chersonese was created not earlier than 447, that in Naxos (since Tolmides led it) not later: and Diodoros XI. 88 makes it probable they were created in the same year.<sup>97</sup> It is as near certain as may be that the *Χερρονεσῖται* could not have paid so high a Tribute after the cleruchy: when we next have their Tribute (in 441) it is one talent only (and so steadily in 440, 439, 434, 432), and a cleruchy (whose *terminus post quem* is spring 447) is the obvious explanation of so sensational a reduction.

Weizsäcker does not seriously attack the evidence of the Quota Lists, but only Kirchhoff's and Busolt's presentation of it. Those scholars believed the reduction of Tribute was accompanied by an Apotaxis: Weizsäcker denies this. I need not broach this controversy, since it is irrelevant (indeed if Weizsäcker be right, he only strengthens the case against himself and makes the reduction more sensational). Instead, I recapitulate the relevant evidence. *Χερρονεσῖται* pay eighteen talents in 454-3, 452-1, 448-7,<sup>98</sup> and one talent in 442-1, 441-0, 440-39, 435-4, 433-2. In the latter cases, *Χερρονεσῖται* means inhabitants of *Agora*,<sup>99</sup> a town on the neck of the Peninsula between Kardia and Paktye. It was on this neck that the Athenian cleruchs were settled<sup>100</sup>: probably in Kardia and Paktye, since neither of these ever appears as paying Tribute later, even in the years for which we have the Hellespontine list complete. I imagine, then, that the eighteen talents had been paid by Kardia (ranking since Miltiades as the capital of the peninsula) on behalf of itself and Agora and Paktye, and probably on behalf of the rest of the Peninsula except Alope-

<sup>96</sup> There is no chronological implication in the passage: and if there were, it would have little weight in a passage primarily 'eidological,' by a man with little concern for [and therefore little grasp of] the time-dimension. The ingenious dilemma on pp. 88-89, as to Diodoros XI. 88 and 85, rests on the fallacy that Diodoros required some cogent reason before assigning an event to a given year. Since he had to assign every single event he mentions to some specific year, he could not afford to be so fastidious.

<sup>97</sup> Ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Τολμίδης ὁ ἑτερος στρατήγος: the text then becomes obscure, but it appears that Diodoros' source (and not his own arbitrary framework) synchronised the two cleruchies.

<sup>98</sup> In 450-49 they pay just under fourteen talents.

<sup>99</sup> *Χερρονεσῖται* απ Ἀγορας in 441-0, 435-4, 433-2.

<sup>100</sup> See Plut. *Per.* 19, § 1. When Lysander sent them home after Aigospotamoi, the gap was felt: Xen. *Hell.* III. ii. 8-10.

konnesos.<sup>101</sup> After the cleruchy, the southern cities pay separately:<sup>102</sup> the natives remaining on the neck are represented by the one talent from Agora.

Our disagreements on the chronology of *Perikles* 12 (Weizsäcker, pp. 13-14) are on detail rather than principle. Two details. In § 1 ἄδοξεῖ and κακῶς ἀκούει do *not* reden von etwas bereits-sichtbaren: they refer to the transfer of the money. In § 5 he overlooks γάρ, which (I believe) makes the στρατεῖαι and Perikles' motion (φέρων εἰς τὸν δῆμον) the causes of, *ergo* antecedent to, the events of §§ 1-4.

## TIME-TABLE

- 451. Kimon returns: five years' Truce.
- 450. Kimon in Cyprus: dies.  
Winter: ambassadors go to Sousa.
- 449. Early spring: Peace with Persia: [Euboea retained as tributary].  
Spring: invitations to Congress: Sparta refuses.  
[Early summer: Decree to spend Tribute on the Building Programme?]
- 448. Sacred War: [Crisis of 446 planned by Sparta].
- 448-7. Abnormally short Quota List (about one-third normal length).
- 447. Cleruchies in Chersonnese and Naxos [?Euboea: Diod. XI. 88].  
Parthenon begun: [first protests of Thucydides?].  
Koroneia: loss of Boeotia.
- 446. Five years' Truce expires: Megara, Euboea, in revolt: Spartan invasion.  
Pindar's Pythian VIII.
- 445. Early spring: Thirty Years' Peace.  
[Acquittal of Pyrilampes.]
- 444. Thucydides' year of power: Perikles is not elected Strategos.  
Project to colonise Thouria, modified in execution by Thucydides.  
Thucydides visits Sybaris: prosecuted by Xenokritos.
- 443. Spring: Thucydides ostracised: Perikles elected Strategos paramount.  
Early summer: the colonists sail to Thouria.  
[Alliance with Leontinoi and Rhegion.]  
Sophokles Hellenotamias: the five Provinces of the Empire.
- 433. Spring: Thucydides returns.  
Decree of Diopheithes: prosecution of Aspasia [and Anaxagoras].  
Korkyra alliance: Sybota in early September.
- 432. Alliance with Akarnania: later, Phormion goes to Poteidaia.
- 429. Perikles dies during his fifteenth consecutive Strategia.
- 426. Thucydides prosecuted by Kephisodemos.

H. T. WADE-GERY.

<sup>101</sup> Alopekonesos pays separately in 451-0 and 450-49. Is Πάκτυ - in 451-0, the town of Paktye, or rather Pakty[es] the ruler of the Ἰστυες in Ionia? West and Meritt seem to imply the latter in their index to *SEG*. V.

<sup>102</sup> It is probable they all appeared from 447-6 onwards. The following names are extant: Limnai

Elaious 447-6, Limnai Elaious Sestos 446-5, Elaious Sestos 445-4, Limnai Elaious Sestos Madytos 444-3 and 443-2. There is in each case ample room on the stone for the missing names. The aggregate for all the separate towns (including Alopekonesos and Agora) is about two and a half talents: *e.g.* in 435-4.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE

I have not sought to compile a doxography of modern opinion on Athenian policy, but De Sanctis' essay *La pace di Nicia* (*RivFil.* 1927, pp. 31 sqq. republished in his *Problemi di Storia Antica*, Bari, 1932) should have been cited in my notes 34 and 42. I am glad of the support of a writer of such force and authority, in regarding the Sparta-Athens dualism as politically futile.



## SCOPAS IN CHRYSE

CERTAIN passages in Overbeck<sup>1</sup> are generally supposed to refer to a statue by Scopas of Apollo Smintheus, an aspect of the god to which classical students were probably introduced in Strabo's time as they are to-day by the old priest's prayer in the first book of the *Iliad*.<sup>2</sup> It seems at first a not very serious suggestion that one at least of these passages reads as though the mouse alone, not the statue, were the work of Scopas. But further investigation indicates that the ambiguity is a little more than apparent, indeed real enough to have sheltered a few scholars in their endeavour to escape the difficulties and confusion of reconciling the usual interpretation of the Strabo passage with coin types of Alexandria Troas, and with what can be surmised of Scopas's style.<sup>2a</sup>

Consider first what these difficulties are. The passages chiefly under discussion run as follows:

Strabo, XIII, p. 604: ἐν δὲ τῇ Χρύσει ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τὴν ἐτυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος σῶζον, ὁ μῦς, ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου. Σκόπα δ' ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ Παρίου.

Eustath. ad Il. p. 30, 16: φησὶ γὰρ ἡ ἱστορία ὅτι ἐν τῇ Χρύσει Σμινθέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν, καὶ μῦς ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου, Σκόπα ἔργον τοῦ Παρίου.

It is evident in the text that by xoanon Strabo refers to the cult statue. It is 'the' xoanon, introduced attribute-first immediately upon the mention of the sanctuary. Now certain coins of Alexandria Troas from long before to long after the time of Strabo obviously illustrate the cult statue (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> One recognises the same figure (clad in himation, bow in upraised left hand, quiver over shoulder) consistently posed, but usually set on a pedestal which is sometimes turned toward the spectator; one sees it receiving worship (Fig. 2), and sometimes depicted as inside a shrine (Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> Silver tetradrachms show beside the figure the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΣΜΙΘΕΩΣ.<sup>5</sup> And on some coins appears the mouse (Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> But this Apollo not only does not suggest Scopas individually (which is perhaps more than can be expected on so small a scale, especially as we are not sure just what should suggest the style of that artist); its stiff

<sup>1</sup> *Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, Nos. 1168, 1169, 1170.

<sup>2</sup> Il. I, 39. Quoted by Strabo, XIII, 604.

<sup>2a</sup> I am indebted to the Cabinet des Médailles for figs. 2 and 6; to the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals for figs. 3 and 4; and to Mr. E. T. Newell for figs. 1 and 5. I should like to make further acknowledgment to Dr. Charles Morgan, of Amhurst College, to Dr. H. M. Sanders of Bryn Mawr College, and to Dr. Oscar Broneer of the American School at Athens.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *BMC. Troas*, Pl. III, 6, Pl. IV, 1, 2, 5,

Pl. V, 3-6, 10-14, 16-18, Pl. VI, 1, 9, 10. See also illustrations in Baumeister, iii, p. 1669-70, in Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See Wroth in *BMC. Troas*, p. xvi, and Weil in Baumeister, iii, p. 1670.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Baumeister, iii, p. 1669, fig. 1737.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *ibid.*, p. 1670, fig. 1741, and Wroth, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, no. 6. (See text, p. 9, for description and enumeration. The creature is, of course, not represented on the coin as actually under the foot of the statue, or we should not see it.)

archaic character seems to preclude any fourth-century sculptor. Here the scent is lost; the scholars scatter.

Some accept this cult statue as by Scopas, explaining it usually as a deliberate archaism under pressure of a tradition, a *ἱερὸς λόγος*. Thus three Englishmen, Percy Gardner,<sup>7</sup> Wroth,<sup>8</sup> Farnell.<sup>9</sup> Overbeck separates



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

COINS OF ALEXANDRIA TROAS.

Fig. 1. = E. T. Newell Coll.

Fig. 2. = Cab. d. Médailles 1447.

Fig. 3. = Br. Mus. *Troas*, Pl. vi, 1.

Fig. 4. = Br. Mus. *Troas*, Pl. iii, 6.

the front-view versions of our statue, which he considers belong to a freer model.<sup>10</sup> But, as Weil points out, they are clearly of the same series.

Those who reject this Smintheus from their Scopas list have a modern adherent in Miss Richter.<sup>11</sup> She simply dismisses it as a severe type not to be associated with a fourth-century artist, but finds in another coin series a possible reproduction of Scopas's work: Apollo nude with one foot raised on a base, bending over, a laurel branch in his hand as if playing with an animal below (Fig. 5). This she feels as a 'fine rhythmical composition' which one may well attribute to a master of the period. I believe the first to suggest this type was Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 466. It is developed quite plausibly by Weil in the Baumeister article (he compares it, for instance, with the Apollo Sauroctonus and the Hermes of Praxiteles as illustrating a tendency of the age to rationalise and humanise representations of the gods and their attributes); and returned to by Furtwängler in his *Meisterwerke*.<sup>12</sup> Ulrichs<sup>13</sup> deduces from the literary evidence<sup>14</sup> somewhat the same pose: Scopas (he says) in making his statue for the same temple kept the mouse as attribute, but used it as Phidias did the turtle in his Aphrodite, in such a position as to make possible free arm-movement. 'Er liess Apollon seinen Fuss darauf setzen, natürlich nicht unmittelbar, wie es nur bei der harten Schale einer



FIG. 5.—COIN OF ALEXANDRIA TROAS. E. T. NEWELL COLL.

<sup>7</sup> *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 177.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>9</sup> *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, p. 346.

<sup>10</sup> Discussed by Weil, Baumeister, iii, p. 1670.

<sup>11</sup> *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 206; 2nd ed., p. 272.

<sup>12</sup> P. 524.

<sup>13</sup> *Scopas, Leben und Werke* (Greifswald, 1863), p. 112.

<sup>14</sup> Beside the Hesychius gloss here quoted, we have the following from Strabo, still on p. 604: 'Heraclides of Pontus says that the mice which swarmed round the temple were regarded as sacred, and that for this reason the image was designed with its foot upon the mouse.' (Loeb edition, the text reading *βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ σὺν*.)

Schildkröte statthaft war, sondern auf einer ummauertes Mausloch, aus dem eine der Mäuse hervorschaute, welche im Tempel unter dem Altar ihre Löcher hatten (Hesychius, Σμίνθος· διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ μωπίας φασὶ [ποσὶ?] βεβηκέναι), das ist alles was wir sicher wissen.'

None of these interpretations of the material is entirely satisfactory. Archaisticism seems alien to Scopas, whose works (so far as we can learn from ancient evidence and monumental sources with a probable bearing) showed individuality and passion. Nor probably is he in his Asia Minor period to be considered a young artist biddable because in need of commissions. On the other hand, although Strabo uses the word *xoanon* in a much wider sense than does Pausanias, he restricts the term within recognisable limits, applying it beyond its original meaning only to cult statues held in particular reverence;<sup>15</sup> nowhere in his writings does it stand for a composition so close to genre, a god so humanised, as the figure on the Furtwängler coin. It is difficult to imagine the type as a fourth-century cult image at all,<sup>16</sup> and in fact its upholders usually do not make that attempt; Weil speaks of it definitely as a dedication, and others seem to imply as much. Yet obviously to attribute any type to Scopas on the basis of these passages means to identify it with what all three call 'the *xoanon*,' which as above noted almost necessarily refers to the temple statue, the type of which is established. Overbeck's third passage on the statue of Apollo Smintheus, though indefinite and rhetorical, has bearing at this point: its whole implication is to confirm what the coins indicate about the cult statue, and to dissociate it from the name of Scopas.<sup>17</sup> A few further objections to the Furtwängler theory (which is so much the more attractive one):—To Wroth it is negatived by the invariable absence of the mouse in this type, and the occasional presence of a raven (which, however, appears sometimes with the archaic figure—see Baumeister, fig. 1739), and by the fact that the type is not confined to Alexandria Troas, but appears also on Mysian coinages of Apollonia ad Rhynchacum and of Cyzicus. In general there seems too much pressure against our accepting as a representation of Scopas's work the youth on the coin apparently first issued under Commodus and Caracalla, which after all shows a pose the sculptural parallels of which belong to the school of Lysippus.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Leaf, on p. 242 of *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge, 1923), quotes from Frazer's *Pausanias*, II, p. 69 (not 59 as in his text): 'Strabo applies the word to the gold and ivory statue of Zeus by Phidias at Olympia; to the gold and ivory statue of Hera by Polyclitus at the Heraeum; to the marble statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus, and to the statue of Sminthian Apollo by Scopas at Chryse, which was almost certainly of marble (see Brunn, *Gesch. der Griech. Künstler*, I, p. 325).' The evidence for which Brunn is quoted is simply that marble was what Scopas worked in. The statue of Nemesis, the only certain marble mentioned, seems to have taken over a good deal of the venerable into its fifth-century edition—witness the πόντις θηρῶν motive on the crown, the meaning of which was certainly lost on Pausanias.

(Paus. I, 33, 3: 'On the head of the goddess is a crown ornamented with deers and small figures of Victory.'—Frazer's translation.)

<sup>16</sup> Johnson (*Lysippos*, pp. 142–3) rejects as a cult image the corresponding statue of Isthmian Poseidon by Lysippos.

<sup>17</sup> No. 1170 (Menander Rhet., π. Σμινθιακοῦ, in *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Spengel, Vol. III, p. 445). The rhetoric student is to compare the statue with those of Olympian Zeus and Athena on the Acropolis at Athens, and to add, 'What Phidias, what Daedalus, wrought so great a *xoanon*? Perhaps this statue slid from heaven, etc.' Scopas is not mentioned.

<sup>18</sup> Starting from the Isthmian Poseidon. For a summary of the evidence there see Johnson, *Lysippos*, pp. 143 fol.

The hand of the artist we seek, then, is apparently not to be traced in 'the xoanon,' even if that word be interpreted with unwarranted freedom. This granted, we have disposed of what theory has heretofore been advanced from the purely archaeological point of view; we must return to the text, where a reference to Scopas remains distinct and unexplained. Here the casual reader's first impression begins to assume a less frivolous colour:

'Some editors of Strabo avoid the difficulty by slightly changing the reading, substituting ἐργον for ἐργα (he notes that the reading is supported by Eustathius, in the passage above quoted), in which case the mouse at the feet of Apollo, and not the statue itself, would seem to be attributed to the hand of Scopas. But it is most unlikely that Scopas would condescend to such a trifling piece of work, or, if he did, that Strabo would record the authorship of the mouse and not that of the statue.'<sup>19</sup>

Precedent is welcome and Gardner's objections not very discouraging. We need not look upon such a commission as too trivial.<sup>19a</sup> In any case, in the Sminthium the mouse is sacred,<sup>20</sup> perhaps, as has been suggested, the whole worship deriving originally from that of a mouse god later associated with Apollo.<sup>21</sup> He was the means of divine punishment here (destroying the crops until the god himself, propitiated, checked him), and according to Herodotus, II, 141, the instrument of the destruction of Sennacherib. Surely the boar at Tegea is entitled to no more fierce a gaze than this portentous creature. For Gardner's last argument, if the image is an ancient one, it seems natural enough that authorship should not be assigned to the statue and yet should to an attribute added later by an illustrious artist. Farnell believes some of the coins indicate a cult legend that the 'idol' was miraculously discovered, perhaps in a cavern which seems later to have been dedicated as a shrine. This would account for its being cherished, and adorned by the best talent available, and partly for the ecstatic phraseology of Menander Rhetor<sup>22</sup> and his allusion to Daedalus.

Suppose now we postulate that the xoanon is the cherished ancient idol, and the mouse only is the work of Scopas, does the coin series afford confirmation? Wroth's<sup>23</sup> summaries of the history of the city and of the variations in coin type are not without significance in this connexion. In about 310 B.C. Antigonus collected inhabitants from various cities, including Hamaxitus (in whose demesne the Sminthian temple had formerly been), and founded a new city which he called Antigoneia, but which ten

<sup>19</sup> Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>19a</sup> That such 'mikrotechnik' was practised by great artists of the best period, witness Overbeck, 776 and 777. The former is taken from a letter of the Emperor Julian, from a translation of which I quote (Loeb edition, Vol. III, p. 225):—

'For it is possible for much to be revealed in little. Nay even Pheidias the wise artist not only became famous for his statue at Olympia or at Athens, but he knew also how to confine a work of great art within the limits of a small piece of sculp-

ture; for instance, they say that his grasshopper and bee, and, if you please, his fly also, were of this sort; for every one of these, though naturally composed of bronze, through his artistic skill became a living thing.'

<sup>20</sup> Strabo, p. 604.

<sup>21</sup> See Farnell, *loc. cit.*, and Aelian, (*Nat. An.* XII) quoted by Leaf, *op. cit.*, p. 243. See further Leaf, pp. 244–245, on the cult and the reason for it.

<sup>22</sup> Overbeck, no. 1170.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*

years later was improved by Lysimachus and renamed in honour of Alexander the Great. In the interval apparently the currency used was that of the various cities before amalgamation, and the earliest coins of the new city were copied from those of two of the members, one of which



FIG. 6.—COIN OF HAMAXITUS. CAB. D. MÉDAILLES 6633-1639A.

was Hamaxitus, which had been the first to show Apollo Smintheus. On the presence or absence of the mouse we have these statements: (1) It appears on bronze autonomous coins<sup>24</sup> but not on the later specimens. (2) It does not appear on a bronze coin of Hamaxitus (Fig. 6) the earliest Troad coin on which the type of Apollo Smintheus is shown.<sup>25</sup> As Wroth seems not to exclude the possibility of dating the latter in the first half of the fourth century, perhaps this earliest represents the image before Scopas had added to it; those dating about 300 include his work—and as to the later examples, it was probably not long before the Romans had brought home so handy an object of virtue. Perhaps even by the time of Menander Rhetor<sup>26</sup> it had been quite forgotten by those who did not, like Eustathius, know their Strabo.

The positive evidence may be called frail; yet so far there is nothing to refute it. And the theory involved comes to be felt so strongly as the natural solution demanded by all aspects of the case that it is really a little startling to chance on an observation like the following:<sup>27</sup>

‘It is curious that Strabo in speaking, it would appear, only of a single statue, should use the plural ἔργα; the mouse can hardly have been regarded as a distinct work.’

Yet Dr. Leaf’s conclusions supply us after all with a key to a firm position resting comfortably on the text of Strabo. It is not impossible, he suggests, that in the first half of the fourth century both temple and original image may have been destroyed by fire, and Scopas may have not only sculptured a successor but designed the new temple<sup>28</sup> too, since he has (like the younger Polyclitus) a name as architect as well as sculptor; then ἔργα covers both ἱερόν and ξόανον. Neugebauer<sup>29</sup> has doubts about the same artist ever being responsible for both temple design and cult statue to go within. But we may dispense with his argument, for one more glance at the Greek of Strabo’s statement from the point of view of Leaf’s interpretation sets in relief as the words coupled grammatically and summed up in ἔργα, not ἱερόν and ξόανον, but ἱερόν and σύμβολον, which being interpreted is μῦς.

V. R. GRACE.

<sup>24</sup> *Troas*, Pl. III, 6. Dated (with others not illustrated) about 300 B.C.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XI, 2. Dated about 400–310 B.C.

<sup>26</sup> Dated uncertainly A.D. in the new Liddell and Scott.

<sup>27</sup> Leaf, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

<sup>28</sup> Dinsmoor’s chronological list of temples, included in his new edition of Anderson and Spiers, dates the splendid new temple on this site ‘c. 250,’ a date one would like to change. But need this exclude an earlier designed by Scopas?

<sup>29</sup> *Studien über Skopas*, p. 7.

## THE POLITICAL SYMPATHIES OF AESCHYLUS

MODERN writers have generally assumed that the political affiliations of Aeschylus were aristocratic. That his sympathies were with the democrats has, however, been ably maintained by Sir R. W. Livingstone<sup>1</sup> on the basis of a consideration of the *Eumenides*, a play which explicitly exalts the aristocratic court of the Areopagus, and has usually been taken as proof of Aeschylus' opposition to the democratic measures of Ephialtes and Pericles. Livingstone bases his argument upon the eloquent enthusiasm of the poet for Athens' future, and upon the fact that the functions assigned the Areopagus in the play are those which it still retained after the democratic reforms of Ephialtes, not those of which it had been despoiled.

In strictness, however, Aeschylus should be called neither an aristocrat nor a democrat, but an advocate of reconciliation between opposing parties, as a means of achieving an ideal destiny for the city. Such a position was by no means difficult to maintain at a time when the division of parties had not yet fully crystallised. The bitter political struggles of the time were rather struggles regarding individual leaders and particular measures than between organised parties. In Herodotus' histories there is no reflection of party strife at Athens. Aeschylus' outlook was great enough to appreciate the service of Cimon to the city as well as that of Pericles or of Ephialtes. What he most deplored was the tragic wastefulness of strife between the leaders.

There can be no question that the reconciliation of the *Eumenides* to Athena and to Athens was a symbol of reconciliation between the conservative adherents to old ways of doing things and the advocates of reform. The chorus' constant reiteration of their antiquity as compared to the new gods, and their fears for the effect of new innovations, make this certain. After their conversion, they earnestly exhort the Athenians to refrain from strife and develop a fellowship delighting in benefits to one another.<sup>2</sup> No doubt at this time, before the disillusionments of the Peloponnesian war, many Athenians viewed with similar vision-enchanted eyes the actual future of their city.

Modern aversion to propaganda and to didacticism in the drama has led critics to minimise the extent to which the plays of all the Greek dramatists, and particularly those of Aeschylus, embody a wisdom applicable to contemporary problems. Ancient critics did not share this feeling. The concept of the poet as teacher is taken as axiomatic by Aristophanes, by Plato, and by Aristotle. What raises the Greek drama above the level of didacticism is the profundity and clarity with which the issues are

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Problem of the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus,'  
*JHS*. XLV, 120 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 976 ff.

viewed, not the withdrawal from those issues into a colourless 'universality,' nor an exposition of life with no effort to interpret it. The more fully we know the actual conditions of political and social life contemporary with the Greek drama, the more explicit seems the applicability of many plays to specific situations then existing.

In the case of the *Eumenides* the relevance of the play to contemporary conditions seems to me to go much deeper than even Livingstone recognises. The terribleness of an inherited curse that goes on from generation to generation with no means of terminating its action is poignantly illustrated in the history of the Alcmaeonid family, which for more than a hundred years had suffered the consequences of the sacrilege incurred through the murder of some of Cylon's followers at the altar of the Eumenides. The banishment of the family had taken place in 596 or 594. To be sure its members had been permitted to return, but it is clear that as late as the end of the fifth century they were still under a cloud.<sup>3</sup> At the close of the sixth century the Spartans had been able to secure the banishment of Cleisthenes on the basis of religious scruples against the Alcmaeonidae. The prominence given to this incident and to the story of the curse in Herodotus and Thucydides<sup>4</sup> bears witness to the importance of the sacrilege in the minds of men. Aeschylus and his audience could hardly fail to have been conscious of the applicability of the play to this family. The Alcmaeonidae, like Orestes, had suffered enough to expiate their fault, and had been absolved by the oracles of Apollo. The parallelism with Orestes' wanderings and sufferings is striking. Moreover, it is a notable coincidence that the altar of the Eumenides was the spot where the Alcmaeonidae had incurred the original curse. The lines which Livingstone feels as historic, but does not know how to interpret, 796-7, probably refer to the vindication of the Alcmaeonidae by Delphi.

The sophistic ground upon which Orestes is acquitted by Athena, namely, that the mother is not a real progenitor but only a transmitter of a life entrusted to her by the father, has direct application to Pericles, who was an Alcmaeonid on his mother's side. All commentators have been troubled by this argument. Livingstone seems to feel that by giving 'private and eccentric reasons' Athena rejects her accountability to human reason.<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz suggests 'vielleicht war Aeschylus seiner heimischen Göttin gegenüber in naivem Glauben befangen.' The argument, however, would hardly be felt as sophistic in a society so completely dominated by its masculine elements as was fifth-century Athens. Thucydides tells us that later, at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, Sparta demanded the expulsion of the Alcmaeonidae as accursed, in order to get rid of Pericles. It is inconceivable that in the heated controversies of his early political career so convenient a weapon should not have been used against him. The only logical answer, 'the mother does not count, but only the father,' is here given religious sanction of the highest and most authoritative kind.

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides, I, 125 and 127.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, V, 70; Thucydides, I, 126.

<sup>5</sup> He further says that Athena's ground for ac-

quittal had not been advanced by Apollo, or by Orestes in his own behalf. But Apollo's words, 658 ff., clearly refute this point.

That it is reconciliation which Aeschylus desires, and not the triumph of Pericles or of the democratic party, is made clear by the majestic solemnity of Athena's eulogy of the aristocratic court, the Areopagus, and by her explicit warning to the Athenian citizens against too much innovation.<sup>6</sup> Aeschylus' profound fear of the weakening of morality through loss of its religious sanctions, rooted in the aristocratic tradition, is voiced not only by Athena but with equal solemnity and moving power by the chorus, both before and after their conversion.

The reconciliation sought by the poet is not a mere truce or agreement between conflicting forces. It is a passionate and joyful union in devotion to the city and to one another's welfare. There is a clear foreshadowing of that lofty community of interests which Plato envisages in his ideal Republic.<sup>7</sup>

The old sanctions associated with the Furies are not lost with the acceptance of their new name, the Kindly Ones, and of their permanent home at Athens. They are the givers of blessings only so long as they are revered. The glorified and united city has its foundation in respect for sacred tradition.

CLARA M. SMERTENKO.

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<sup>6</sup> 680 ff.

<sup>7</sup> 984 ff.



## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1931-2

### [PLATE X.]

IN offering to readers of the *Journal* this summary of recent work in Greece, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to all who have contributed the material on which the compilation is based; most especially to



FIG. 1.—MARBLE TORSO.



FIG. 2.—BRONZE HEAD.

ATHENS: SCULPTURE FROM THE AGORA.

Professor Karo, who kindly lent the typescript of his forthcoming article in the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*. Professor Karo's detailed survey of the whole field is the basis of much of what follows, but it contains also detailed information which is not included in the following pages. It will be understood, therefore, that for almost all the excavations here described further reference should be made to the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*. Of most

of the Greek excavations an account is given by Professor Oikonomos in his *Ἐκθέσις τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, while in M. Y. Béquignon's article in *BCH.* LV, 450 ff. there are accounts of the excavations and finds of 1930-1, which in some cases supplement the earlier reports of work done in that year.

#### ATHENS AND ATTICA

The American excavations in the *Athenian Agora* have been prosecuted on a large scale. The position of the Royal Stoa was already indicated in the previous campaign: this is now regarded as certain, and an annex to the building has been laid bare. The entire front of the Stoa of Zeus



FIG. 3.—ATHENS: CLAY CAST FROM THE AGORA.

is now visible on the west side of the street of the Agora; on the east side is a marble altar which is probably that of the Twelve Gods.

Several pieces of sculpture were found. A marble torso (Fig. 1), of the early fourth century; a female head of bronze (Fig. 2), with silver inlay along the edges of the hair, perhaps of the same date; and a marble figure of a faun of the second century A.D. Of the pottery the most remarkable pieces are a black-figure dinos with a picture of the Calydonian boar-hunt (with inscribed names), a primitive fragment with Herakles and the Hydra (described as the earliest version of the subject), a horse-head amphora, Protogeometric, Geometric and Phaleron vases and fragments. There is also a quantity of later pottery, as well as a number of terracottas. The most interesting of these is a fair-sized late Geometric plaque decorated with the figure of a woman whose head is modelled in relief, though the

body is painted; on either side of this central figure is a snake (*Illustrated London News*, Sept. 3, 1932, p. 345). Two fine classical terracottas were also found, one of which (perhaps a clay cast from a mould for the cheek-piece of a helmet) is shown in Fig. 3; the other is a seated figure of a goddess.

The remaining finds include inscriptions (among these decrees by which the names of archons not previously known have been fixed), lamps (seventh century B.C. to fourth century A.D.), several thousand coins, weights, and ostraka. Among these last are sherds inscribed with the names of Hipparchos, Megakles, Hippokrates, Themistokles and Aristides. In the *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 3, 1932, some of these ostraka are published; in the same journal, June 25, 1932, there is a general account of the work with illustrations of sculpture, of Geometric and Hellenistic pottery.

The German excavations in the *Cerameicus* have also been carried on on a large scale. Graves and inscriptions covering a long period of time (the graves begin in the Protogeometric period and continue to the Byzantine) were found in the area in which the church of Hagia Trias formerly stood. Many topographical data were acquired. In the earlier graves good pottery was found: white lekythoi in fifth-century graves, and 'Vourva' vases (the most interesting of which is a jug with a plastic figure of a mourning woman attached to the top of the handle) in those of the sixth century. Very fine fragments of Protoattic ware of the early seventh century were found, as well as a children's cemetery of the fifth century. In the neighbourhood of the Pompeion, where Protogeometric graves had been found in 1927 (*AM.* 1926, 136; *AA.* 1928, 197), more early graves were opened and many vases like those found in Salamis (*AM.* 1910, 29 ff.) were discovered. A group of slightly later graves was also found: these are regarded as particularly important, since they show a survival of Mycenaean weapons in cremation burials of the early Geometric period. Examples of these weapons and vases, as well as illustrations of other finds and a detailed account of the whole will be found in *AA.* 1932, 183 ff.

Dr. Broneer of the American School has concluded his investigation of the *Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite*, a report of which will be found in *Hesperia*, I, 31 ff. In the same journal, pp. 90-217, will be found an account of the excavations on the *Pnyx* conducted by Professor Kourouniotes, and by Mr. H. Thompson of the American School.

In the *Odeion of Pericles* Dr. Orlandos, after clearing away a considerable depth of earth, reached the floor-level of the building, but failed to find the expected traces of columns or pillars. The north wall of the building is, however, well preserved for a distance of 14 metres; it revealed traces of fresco. The west wall can be followed for 22 metres, up to the east parados of the theatre of Dionysos. The most remarkable discovery was an omphalos-altar, which was found in position. It is covered with stucco, on which there are traces of painted network.

Professor Kourouniotes's excavations at *Eleusis* have made considerable progress. Digging was carried deep below the Telesterion, and it appears that the centre of the settlement lay hereabouts in Middle Helladic times.

A remarkable discovery was that of walls which are apparently part of a Mycenaean Megaron, also beneath the Telesterion. These were, however, built over before the end of the Mycenaean period, and the absence of figurines or cult objects of any kind precludes the hypothesis that the cult at Eleusis can be taken back into the Mycenaean period. The fact, none the less, that the Greek Telesterion was founded over the site of a Mycenaean Megaron is in itself sufficiently interesting. Important evidence on the architectural problems of the Telesterion was obtained. The foundations of Iktinos's building are easily distinguishable from the rest and the foundations of the peristasis which was planned and begun by Iktinos (Noack, pl. 16, P.P. 1) have been laid clear. An important fortification wall, previously recognised as Peisistratan (*JHS.* 1931, p. 189), has been further traced, while under the Little Propylaea a further stretch of Peisistratan town-wall foundation has come to light. South-west of the Telesterion more prehistoric houses have been excavated. A detailed account of the work at Eleusis, by Dr. W. Wrede, will be found in *AA*.

#### THE PELOPONNESE

At *Corinth* the American excavations have been continued, with important results. Due south of the Museum, where last year Dr. Rhys Carpenter found Corinthian columns and part of a Latin architectural inscription with bronze lettering, further excavation has now laid bare the concrete podium of a huge marble temple of Julio-Claudian times. The excavation is not yet completed. Dr. Broneer has further traced the course of the town wall, which is now proved to have enclosed an extraordinarily large area; this, moreover, as early as the seventh century, since on the west it includes the Kerameikos, which lies over a mile from the centre of the town. Dr. Broneer has also traced a part of the Long Wall connecting Corinth with its port Lechaion.

At the north extremity of the city Dr. F. J. de Waele has excavated the Asklepieion and the Fountain of Lerna.<sup>1</sup> The former, the oldest Asklepieion so far known, has two periods; the first dates from the late sixth century, when a small temple *in antis* was erected; no architectural details remain, but the four post-holes for the naiskos containing the cult statue were traced at the west end of the cella. The second period begins about 338 B.C., when a tetrastyle prostyle Doric temple, of which important fragments were found, replaced the older shrine. The end of the Sanctuary came about A.D. 370, when it was so thoroughly destroyed that scarcely a stone remained in position. Fortunately a number of ex-votos of the early period have been preserved: clay models of limbs, and parts of the body, such as have hitherto been considered peculiar to Italian sites. The rock-cut spring, Lerna, occupies one side of a considerable open space, which is also bordered by an Ionic hall and several small houses which contain stone benches (as described by Pausanias); coins indicated a date not earlier than the middle of the fourth century for the whole construction. The excavation is not yet finished.

<sup>1</sup> *Gnomon*, 1931, 607 and ff.

The principal objective of the third excavation of the British School at the *Sanctuary of Hera Akraia*, in Perachora, was the clearing of the area in which a great quantity of small objects dedicated to Hera had been found in the two previous years. Immense numbers of votives were again discovered: further, the foundations of a very early temple of Hera, a great part of the walls which surrounded the sanctuary, and other topographical features came to light.

The precinct appears to have been rectangular, the east wall measuring 25 metres; of the north wall 13 consecutive metres are preserved, but the deposit of votives suggests that on this side and on the south the length was at least 30 metres. The foundations of the temple lie in the south-eastern part of this area. The building faces north and south, and measures  $9.5 \times 5.5$  metres. Almost exactly in the centre of it is a rectangular sacrificial pit, bordered with stone. The presence of an altar or sacrificial pit inside the



FIG. 4.—PERACHORA : BRONZE HORSES OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD.

building is a rather unusual feature which is paralleled by early temples in Crete, and elsewhere.

In the immediate neighbourhood there was a particularly rich deposit of pottery, ivories, scarabs, and so forth. One of the most remarkable finds is not a votive, but a clay tile probably from the roof of the early temple. This is a very large flat tile made in one piece with two cover tiles—a unique shape. On the front of the cover tiles are painted volutes and palmettes, and on the flat tile a black-and-red cable. The shape and patterns indicate a date considerably before the end of the seventh century.

The bronzes found this year include several Geometric horses, a lion and a gorgon like those found in 1930, another lion, a cow and (at some little distance west of the Heraeum) a dove of fine Protocorinthian style (Pl. X, 2), dating from about the middle of the seventh century. There are likewise a great number of ivories: as against some twenty circular seals with engraved designs found in the two previous years, over sixty

were found this year, together with a large collection of 'spectacle fibulae,' ivory and amber fibulae, pendants, and the like. There are further seven figures of couchant animals more or less closely resembling those from Sparta, and a bone figure of the goddess which has close Laconian parallels. The most remarkable ivory yet found, and one of the finest early ivories



FIG. 5.—PERACHORA: PROTCORINTHIAN POTTERY.



FIG. 6.—PERACHORA: FRAGMENT OF CORINTHIAN POTTERY.

from Greece, is a sphinx, nearly three inches high, carved in the round, an early Dedalic work of the first quarter of the seventh century (Pl. X, 1).

The pottery naturally still awaits detailed study, but two inscribed fragments (one of the seventh century, one of the late sixth or fifth) must be mentioned since they record dedications to Hera Limenia (Hera of the Harbour); it may be remembered that the same dedication was found on

a bronze bull discovered last year. Imported objects were again extraordinarily plentiful: some 500 faience scarabs, beads and small figures were found, bringing the total for three years to over 750. Some of these scarabs are said certainly to be Egyptian, others, apparently, may be Cypriot or Syrian. Certainly Cypriot is a large bronze ear-ring plated with gold, possibly so an engraved tridachna shell of the usual type. The imported pottery found this year is as follows: Attic, Laconian, Argive (terracottas and many pieces of a very large Geometric crater), Thera, Rhodian, Naukratite, Etruscan bucchero; there is also an arula of West-Greek fabric. An interesting illustration of the Argive connexion is given by a clay plaque of the early seventh century which was made in the same mould as a plaque found in the excavations of the Argive Heraeum. The most surprising of the imports is, however, a bronze belt-clasp in the shape of a lion, schematically rendered: precisely where this was made cannot be said, but comparison with certain Scythian and Cappadocian bronzes undoubtedly gives a general indication of its place of origin. Lastly, as probably imported from some East-Greek city, must be mentioned a carnelian scarab with an engraved design of Herakles about to shoot an arrow (Fig. 7); this is one of the finest existing gems of the late sixth century.

After the clearance of the Heraeum area some trenches were cut in the steep slope just above the seashore, due east of the harbour temple. These revealed a wide expanse of pavement made of pebbles set in cement, and in the systematic excavation which followed a Doric Stoa, built of limestone, with pebble-floor, was uncovered. This is the best preserved of the buildings so far found at the Heraeum. It is an L-shaped building, measuring a little over seventeen metres along each of the back walls, with a façade of six Doric columns on each arm (the angle column counted twice). One column drum was still standing in position, and one other was found near the stylobate (Fig. 8). The rest have disappeared. The back wall is well preserved at the west end and at the central angle, but has been barbarously rebuilt in the centre of the western arm. Almost the whole of the entablature can be reconstructed with certainty from fragments (often of great size) found within the Stoa; what is more, on the fine marble stucco with which the building was faced there are many clear traces of red, blue and black patterns, which makes it possible to restore the colour scheme of the whole. A great many pieces of architectural terracottas were found; these are nearly all decorated with palmettes in the style of the late fifth or early fourth century. This is the date to which several other features of the building point. A number of fragments of Ionic half-columns were found inside the building and certainly belong to it: it is probable that they formed a façade on the inside of the back wall at some height above the ground, but their position has not yet been fixed with certainty. The Ionic capitals bear an obvious resemblance to those from the temple at Bassae.

Close to the stylobate of the Stoa a hand broken from a life-size bronze statue was found. No further trace either of the statue or of its base came to light. The hand may have been broken off while the statue was being carried down to the sea from some other part of the site.

A few yards west of the Stoa, and on the same stretch of pebble-pavement, there is a large base or altar consisting of a frieze of triglyphs and metopes standing on a low plinth—a scheme which recalls other Corinthian and provincial-Corinthian monuments. On either side of this was an Ionic column; the base of one of these columns is preserved, and, like the capitals of the half-columns found in the Stoa, shows a strong resemblance to the type used at Bassae. Further excavation at this point was made impossible by the proximity of a chapel of St. John, which stands within three feet of the triglyph base (cf. Fig. 8).

The harbour temple (which may perhaps be a temple of Artemis) was further studied, and the foundations which seemed, at the end of the last campaign, to belong to its east front were completely cleared. It is still uncertain whether they are part of the building: if they are not, all traces of the east front have disappeared. The statue-base in the central compartment of the west end was raised. Beneath it were found five small silver coins of archaic type which have not yet been cleaned.

A clue to the loss of the bronze statue, and to much of the damage which the site has suffered, is perhaps to be seen in a Roman house which



FIG. 7.—PERACHORA:  
CARNELIAN SCARAB  
(ENLARGED).



FIG. 8.—DORIC STOA AND CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN, NEAR THE HARBOUR, PERACHORA.

was uncovered in the 'Agora,' due south of the harbour-temple. The exact date of this house will doubtless be known when the coins found in it are cleaned; in any case it is Roman of the second century A.D. or later. Further progress was made with the excavation of the Agora, and some fine



pieces of painted terracotta cornice dating from the late fifth century were found; also a very fine terracotta head of a woman, two inches high, of late fourth or early third century style.

Behind and above the Agora lies a field composed of white earth, which seemed for several reasons to be of post-classical formation. A trench was accordingly dug across it. The white earth was found to continue to a depth of some fifteen feet, when a black stratum containing pottery was reached. One valuable sherd, part of a very early seventh-century relief plaque, was found here; this area must be further explored, as it is impossible to account for the presence of sherds of this kind except on the hypothesis that there was an early temple in the neighbourhood.

A small trial-excavation was carried out at the *Isthmian Sanctuary* by Mr. R. H. Jenkins on behalf of the British School. Its object was to make a further search for classical remains. Since the last excavation of the site, in 1912, the view had been expressed that the so-called Temenos had nothing to do with the ancient Sanctuary, but was Byzantine, and that the site of the temple of Poseidon was distinguishable outside this 'Temenos wall.'<sup>2</sup> At the point indicated, however, only Roman remains came to light. The former suggestion, on the other hand, was confirmed, investigation of the 'Temenos Wall' showing that it was entirely of later construction, dating from the time of Justinian. Yet within the area enclosed by this wall some classical sherds were obtained from a considerable depth, and it is hoped that by sufficiently deep digging further traces of classical remains may be found next year. At a site some 200 yards west, near the village of Κύρα Βρύση, classical and archaic sherds were found in connexion with an ancient water system.

A Venetian well, one of the few baroque monuments in Greece, has been cleared at *Nauplia* by Mrs. S. P. Karouzos. Dr. Kyparisses reports the results of exploration of Mycenaean cemeteries in *Achaia* in Πρακτικά, 1930, 81; among these we mention a tholos-tomb near *Bartholomio* in which Mr. Nerantzoules found three pithoi with skeletons, beads of stone and glass, fragments of bronze and iron, all of the latest Mycenaean period. At *Gurzumisa*, the ancient *Leontion*, Dr. Kyparisses has excavated rock tombs with long *dromoi*, also of late Mycenaean date.

Professor Orlandos has conducted trial excavations at *Achaean Pellene*, where ruins had long been observed on Tserkova hill. Here the remains appeared to be of late Roman date, but lower down a temple was found, probably of late fifth or early fourth century date.

In tracing the course of the Byzantine wall in *Sparta*, Dr. Adamantiou unexpectedly encountered a chamber-tomb of the first or second century of the Christian era. Three of the walls remained and these bore frescoed figures with a simple geometric pattern below. Originally there were ten figures, of which now remain six draped women and a nude youth in the attitude of the Apollino. The inscriptions of two of the women, Εὐτέρπη: Μελπομένη τραγωδία, show that the youth is Apollo.

After long interruption the work of the Austrian School at *Elis* has been resumed by Dr. Walter. This season's operations were chiefly con-

<sup>2</sup> Fimmen in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Isthmos.

fined to the cleaning and repair of the structures previously exposed, but further progress was made with the Theatre, which, with its well-preserved stage-buildings, will probably prove to be a monument of great importance in connexion with problems of arrangement in ancient theatres as a whole.

#### NORTH-WEST GREECE

Professor Evangelides has made progress with the clearing of the building at *Dodona*, the discovery of which was reported last year (*JHS.* 1930, 195)<sup>3</sup>; this now appears as a temple with three architectural periods. The small finds include many more questions and answers to the oracle, written on tablets of lead, bronze fibulae of the Geometric period, and part of a bowl with lion's paw supports.

After a long interval Professor Rhomaïos has returned to work at *Thermon* with important results. Near the Museum he has discovered a large deposit of fragmentary architectural terracottas, of late archaic and classical style, among which are fragments of female figures, Nike-protomes, antefixes, and the like. Fragments of bronze statues and a small bronze Apollo, Peloponnesian work of the fourth century, were also found. Renewed examination of the oval houses revealed, somewhat surprisingly, the fact that they were vaulted. In the Agora, he explored a colonnade with exedras and monuments, among them a stone trophy commemorating the Aetolian victory of 279 B.C. over the Gauls. Adjoining this, another building, 20 metres square with a vestibule, is identified as the Council House of the Aetolian League.

The excavations in *Ithaca* have been successfully continued by Mr. W. A. Heurtley. At the prehistoric settlement of Pelikata several more Early Helladic vases were recovered from the lowest level; in the cave of Polis, where work had been suspended in the previous year because sea-level had been reached, Miss Benton succeeded in extracting from the water and mud thirty-five complete vases, and fragments of several others. These are almost all of a particularly interesting Late Mycenaean to Sub-Mycenaean class; among them were several cups with fluted stems. Later the expedition moved to the south part of the island, to the saddle between Aetos and Merovigli. Here remains of a fairly extensive Greek town (probably Alalcomenae) were discovered. Immediately south of the chapel appeared the foundations of an oblong building (3.5 × 7 m.) resting on virgin soil. It is likely that this is a small temple of the archaic period.

A few yards to the south-east and lower down the slope there were two deposits of pottery; one resting on virgin soil, the other half a metre above it. Since these deposits (which represent the two earliest phases of the Protocorinthian style) are clearly not the remains of settlements, but are successive dumps of votive offerings, it seems almost certain that the temple is contemporary with one or the other of them. The finds include a bronze horse, bird, pomegranate, pins and fibulae; various glass beads; ivory or bone buttons, a seal, a plaque, and an amulet; amber beads, a perforated plaque of the same material, part of a round stone three-legged

<sup>3</sup> For the bronze hoplite there mentioned, see Πρακτικά, 1930, Pls. 2-3; *A.A.* 1932, 146, fig. 19.



of the débris show that we have to do with some building, and not, as in the case of the other deposits, with temple dumps.

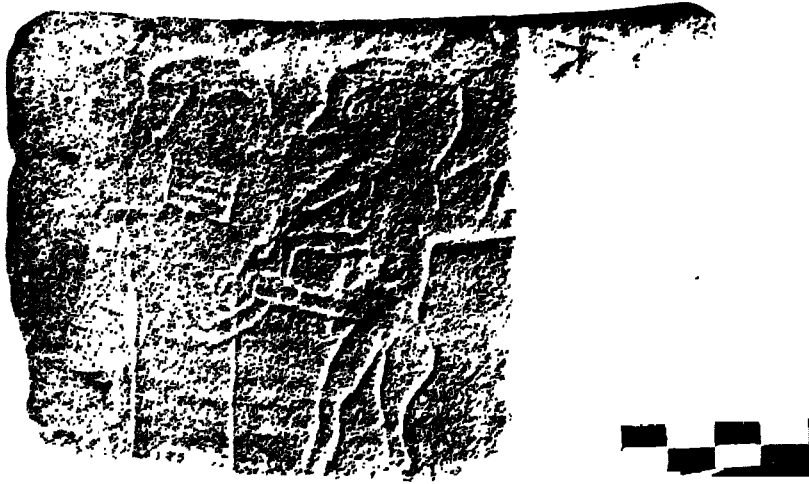


FIG. 11.—ITHACA: STONE BASIN WITH INCISED DECORATION.



FIG. 12.—ITHACA: CLAY LION-VASE, OF LOCAL FABRIC.

In the south of *Cephalenia* Dr. Marinatos has explored two large Mycenaean chamber-tombs, each containing five rock-cut graves on either side of a passage-way; in each grave were many skeletons. One tomb was poor, the other rich, in furniture. In all 300 vases were found,

together with beads, spear-heads, and a dagger, the whole of Late Mycenaean or even Sub-Mycenaean times, with the exception of five gold spiral disks of good Mycenaean style, resembling those of the Third Shaft Grave of Mycenae.

#### CENTRAL GREECE AND THESSALY

Dr. Karouzos has uncovered house-walls at *Thebes* in the square south of the Museum and has resumed work at *Lilaia*, west of Chaeronea. The precinct of Demeter was shown to have contained various chambers, but no temple has yet been found. Small finds were all of the Hellenistic age. At no great distance away, near the source of the Kephissos, he found coins, a fourth-century bronze bull, and the bases of votive stelae, in rock-cut chambers.

In the neighbourhood of *Pharsalos* M. Béquignon has explored two sites in completion of the work of 1927. At *Palaeo-kastro-derengli*, to the east of Pharsalos, the wall of a fortified enclosure has been found, and, within this area, walls of houses. Tombs with Bronze Age pottery came to light and a Bronze Age stratum appears to underlie the site. The most interesting find was a fragmentary black-figure dinos with the signature of Sophilos and a picture of the funeral games of Patroklos, above friezes of animals. This is now published in *BCH.* LV, Pl. 19. It is possible that we have here the site of old Pharsalos. The other site was *Ktouri*, about 11 kilometres north of Pharsalos, where two walls surround an isolated hill. The upper of these, about 250 metres in length, probably contained buildings of clay or wood; tiles were found bearing the stamp 'Eukratiou,' in lettering of the fifth century B.C. The lower enclosure was of much larger dimensions and the space between the two walls had not been inhabited; the town lay below at the foot of the hill. Mycenaean tombs, the foundations of a little temple with a *bothros* containing Proto-geometric sherds, and Byzantine débris were discovered. The identification of the site as that of Euhydriion is proposed. An archaic bronze statuette of a kouros, 30 cm. in height, found here by a peasant, has been secured and transferred to Athens. It is in fine preservation, but is of a very crude style, which is apparently derived from some Peloponnesian work of about 550 B.C.

East of *Volo*, on the Goritsa hill, excavations have been undertaken by MM. Polyzois and Vasilakos on the site of a Hellenistic town identified as Orminion. A part of the town wall has been cleared, revealing a broad bastion flanked by semicircular towers with sally-ports. To the west of this, where the hill falls steeply, are cuttings in the rock which are thought to be the traces of a hostile attempt to undermine or tunnel through the wall. The exploration is being continued. The necropolis of the town has been discovered, and in it have been found cist graves made of marble slabs which have on the inner sides panelled decoration with incised Ionic capitals; the capitals are painted red and blue. From one of the graves was obtained a treasure of eight vases of silver, richly gilt and of the finest workmanship.

## MACEDONIA

Near *Eratyra*, a short distance S.W. of *Selitsa*, Professor Keramopoulos has discovered a second settlement of the Hellenistic period, which like the one reported previously seems to have been destroyed in war. To the Hellenistic period he also assigns a site on the hill of the Prophet Elias near *Banista*, where a bath with hypocaust has been found. A third settlement, at *Florina*, shows houses with mud-brick walls on stone foundations; pithoi containing charred grain, etc., many Megarian bowls and other Hellenistic pottery were found in them.



FIG. 13.—ITHACA: FRAGMENTS OF SUB-MYCENAEAN POTTERY.

At *Dion*, in the neighbourhood of the Hellenistic grave reported last year, Professor Soteriadis has now found extensive remains of houses of Roman date, overlying earlier Macedonian walls, and a Hellenistic building with marble columns overlooking a wide open space, probably the Agora. He has also explored the battle-field of *Pydna* and observed a number of other sites in the neighbourhood of *Dion*.

At *Philippi* MM. Collard and Ducoux have continued their exploration along the *Drama-Cavalla* road. The Roman temple found last year has now been completely cleared; it is of the Corinthian order and consists of a rectangular cella with a *pronaos* and two columns *in antis*; the date is the end of the second century after Christ. Many architectural fragments were found which will assist in the restoration of the façade. It is now clear

that this temple formed part of a great architectural scheme based on a great open place in which the forum of the Roman colony is to be recognised. A wide stair of four steps led from the forum not only to the temple but to other public buildings, which await exploration. The recovery of the general plan and orientation of the site is one of the major results of the year's campaign. Many statues of Roman date, among them an Athena, several Victories, and a colossal Abundantia, have come to light; among the epigraphic finds are a large part of the dedicatory inscription of the Temple (in honorem divinae domus et coloniae Iuliae Augustae Philippensis; unfortunately the names of deity and dedicator are missing), and a dedication by the Thracian King Roemetalces.

#### THE ISLANDS

In *Aegina*, on a site at the west end of the Colonna hill where Furtwängler had previously found miniature vases in a pit closed by a lid in the form of an omphalos, Dr. Welter has now laid bare a deposit of offerings for the Heroes of one or more Phratries. Several other omphalos-lids were found, one inscribed in archaic lettering φρα(τρίας). The date is the second half of the sixth century B.C. On the site a large building with incrustated stucco-work on the walls was erected in Pergamene times; it is identified as the residence of the Pergamene governor.

In *Lemnos* the Italian School, under Professor Della Seta, has concentrated on the prehistoric village site of Poliochni, on the N.E. coast of the island about 3 kilometres from the modern village of Caminia. Traversing the settlement the main road has been traced, expanding near the centre into a little square, in which is a well. On either side lie the remains of houses in three strata; single walls are sometimes preserved to a height of 3 metres, and the height of the superimposed strata sometimes attains 6 metres. 'When the excavation is completed, Poliochni will be the most imposing village site so far discovered.' Earthquakes were the cause of the successive destructions; of the three towns, the second shows the best construction, the lowest seeming primitive, the third decadent. All three belong to the Neolithic Age, but the third seems to have continued into the early Bronze Age. A quantity of impasto ware with incised decoration was found; occasionally white painted ornament occurs; implements of bone and flint are also common, but obsidian is rare. Metal objects were found only in the uppermost stratum; ten nails and a band of copper or bronze, a small spiral of lead, and three rings composed of a mixture of copper and lead.

Miss W. Lamb has continued work on the prehistoric site of Thermi in *Mytilene*. The limits of the early towns I-III have been defined as far as is possible, and the boundary of town IV examined. Though IV<sub>B</sub> may have had a narrow surrounding wall, the only real fortifications at Thermi belong to town V (Troy IIa period: 2400-2000 B.C.). These consist of a wide inner wall, two to four narrow outer walls reinforced with earth, and two well-protected gateways.

At a later date—before 1400 B.C.—the site was reinhabited by makers

of a red pottery, some of the shapes of which survive from the early Bronze Age, while some can be paralleled in Troy III-V and VI, and others have no exact counterpart. The latest phase of the ware shows imitations of Mycenaean forms, and Mycenaean imports (1375-1200 B.C.) are included among the finds. The Red Wares are slipped, washed, polished, or plain, and recall Hittite Red Washed Ware; grey occasionally takes the place of red.

The remains of a massive terrace wall seem to be contemporary with the earlier stages of the pottery: to the period of Mycenaean imports belong certain houses south of the terrace, in one of which was found a horned dagger of a type which was popular in L.M. II.

At Antissa (on which see *JHS*. LI, p. 202) a trench on the promontory was dug to supplement last year's results. Below mediaeval and Hellenistic layers was a good deposit of Lesbian bucchero, including a kantharos inscribed Εὐμοχος. The lower stratum of bucchero produced early forms known from Troy VI, VII, and elsewhere: with them were found Lesbian Red Ware in the latest phase and Mycenaean sherds, while the Red Wares, still accompanied by one or two Mycenaean sherds, monopolised the lowest half-metre. Particularly fine bucchero pottery, some of which was decorated with stamped triangles and incised key-patterns, was found further inland. An apsidal building of early polygonal masonry was found here. The date suggested for this building is supported by the discovery inside of seventh-century bucchero and Protocorinthian sherds.

On the Acropolis, the beautiful polygonal wall mentioned in last year's report has been cleared. The blocks of which it is made have the curved outline which is associated with Aristotle's Λεσβία οἰκοδομή. On the east it is prolonged by a stretch of regular masonry of later date.

On the hill south of the Acropolis several groups of tombs were explored. They lay in hollows between outcropping rocks, and though the cist graves and clay sarcophagi were practically empty, burial urns of various shapes contained small vases, and, in two cases, traces of ash. A kantharos decorated with imitation nail-heads and wavy bands was found beneath a large dinos which contained a Protocorinthian aryballos; the kantharos may, therefore, belong to the eighth century.

In the autumn of 1931 Professor Buschor undertook a small supplementary excavation under the Roman steps of the Samian Heraeum. A very deep deposit of prehistoric sherds of the earliest Bronze Age was encountered, with remains of buildings at the lowest level; higher up, but still in a pre-Mycenaean stratum, a town-wall and houses were encountered. In the early days of the Sanctuary of Hera this area served as a burial-ground, and a deep pit was encountered filled with sepulchral rubbish which had been dumped here at the building of the Rhoecus structure. Among the finds a bronze jug of Luristan type may be mentioned; this is published in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 1932, 161.

At Thasos M. Devambez has explored the Sanctuary located in 1927 north of the Poseideion. The foundations are of the archaic period, but Roman rebuildings and later destructions made it difficult to obtain a coherent plan, nor have the excavations yielded any clue to the identity



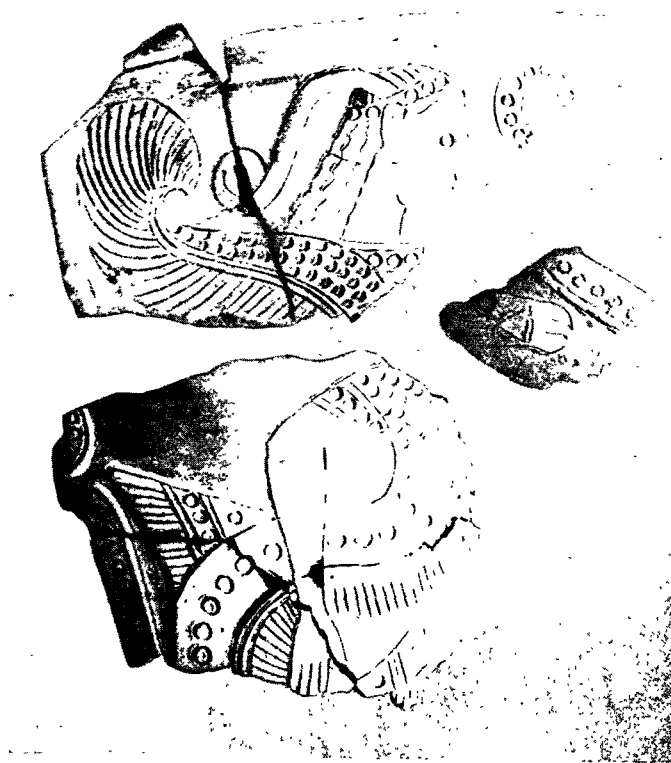


FIG. 14.—THASOS: FRAGMENTS OF SEVENTH-CENTURY PITHOS.



FIG. 15.—MALLIA: THE RESTORED MAGAZINES.

of the building. Finds include a poor relief of Telesphorus and pottery ranging from the seventh to the second century B.C.

South of the Agora a further section of the Odeion has been explored. Here were found quantities of archaic Cycladic, Corinthian and Attic pottery, and fragments of a large archaic pithos with decoration, in incised relief, of a sphinx, a sea monster, and a horse's head (Fig. 14). The rectangular court has been completely cleared; and from the Genoese tower near the harbour a number of sculptured and inscribed fragments have been recovered. A good short account, with illustrations, by Miss Haspels, will be found in the *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 3, 1932.

#### CRETE

At *Mallia* M. Chapouthier has completed the restoration of the Palace magazines (Fig. 15), and has made some supplementary researches at the N.W. angle and on the S. façade, where rich deposits of M.M. I. pottery were encountered. At this point the superimposition of the two Palaces is clearly visible, a metre of deposit separating them. The first Palace extended further to the south, and a series of rooms with a corridor has here been explored, the walls still retaining their stuccoed coverings, with niches for lamps.

M. Demargne has continued the exploration of the Chrysolakko burial site, near the Palace. The stratification of this site is now clear; there is a lower level of M.M. I. date, composed of a series of sepulchral chambers; a deposit of fragmentary pottery at one point, it is suggested, may represent the clearing-out of accumulated offerings. Later, but not much later (for all the finds are of M.M. I.), an enclosure wall of fine masonry was built around the tomb chambers. Still later interior walls seem to have ignored the sepulchral arrangement and their purpose is not clear.

Investigation of private houses has been continued at two points. About 300 metres N.W. of the Palace, near the houses explored in 1924-5, little more than foundations remain, the soil being very shallow. Here were found two large clay disks 70 metre in diameter, which seem to have been hearths; one, as at Mycenae, stood in the open air in the middle of the room, the roof being supported by four columns (Fig. 16). This is the first appearance of the fixed hearth in Crete.

Nearer the Palace on the W., a large house of M.M. III.—L.M. I. date was cleared. A wall of good masonry, with re-entrants and projections, faced the road, and a corridor gave access to magazines filled with vases, and led to a large paved court lit from a light-well; while a side corridor led to a bathroom (Fig. 17). A bronze double-axe, a Cycladic idol, and a table of offerings are among the small finds.

Near the modern road remains were encountered which will probably provide an abundant harvest when further explored. A bathroom and a large chamber with stuccoed walls have been cleared; part of the frescoes of the N. wall is preserved and has been removed for restoration; it is composed of stylised plant motives in blue and red on a white background. Other finds inclosed a stone lamp with lily decoration and a magnificent stone vase.



FIG. 16.—MALLIA: CLAY HEARTH.

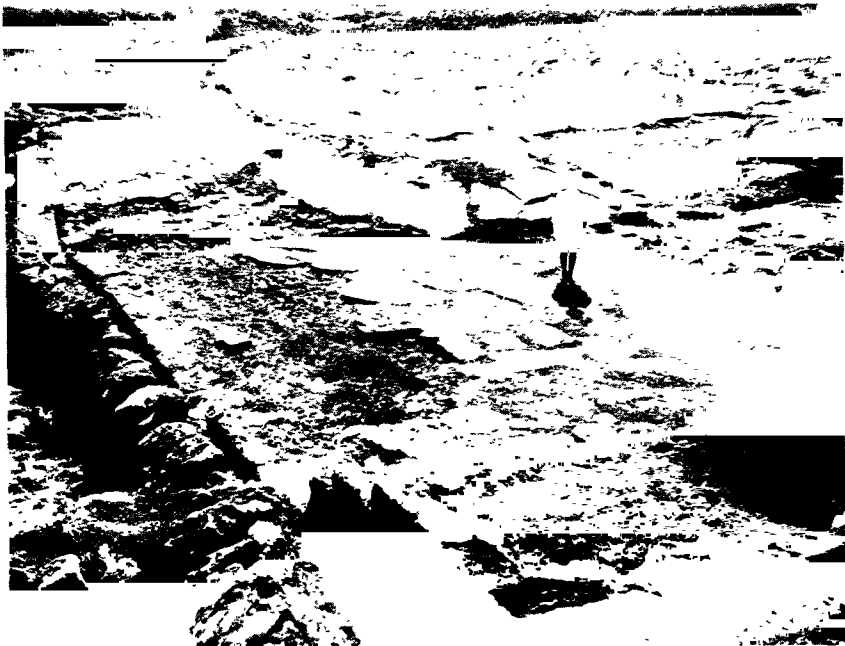


FIG. 17.—MALLIA: COURT AND LIGHT-WELL OF HOUSE.

North of the *Eileithya cave* (Πρακτικά, 1930, 91) Dr. Marinatos has discovered the traces of a harbour and city which he identifies as Amnisos. The harbour was formed by breakwaters running out from the shore to some adjacent islets. A megaron of good ashlar masonry (on which the double-axe appears as a mason's mark) was partly uncovered, together with a neighbouring building with walls of the unusual thickness of 2 metres, far beyond the usual Minoan scale.

The pottery ranges from Early to Late Minoan. Of great interest are fragments of frescoes; one with a red-and-blue lily on a white ground; another of a blue-and-white lily on red ground, in a hitherto unknown technique, the various parts of the design being inlaid on the background, as on the inlaid daggers of Mycenae.

Dr. Marinatos has also a number of minor discoveries to record. Near *Piskokephalo* in the east of the island he has found clay figurines of 'Petsofa' type. At *Kalochorio* on the Gulf of Mirabello he has found graves with Minoan vases and a gem, at *Braimiana* near Hierapetra small tholos-tombs of the Protogeometric age. At *Hierapetra* itself he has obtained two headless sculptures: a Nereid on a dolphin, and a replica of the *Aspasia*. He has also visited the ruins of *Lasaia* on the south coast, where he obtained a marble grave relief not earlier than the first century of our era. Finally, west of Rhethymno, at *Hellènes Amariu*, he has found an Early Minoan settlement of several houses; one which was excavated yielded the rare black 'Pyrgos ware.'

H. G. G. PAYNE.

## ROXANE AND ALEXANDER IV IN EPIRUS

THE writers who discuss in detail the history of Macedonia during the years of 'The Kings,' Philip Arrhidaeus and Alexander IV (323-317 B.C.), state or assume that Roxane, the widow of Alexander the Great, fled to Queen Olympias in Epirus with her little son, after the death of Antipater, or else that she was sent or taken there by Polyperchon at the time when Queen Eurydice was putting Cassander in Polyperchon's place as her husband's prime minister. The stay of the mother and son in Epirus and their return with Olympias when she entered Macedonia to fight at Evia with Eurydice and Philip Arrhidaeus for the kingdom are mentioned by such authorities as Grote,<sup>1</sup> Niese,<sup>2</sup> Beloch,<sup>3</sup> Kaerst,<sup>4</sup> Staehelin<sup>5</sup> (Berve,<sup>6</sup> also, refers to Kaerst and Staehelin for this part of Roxane's history), Klotzsch,<sup>7</sup> and Tarn.<sup>8</sup>

I am convinced that there is no good ancient authority for the story and that the passages which are cited to prove it in general indicate just the opposite:—namely, (1) that Polyperchon kept inviting Olympias to come back to Macedonia and take charge of the little king (τὸ παιδίον παραλαβεῖν), with all her former prestige and honour restored to her, (2) that she refused the invitation, since she distrusted Polyperchon and since Eumenes, whom she consulted by letter, advised her to await some decisive turn of the war, (3) that Polyperchon kept the child-king and his mother with himself, as a δορυφόρημα τῆς βασιλείας,<sup>9</sup> and did not surrender them to Olympias until she actually returned with her cousin, King Aeacides of Epirus, at the head of an army to conquer Eurydice and Philip in the battle on the border. Polyperchon with his troops supported her cause and Olympias was for a short time restored to royal power in Macedonia.

I will cite from Staehelin's article on Roxane in Pauly-Wissowa to illustrate the inferences made from the passages cited. Staehelin writes: 'After Antipater's death in 319 she felt herself no longer secure under the weak prime-minister and fled with Alexander to Epirus, where the old Olympias was then residing (Diod. 18, 57, 2; Plut. *Eumenes* 13, *Pyrrhus* 4). It was probably from Epirus that she, together with Olympias and Philip Arrhidaeus, addressed an urgent letter to Eumenes, in order to arouse him to war against the coalition hostile to the prime-minister Polyperchon (*Heidelberg epitome* in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 313).'

The first passage adduced by Staehelin (Diod. 18, 57, 2) states that Polyperchon 'wrote also to Olympias, Alexander's mother, who was staying

<sup>1</sup> *History of Greece*, 10, p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der griech. und makedon. Staaten*, 2, 237, 250.

<sup>3</sup> *Griech. Gesch.* 4, 1, p. 106 and note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *R.E.* 1, sp. 1435, s.v. Alexander IV.

<sup>5</sup> *R.E.* 2, sp. 1155, s.v. Roxane.

<sup>6</sup> *Alexanderreich*, II, p. 237, s.v. Roxane.

<sup>7</sup> *Epirotische Geschichte*, 102, and *Register*, s.v. Olympias (Vormunderin ihres Enkels Alexander, § 19).

<sup>8</sup> *CAH.* 6, 480.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 77 (of Perdikkas).

in Epirus because of her hostility to Cassander, telling her to come back to Macedonia at once, and take over the guardianship of Alexander's son (παρалаβοῦσα τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδίον) and act as his guardian until he should come of age and himself take over (παρалаβεῖν) the royal power which was his by inheritance.'

There is nothing here to indicate that the child was sent or was to be sent to Epirus. This invitation is a repetition of an earlier one mentioned in Diod. 18, 49, 4, in which Polyperchon requests Olympias, who is living in Epirus because of her hostility to Antipater, to come to live in Macedonia as guardian of the boy and with royal status: τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱοῦ, παιδὸς ὄντος, παρалаβεῖν καὶ διατρίβειν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔχουσαν προστασίαν.<sup>10</sup>

Stachelin's second passage is Plut. *Eumenes* 13. In this there is no mention of Roxane, or of Alexander IV, or of Epirus. Eumenes is said to have received letters from Macedonia from those who feared the growing power of Antigonus, from Olympias, who begged him to come to the rescue of the child, as his life was threatened, asking him to come home and take charge of the little king (τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδίον παρалаβεῖν); and from Polyperchon and Philip the king, bidding him remain and fight against Antigonus with the force at his command in Cappadocia and with money which they assigned him. It is clear from the letter of Olympias that the child is in Macedonia, in danger from Eurydice, and not safe in Epirus with his grandmother.

The third passage referred to by Stachelin is Plut. *Pyrrhus* 4.

Here the sister of Pyrrhus, whom Demetrius married, Deidamia, is said to have been called in her girlhood the wife of Alexander, son of Roxane. From this it is evidently inferred by Stachelin that Alexander was betrothed to Deidamia in Epirus. As he was but five or six years old at the time in which he is supposed to have resided there, there can be no question of a marriage, and for a betrothal between children of that age the presence of the boy cannot be regarded as necessary. Moreover, we know that Olympias brought Deidamia with her to Macedonia when she and the girl's father, King Aeacides, invaded that country at the request of Polyperchon. Olympias took the little girl with her to Pydna, as well as the boy Alexander and his mother Roxane (Diod. 19, 35, 5), and the betrothal doubtless took place during the brief time of Olympias' supremacy in Macedonia before Cassander's return from Peloponnesus and her own retreat to Pydna. Since we know that Deidamia was in Macedonia and have no evidence that Alexander was in Epirus, it seems reasonable to suppose that the betrothal took place in Macedonia.

The passage in the *Heidelberg epitome* to which Stachelin refers relates that when Antigonus was stretching out his hand for more power and seeking as well the name king (τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα), the 'Kings', Olympias, Philip Arrhidæus, and Roxane asked aid from Eumenes by sending him royal letters. (οἱ βασιλεῖς, τοῦ Εὐμένους εἰς βοήθειαν,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Diod. 18, 65, 1: ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ ἀκούων ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ Πολυπέρχων κατὰγειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τοῦ τε παιδίου τὴν ἐπιμέ-

λειαν ἐκείνη παραδιδόναι καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀποδοχὴν καὶ τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ζώντος ἀποκαθιστάναι Ὀλυμπιάδι.

ἦ τε Ὀλυμπιάς καὶ ὁ Ἀρριδαῖος ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἡ Ῥωξάνη διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν.)

Philip Arrhidaeus was certainly not in Epirus at the time when these letters were written and there is nothing to show that Roxane was. Indeed it does discredit to the brains of the crafty old politician, Polyperchon, to suppose that he would let the 'Kings,' Philip and the little Alexander, out of his grasp so long as he could keep them. He steadily followed the policy that Cassander on leaving Asia urged upon his father Antipater, μὴ πόρρω τῶν βασιλέων ἀποχωρεῖν (*Arr. Succ.* 1, 42).

The passages so far cited by Staehelin to prove the residence of Roxane and her son in Epirus prove nothing of the kind. Further on in his article, however, he cites a passage the misinterpretation of which, in my opinion, has contributed most to the growth of the fictitious story.

'In the year 317 Roxane was brought back to Macedonia with the young king and with Olympias by Polyperchon and the Epirote king Aeacides' (*Diod.* 19, 11, 2).

The Greek of this passage is as follows:—Πολυπέρχων δὲ δύναιμι ἡθροισε προσλαβόμενος Αἰακίδην τὸν Ἡπειρώτην καὶ κατήγεν Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. The words have been understood to mean, 'Polyperchon was bringing back Olympias together with the child to Macedonia.' Against this rendering I would point out that the same expression is used by Diodorus when he tells of Polyperchon's design of putting on the throne of Macedonia Heracles, the son of Barsine, who had never been in Macedonia (20, 20, 2-3; 28, 1). (1) κατὰγειν τὸ μεράκιον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν. (2) συνκαταγάγωσι τὸ μεράκιον κ.τ.λ. (3) κατήγον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν Ἡρακλέα. Moreover, the word βασιλεία with almost no exception in Diodorus and elsewhere means royal power, *not* the country ruled over; *e.g.* in the case of Philip Arrhidaeus Diodorus says of the efforts of the infantry to have him made king—ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγξ Ἀρριδαῖον . . . προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν (*Diod.* 18, 2, 2).

The κάθοδος of Barsine's son is only in a general sense a 'restoration'; it is not a return of the young man to his native land, or to a land in which he had lived. In *Diod.* 19, 11, 1, the projected κάθοδος of Olympias to Macedonia is mentioned, but in 19, 11, 2, the meaning is 'Polyperchon was attempting to restore Olympias together with the little boy to royal power.' (I read κατήγεν, following F.) There has been no mention whatever of the previous sending of the boy to Epirus, and the 'Kings' are particularly mentioned as being with Polyperchon in Phocis (*Diod.* 18, 58, 2) before he advanced into Attica and Peloponnesus to compel the Megalopolitans 'to acknowledge the authority of the Kings' (*Diod.* 18, 68, 3). Grote, who holds that Roxane and the young king had been with Olympias before this time, says, 'After the two defeats Polyperchon appears to have evacuated Peloponnesus and to have carried his forces across the Corinthian Gulf into Epirus to join Olympias.' There is no proof of this, and so far as I am aware no one has followed Grote in this supposition, but his theory has at least the merit of showing a possible way of getting the young king, who was with Polyperchon on this campaign, into Epirus with safety. No one has suggested any other means of doing this, nor has anyone

accounted for the willingness of Polyperchon to give over the young king, his last hope of power, into the hands of Olympias before she returned to Macedonia, where he could keep an eye on her.

The words κατήγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν are then only a general expression for the 'restoration of Olympias—and the boy too—to royal power.' In the case of Olympias the restoration is also a *κᾶθος* in the usual sense, and this influenced the form of the expression, just as in the case of Heracles the fact that the kingship is spoken of as his by ancestral right, τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν, is reflected in κατήγεν. (See note at end on use of κατόγειν in Diodorus, etc.)

The passages which I have just discussed are the only ones which are given by the various authorities when they give authorities at all. I think it is clear from an examination that none of them support the theory that Roxane and her son fled to Epirus either in 319 (Kaerst, Staehelin, Klotzsch, Berve) or in 318 (Niese, Grote), or in 317 (Beloch, Tarn). There is, however, another passage, which I believe none of these writers quote, which does make the assertion that Olympias returned from Epirus, bringing the son of Alexander. This is Polyaeus' version (4, 8, 3) of the information contained in the false letter written by Eumenes with the design of turning the sentiment of the soldiers from Peucestes to himself. Fortunately the full account of the proceeding is given in Diod. 19, 22 and 23.

A comparison of Diodorus and Polyaeus shows clearly that Polyaeus has quoted from the common source (Hieronymus) sketchily and carelessly, as is his wont, while Diodorus has preserved the logical sequence in his narrative. Melber<sup>11</sup> notes that it is characteristic of Polyaeus' manner of excerpting from his sources that he has here omitted the absolutely important part of the letter, and Knott<sup>12</sup> gives various examples of his carelessness and inaccuracy in quoting. I give here first the Greek of Polyaeus' statement about Olympias and afterwards that of Diodorus.

(1) ὡς Ὀλυμπιάς ἐξ Ἡπείρου κατελθοῦσα τὸν υἱὸν ἄγουσα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου κυρίως (supplied by Woelflin from Diod. βεβαίως or βιαίως, MSS. readings) Μακεδονίας ἔχει τὴν βασιλείαν [ἀναιρεθέντος] Κασσάνδρου.

(2) ἦν δὲ ὁ νοῦς τῶν γεγραμμένων ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδίον Ὀλυμπιάς παραλαβοῦσα κεκόμισται καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίας βασιλείαν κυρίως, ἀναιρεθέντος Κασσάνδρου, Πολυπέρχων δὲ κ.τ.λ.

The sense of the fictitious letter as given by Diodorus is logical and consecutive. Olympias has assumed the guardianship of the son of Alexander and thereby (καὶ) has got legal possession of the throne of Macedonia; she has put Cassander to death and Polyperchon has crossed into Asia to join Antigonus with the great part of the royal army. Polyaeus, as Melber points out, omits the heart of the letter, namely, that Polyperchon is bringing an army and elephants and is already in the neighbourhood. Further, Diodorus stresses παραλαβοῦσα, the taking over the child, the word regularly employed by Diodorus for the taking over of

<sup>11</sup> *Neue Jahrbucher für Philologie*, Neue Folge, Bd. 14, Heft 2 (1884), p. 634.

<sup>12</sup> *Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses*, vol. 3, pp. 53, 79 (1884).



responsibility and surely emanating from his source. Cf. *inter alia*, Diod. 18, 49, 5; 57, 2, and παραδιδόναι in 18, 65, 1. Also Plut. *Eumenes*, 13, παραλαβεῖν. Polyaeus has botched the whole passage and has understood παραλαβοῦσα in the sense of *ducens secum*, a rare meaning of the word in earlier time, though it is not infrequent in late Greek. (Cf. Plut. *Symp. sept. sap.* p. 149 c, and *Alex.* 10; Gospel of Matthew, 4, 5 and 27, 27; Polyb. 17, 8, 7.)

This loose rendering of the original by the notably careless and inexact Polyaeus, who is primarily interested in the anecdote and in personalities, cannot be upheld against the full and logical statements given in the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters of Diodorus 19.

If my view of the worthlessness of the statement in Polyaeus 4, 8, 3 is correct, there remains no evidence that Roxane and her son were ever in Epirus. What we know about them is as follows. They were brought to Macedonia by Antipater, who also brought the other king, Philip Arrhidaeus, and his wife Eurydice (Arrian, *Succ.* 1, 44; Diod. 18, 39, 5). After the death of Antipater the new regent Polyperchon took counsel with his friends, and by their advice invited Olympias to leave Epirus and come to live in Macedonia as guardian of the little king and with the rank of royalty (Diod. 18, 49, 4; 65, 10). When Polyperchon realised that war between him and Cassander was inevitable, he took steps to win the friendship of the Greek cities and also wrote again to Olympias, hater of Antipater and of his son, urging her to come without delay to assume charge of the child-king and act as his guardian until he should come of age and receive the royal power (Diod. 18, 57, 2). Olympias, distrusting his motives, wrote to ask Eumenes in Asia whether she would better leave Epirus and take up with the proposal of such a doubtful character as Polyperchon. Eumenes advised her to stay in Epirus until the war should take a decisive turn (Diod. 18, 58; Plut. *Eumenes*, 13; Nepos, *Eumenes*, 6). She follows this advice and Polyperchon remains the guardian of the little king (Diod. 18, 62 and 65; 68, 2), whom he takes with him on his Peloponnesian campaign against Megalopolis. After his defeat he returns to Macedonia, still having the little king with him, and induces Olympias and her cousin, King Acacides of Epirus, to enter Macedonia, giving her the promise to set her as guardian of the child on the throne of Macedonia (Diod. 19, 11; Justin, 14, 5). In the battle at Evia Olympias and the Epirotes and Polyperchon are triumphant over Eurydice and Arrhidaeus, and the two latter are put to death by Olympias with great cruelty (Diod. 19, 11; Justin, 14, 5). On the arrival of Cassander from Peloponnesus, Olympias flees to Pydna, taking with her among others Roxane, Alexander IV, and the little Deidamia, the Epirote princess whom Olympias has chosen for the future wife of Alexander, her grandson (Diod. 19, 35, 5; Justin, 14, 6). After the terrible siege of Pydna was over and the old queen Olympias had been killed by Cassander, he decided to kill Roxane and her son, that there might be no legal heir to the throne on which he intended to sit, as he had married a daughter of the great Philip (Diod. 19, 52, 4). He kept them in Amphipolis for some years and then, alarmed by the talk current in Macedonia to the effect that

Alexander was getting old enough to be king, he had them killed, greatly pleasing by the act not only himself, but also Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Antigonus, who had nothing now to fear from the succession of the young king (Diod. 19, 105).

It is clear from Arrian, Diodorus, and Plutarch that the possession of the two Kings was of the highest importance to the various regents, Perdiccas, Antipater, and Polyperchon, and that Alexander IV even as an infant accompanied Perdiccas on his campaigns. It was the policy of Polyperchon, who was looking out for the interests of himself and his son Alexander, to keep the Kings under his control, and his influence over the weak-minded Philip Arrhidaeus appears in the trial of Phocion at Pharygae in Phocis, where Polyperchon set the gold canopy above the head of the king and led him with his own hand to sit on the throne, and then gave orders to have Dinarchus seized, tortured, and killed, afterwards giving audience to the Athenians. When Hegemon said that Polyperchon himself was a witness to his loyalty to the people, Polyperchon in rage ordered him to stop lying about him to the king, and Philip sprang up and threatened to run Hegemon through with his spear.

The tale shows how completely Polyperchon had this king under him until Eurydice, the strong young wife of Philip, took a hand in affairs and detached her husband from Polyperchon and made alliance with Cassander. Polyperchon, who trusted no one, would never give over, even to one who hated Cassander as bitterly as did Olympias, the other king and his mother, on whom his remaining power rested. So in addition to the lack of evidence for the flight of Roxane and her child to Epirus, we have the character and policy of Polyperchon as a strong presumptive argument against its probability. I submit, therefore, that historians in repeating the story until it has become part of the current account of the life of Roxane and her child have not sufficiently examined the evidence for it.

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#### NOTE ON

Κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

These words (and *káthodos*), so often occurring in Diodorus and other writers who narrate the struggles for the Macedonian kingship, do not necessarily imply return from exile outside Macedonia. In the case of Amyntas III we know that he was not driven out of the country. Cf. Diod. 14, 92, 3: ἐξέπιπτεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως (where Dindorf's emendation to *χώρας*, against all the manuscripts, is quite wrong and entirely contrary to the sequence of the narrative), Xen. *Hell.* V. 2, 13: καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἡσθάνομεθα ἀποχωρεῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας; and Isocr. *Archid.* 46. Beloch thinks (*GG.* 1, 102) that during this struggle between Amyntas and Argæus, Amyntas may have maintained himself in Aegæ, while Argæus was driven to the north-east of the country: Amyntas is said to have been restored. *κατεχθεῖς* (Diod. *loc. cit.*), by the aid of Thessalian troops.

In the second attempt of Argæus to get the throne the Athenians assisted him (Diod. 16, 2, 6, and 16, 2, 3 and 5: κατήγον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀργαῖον). Argæus probably had not left Macedonia, except to meet the Athenian troops at Methone. When he demands that the people of Aegæ acknowledge his *káthodos* and be τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἀρχηγούς, he is demanding acknowledgment of his restoration to the throne. Pausanias, concerning whom the phrase is used, we know had been driven out of Macedonia by Iphicrates and was 'brought back' by Thracian supporters. Cf. also Diod. 12, 50 (of Amyntas, son of Philip). The phrase was a usual one in that harassed kingdom. Thucydides uses it with βασιλεία in the dative—μή Φίλιππον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πολέμιον δὺνα καταγάγοι ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ (Thuc. 2, 95, 2). With the change of case to the accusative it came to be the general expression for *Restoration to the Kingship* without specific reference to the previous residence of the claimant.

## A LEAD COFFIN FROM PALESTINE IN LEIDEN

[PLATES XI, XII.]

To the readers of this Journal, and in particular to Mr. Avi-Yonah, the author of the paper on *Three Lead Coffins from Palestine* in *JHS.* 1930, p. 300, it may be interesting to hear that the Museum of Archaeology at Leiden possesses a well-preserved lead coffin, belonging to the same class as those published in that article. This sarcophagus, which entered the Leiden Museum in 1902, was reported to have been found at Byoud el Saied near Tyre, and shows in many of its main features a great resemblance to the fragments published by Mr. Avi-Yonah as his Pl. XII, a, b, c, d.

The four sides and the curved lid of the coffin, though much damaged, are in existence, whilst the bottom has entirely disappeared, as is generally the case with this class of monuments. The long sides measure m. 1.70 by 0.37, the short sides 0.41 by 0.45. The lid was fixed on to the coffin by clamps projecting from the longitudinal sides, two of which are still in place.

The long sides show in low relief seven columns with Corinthian capitals and shafts with spiral flutings on the upper two-thirds of their length<sup>1</sup>; in the middle between these columns are alternately a round medallion with a winged Gorgon's head<sup>2</sup> and a crouching sphinx, supported by a projecting horizontal band.<sup>3</sup> Round these are symmetrically arranged fluted vases of the late cantharos type with high handles and low feet,<sup>4</sup> dolphins<sup>5</sup> and groups of three laurel or olive leaves joined together by the stem.<sup>6</sup> Similar groups of leaves, combined with blossoms and berries, form a broad border between cable lines and adorn the upper part of the longitudinal sides<sup>7</sup> as well as the lid; they are arranged in two directions, ten to the right, nine to the left.

Between these two borders on the lid is a decoration of twisting vine stems with leaves and bunches of grapes<sup>8</sup> interspersed with small round medallions, ornamented with leaves and rosettes.

The short sides of the coffin are each decorated in a different way; one side shows a plain starlike ornament of crossing cable lines, interspersed with rosettes of six leaves like those on the lid. The decoration of the other side is more interesting; here the entrance to some building, a portico, is represented by four columns of the same fluted type as those figuring on the longitudinal sides, supporting a three-cornered 'tympanon' with the Syrian 'archivolte' in the centre.<sup>9</sup> While on the coffin at Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> Compare *JHS.* 1930, Pl. XII, a, c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XII, b, c.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XII, d, p. 308, Fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XII, a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 308, Fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 308, Fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 308, Fig. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XII, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Renan, *Mission en Phénicie*, p. 427, Pl. LX.

(Avi-Yonah, Pl. XII, a) this archivolt is formed by a single cable line and the gable also is merely ornamental, the portico on our sarcophagus with its well-defined 'architrave' clearly copies the entrance to a temple or to a grave. This form of architecture was, as Mr. Avi-Yonah has already pointed out (*l.c.* p. 302), much in use in Syria and in Asia Minor ever since the second century A.D., long before it was adopted in the West, where the principal entrance and the south façade of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalato supply one of the best-known examples.

Between the columns of the portico are at both sides of the entrance a cantharos with a conventionally arranged vine-pattern with bunches of grapes, leaves and masks growing out of it,<sup>10</sup> while this same ornament is repeated on a smaller scale on the architraves. On the roof stand three cantharoi.

To resume: the Leiden coffin, though perhaps one of the finest of its class, does not show anything new or hitherto unknown; its decoration follows the same types as those of the others mentioned by Avi-Yonah (p. 308). The repetition of the same ornaments, the style of decoration and the use of the same technique make it probable that these coffins, made up of leaden plates cast in moulds and riveted together, came from one factory. Considering the lack of originality of the different motives mentioned above, which in more or less the same way decorate Roman terra sigillata of the first and second centuries A.D., I suppose that this factory was a Roman one, which must have worked in Syria for some length of time, probably beginning in the third century A.D., and whose products were used by Pagans, Jews or Christians as the case may have been.

Whether the Leiden sarcophagus was Christian or Pagan is difficult to say. As is well known, the early Christians made in their art much use of motives borrowed from Hellenistic art; the gorgon and sphinx, though Hellenistic in shape and character, may have figured on a Christian monument, whilst there certainly is no doubt in the case of cantharos, fish and wine.

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<sup>10</sup> Renan, *Mission en Phénicie*, p. 427, Pl. LX.

## THE LAST BOOK OF THE 'ILIAD'

### ITS PLACE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE POEM

THE structure and composition of the *Iliad* have been discussed often: usually, however, rather with the object of identifying the component parts and tracing their antecedents, than of apprehending and interpreting the design of the poem as a whole.

### I. HOMERIC EPICS AS WORKS OF ART

Some critics have argued, or assumed, that there was in fact little or no design; that the cantos or lays somehow fell into their present places like the books of the Old Testament, or at most, as Anaximander might have said, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν, in accordance with a traditional sagatheme, which may, or may not, have had historical background or mythical meaning. As to that historical background, again, opinions differ; and whether the myth was solar or sociological.

This assumption, or contention, has made it easy for critics to concentrate on the components, and on the methods by which they have been made to cohere; on the bricks and on the mortar of the structure, so to speak, not on the design.

Yet in antiquity the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were regarded not only by historians like Herodotus and Thucydides as records of the past, but by great art-critics as masterpieces of art. For Aristotle Epic stands side by side with Drama, and especially with Tragedy, as a principal literary form. Comparative study, indeed, could not be carried far, for there were but the two great epics to compare, against tragedies in scores from a single hand. But comparison was attempted; and the two poems are alike enough in their craftsmanship, however different their subjects, to furnish material for this kind of structural criticism. Indeed, the fact that it was these two rather different epics that eventually survived has some critical value. Each of them announces in its first lines not only its actual theme, but the kind of subject with which it is to deal:

*Il.* I. 1.            μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος  
*Od.* I. 1-2.        ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ  
                         πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν.

*Types of Epic Plot:* Μῆνις and Νόστος.—The *Iliad* announces itself as a μῆνις, the *Odyssey* as a νόστος: and we know of other μῆνιες, episodes of the fretful camp-life; as we know of other νόστοι from the years after Troy fell. In the opening scene of the *Odyssey*, Zeus himself introduces the topic, and rehearses his own version—not the only one—of the νόστος and tragic end of Agamemnon. For a tragedy it was. Aegisthus had had fair warn-

ing: he had sinned against the light and the gods: and that is man's silly way: οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ | σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπέρμωρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν. Odysseus, too, though a good man in a general way, ὃς περὶ μὲν νόον ἐστὶ βροτῶν, περὶ δ' ἱρὰ θεοῖσιν | ἀθανάτοισιν ἔδωκε, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἔχουσιν, overdid it in his treatment of the Cyclops—and then there was his affair with the cattle, though the total loss of the companions purged that. There is to be a μῆνις, that is to say, in our *Odyssey*, as well as a νόστος. How, even with the goodwill of all the gods but one—the one with the μῆνις—Odysseus is to come clear, is the problem and the δρᾶμα of the *Odyssey*, as foreseen in its outcome of release, alike in Olympus, before the action begins, and in any and every μέγαρον, where *this* *Odyssey* is about to be sung.

*The Close of the Odyssey.*—Now look to the end—the poor drivelling misbegotten end of the *Odyssey* as some of us were brought up to regard it. In *Odyssey* XXIV. 470, εἶσατο δ' αἰνῶς, it looked terribly as if the νόστος, so hardly achieved, were but the prelude to a μῆνις direr than that of Poseidon. Eupheithes wants to avenge his son:

φῆ δ' ὄγε τίσεσθαι παιδὸς φόνον, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν  
ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ πότμον ἐφέψειν.

But again we are back in Olympus, and in the singer's brain, and under the black beams of each and every μέγαρον. Gods and Homer and Every-man all see quite well that this sort of thing won't do; it cannot go on:

αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίῃ Ζῆνα Κρονίωνα προσηύδα,

and, with leave of Zeus, divine wisdom no less than man's common-sense—for Homer's Athena is always both—put sudden end to the trouble: μὴ πῶς τοὶ Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς, using almost the words of Thetis to Achilles. Man is free; but the Wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience. Behind and above the human combatants in Ithaca, and the πολυτλάς διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς in Kalypso's island, stand Two Great Gods, as they tower above the δυὸ στρατοὶ λαῶν on the Shield of Achilles. For those who had eyes to see, the Great Gods were there all the time. So, for example, Medon had seen one of them during the Fight in the Hall.

οὐ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἀθανάτων ἀέκητι θεῶν τάδ' ἐμήσατο ἔργα·  
αὐτὸς ἐγὼν εἶδον θεὸν ἄμβροτον, ὅς ῥ' Ὀδυσῆϊ  
ἐγγύθεν ἐστήκει καὶ Μέντορι πάντα ἔωκει

—so we know *what* God it was,—

ἀθάνατος δὲ θεὸς τότε μὲν προπάροιθ' Ὀδυσῆος  
φαίνετο θαρσύνων, τότε δὲ μνηστῆρας ὀρίνων  
θῦνε κατὰ μέγαρον· τοὶ δ' ἀγχιστῖνοι ἐπιπτον.

XXIV, 442-9.

*The Gods in the Poems.*—I have begun by insisting on the so-called 'supernatural element' in the Epic, as an integral part of the poems as we have them, because it is here that the poet (as I have hinted already) draws back the veil from those inner workings, which (as he knows) not

everyone can see, but which for himself are among the great structure-lines of life and of his own works. The gods in the light of Olympus see clearly; and in their light we shall see light. But to call that part of the composition the 'supernatural element' is to mistake the nature of Homeric deity. Gods, to the poet, are just as natural as men; as much, that is to say, a part of the order of Nature, as a seer sees it; just as real to the human people, whether in Ithaca or in the μέγαρον where the singer sings, as the Lord of Hosts was to Cromwell's men at Dunbar, or to their wives when they heard the story afterwards.

Look again—if I may venture to intrude an illustration printed elsewhere<sup>1</sup>—at the combination of allegorical and pictorial elements on the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* XVIII; and especially at the monumental group of Eris and Kêr (533–41) dragging the corpses out of the battle-scene they enframe (531), balanced by the Lions (574–87) raiding the cattle who trail away into the pens and stalls of the dance-scene following (587–9). If we are to understand either Greek literature or Greek art, in their pre-sophistic phases, we must pay Greek artists the compliment of assuming that they believed what they said, whether in word or in handiwork. It is not beyond Nature, but in and through Nature, that the Olympians act. On Olympus they are at home, but from Olympus they look down into Thessaly, and oversea to Troy.

But the frequent intervention of Olympian gods in human affairs is very far from reducing human characters in epic to puppets. There Zeus spoke what he knew. It was only human ignorance and perversity that blamed men's troubles on the gods.

ἔξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι : οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπέρμωρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.

Quite true, Zeus and Poseidon, having divine weaknesses as well as divine wisdom, could and did upset men's plans. But so does a thunderstorm or a broken leg: as Professor Westwood said when he could not go to the gaudy, 'Man arranges, but God disarranges.' The same gods, it should be observed, could upset Olympus too and the plans, about the gods, of Fate which is above and before the gods. Had not Themis told both Zeus and Poseidon that the child that should be born of Thetis should be mightier than his father; and they dared not risk it? And so Achilles came to be.

Man, then, is free to act as he will. Tragedy is possible. It may run its full vendetta-course, as the fate of the House of Athamas showed (all in vain) to Xerxes.<sup>2</sup> Or there may be a *deus ex machina*, as at the end of the *Odyssey*; or a *machina sine deo*, like that of Medea; or a mere carriage accident, as happened to Hippolytus. Or, side by side with the human combatants, we may discern the Two Great Gods, or Eris and Kêr, or Apollo and Athena coming to terms about the Eumenides. And it is because the human characters are as free as they are, as fully moral agents, in the Epic, that I venture to submit for reconsideration the XXIII and

<sup>1</sup> *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California, 1930, pp. 517 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. VII. 198.

XXIV Books of the *Iliad*. If the point of view here suggested is already familiar, there is at all events rather more chance that it may be right. I must in any case admit my debt to Mr. J. T. Sheppard, for it was after reading his *Pattern of the Iliad* that this supplement to what he has written began to take shape; and I shall only be doing justice to his maieutic art, if I summarise his argument at the point where my own emerges.

*The Frame of the Odyssey and its Filling*.—We have seen how in the *Odyssey* the final intervention of Zeus and Athena closes the picture, as their conversation, at the beginning of Book I, enframes it at the outset. Within that frame, or pair of pilaster groups—as I have ventured elsewhere to call them<sup>3</sup>—stand the pendant human conversation-groups—Telemachus and Mentès at the beginning of the poem, Odysseus and Laertes at its close. Balancing in the same way the Ἰθακησίων ἀγορά in Book II, comes the pendant picture of the Town's Meeting in the Σπονδαί. Only within the embrace of this ornately complex Prologue and Epilogue—the wings of this great triptych, the side panels of this façade—can either Telemachus *leave home* on his Quest, in the ἀποδημία which follows in Book II; or Odysseus *really come home*, in his ὑπὸ Πηνελόπης ἀναγνωρισμός in Book XXIII: and within that pair of motion-pictures again lies the main action and pageantry of the *Odyssey*, spaced and punctuated, as it is, by recurrent conversation-pieces, statical, monumental, rhythmic,—Odysseus with Telemachus, Telemachus with Penelope, Penelope with Odysseus: and flanking the dance-like permutations of the Great Three, stand the flanking figures, actors and spectators in turn, of the good Eumaeus and his pigs, the bad Melanthius and his goats; as the two grooms and their teams await the will of the Great Five in the pedimental group at Olympia.

In the *Odyssey*, the main action itself progresses rather frieze-like or saga-like, than in self-contained panels, tableaux, or episodes in the dramatic use of that word. In the vocabulary of early Hellenic art, it is Ionic, and on this quality, and contrast (as we shall see) with the *Iliad*, much may be found to depend. I raise no question, at this stage of the argument, whether the λέξις εἰρομένη of the *Odyssey* is an earlier, or a later, or a concurrent and contrasted technique, perhaps of regional significance, like the distinct technique of Hesiod; for there is at present something to be said for all three opinions.

This paper, however, is about the last book of the *Iliad*; and if I have begun by speaking of the closing scene of the *Odyssey*, and its relation to the opening scene, it is because we have but the two epics, and all the literary background we can recover for either must be derived from the other one. It might have been easier to develop this argument with the *Odyssey* displayed against the background of the *Iliad*; but that would have presupposed that the craftsmanship of the *Odyssey* was to be regarded as escaping from the restrictions of a schematic technique which holds the *Iliad* fast, almost all through: and what we are now concerned to inquire is whether in the *Iliad* there is any such scheme at all, outside the miniature workmanship of the Shield of Achilles as I have tried to present it elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *Who were the Greeks?* p. 320.



## II. THE LITERARY TECHNIQUE OF THE 'ILIAD'

The notion that the *Iliad*, and to some extent also the *Odyssey*, have been put together out of lays or cantos was current in antiquity; it was revived by Bentley and by Wolf, and elaborated by Lachmann and Kirchhoff. That the poems, as we have them, treat subjects already traditional, is obvious. But how much of these traditional subjects is historical, how much is myth, how much is fantasy, is in dispute; and also, in regard to the form, structure, and process of composition, how much remains of an archetypal design, how much consists of accretions, and how much is the deliberate recomposition of a final editor or editors.

As a criterion of relative age, we compare allusions to material equipment with archaeological material of successive periods of handicraft, more or less accurately dated between the fifteenth century B.C. and the fifth; with always the doubt whether a vivid description of some early style of dress or armour may have remained current into a later age, however rare the counterpart of that may be, in the conservation of 'heirlooms' already ancient among tomb-furniture of lesser antiquity.

Besides these detailed comparisons of described and preserved craftsmanship, and artefacts, attempts have been made to correlate literary style and technique with other representational and decorative arts; the vivid naturalism of Homeric similes and scenes of fighting and chariotry, with that of Minoan fresco and gem-engraving; the free-field composition of Homeric narrative, with Minoan friezes; and the juxtaposition of distinct episodes (whether drastic acts or posed situations), which occurs in some parts of the poems, with the balanced arrangement of the Vaphio cups and other Minoan compositions, especially in the gems; or with the panel-decoration, and architectonic upbuilding of such panel-schemes, characteristic of the 'geometric' art of the Early Iron Age in peninsular Greece and the island-world, so strongly contrasted in this respect with the zones and friezes of contemporary Ionia and those parts of Greece where Ionian influence was earliest felt.

There have, of course, been previous attempts to set out the matter of the primitive *Iliad* in a scheme of successive 'acts' or 'scenes.' Leaf, writing in 1892<sup>4</sup>—not indeed of our *Iliad*, but of the 'Wrath of Achilles' as he then distinguished it—noted, as the supreme mark of Greek genius, the unerring relation of the parts to the whole, so that 'each scene is but a step in the development of a plan—a moment in the accomplishment of the counsel of Zeus.' In accordance with opinion at that time, he added that 'it is, what we cannot but feel that the *Iliad* as a whole is not, a unity, and a creation.' Now if this observation be true, it should carry back the technique we are discussing into at least a penultimate stage in the composition of the poem. Whether that stage lasted over generations of singers, or all stages flitted in turn through Homer's brain, we may leave undecided at present.

Leaf already appreciated the alternation of static and drastic episodes.

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<sup>4</sup> *A Companion to the Iliad*, London, 1892, p. 32.

His first 'act' is contained in Book I; 'while giving us action enough, it fulfils unerringly the need for presentation of the characters of the tale.' It is monumental, that is, in conception, even though its façade includes panels filled with moving figures. The second is of rapid action, contrasting 'high delusive hopes' with the 'sudden turn of the battle.' The third act 'is wholly in the camp,' and therefore static, like the first. The fourth act balances the second; it is on the plain, in the battle; it 'begins with high hopes, and ends in disaster, the death of Patroklos'; all action and reaction, like the second. The fifth act is the static climax,—'Achilles in irresistible might,' as he stands finally over Hector's body.

From this primæval poem of 'Wrath,' all divine intervention is eliminated: 'the gods form a background or underplot . . . they nowhere take any part in the fighting,' or rather, when they do intervene, they are invisible.

It is only to his 'Third Stratum' (pp. 37 ff.) that Leaf assigned the great change produced in the conception of the character of Achilles, of which the *Embassy* is the technical instrument; but this development of the story he thought was itself multiple: 'the different work of different hands is here far more clearly separable,' and 'four books stand out as notably later than the rest—IX, X, XIII, XXIV, both linguistically and in closer relation to the *Odyssey*.' Other important episodes, for Leaf, were the *Deceiving of Zeus*, and the *Making of the Arms*. Leaf recognised the relation of the *Making of the Arms* to the Patroclus-episode; but does not seem to have appreciated that it is the *Deceiving of Zeus* that leads to that moment of dire need which sent Patroclus back to Achilles pleading to be sent to the front.<sup>5</sup>

Let me confess at this point that I had for some while been engaged in following up an old suggestion of Professor Percy Gardner—that the maturer epic might be contemporary with the geometrical style of decoration, and consequently might turn out to be its literary counterpart—when Mr. J. T. Sheppard's earlier analysis of the structure of Aeschylean chorus showed what could be achieved in such a direction from the literary side; and it will be obvious how great is my debt to Mr. Sheppard's exploration of what he calls the 'pattern' of the *Iliad*; <sup>6</sup> though I have not always arrived at quite the same structural interpretation.

Later, in an attempt to find an answer to the question *Who were the Greeks?* I proposed an interpretation of the Homeric 'Shield of Achilles,' based partly on the style and technique of Minoan metal-work—which may have been fairly widely known from looted 'palaces' and 'treasuries' in the centuries following the collapse of the regime to which they belonged—partly on the alternating processional frieze-subjects and statical group-compositions habitual on engraved metal-bowls commonly reputed to be 'Phoenician'; but partly also on the quite elaborate panel-compositions in purely 'geometric' vase-painting, and bronze-work contemporary with it. For it looked as though a poet acquainted with some, if not all, of

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, XV. 390-404.

<sup>6</sup> J. T. Sheppard. *The Pattern of the Iliad*, London, 1922.

these styles of representation and decoration schemes might conceive his verbal description of an imaginary masterpiece in such terms as are employed for the 'Shield of Achilles': especially as the shorter and slighter accounts of the Shield of Agamemnon, the baldrick of Heracles, the brooch of Odysseus, and the woven-work of Athena, Circe, and Andromache stand in similar relation to recognisable phases of ancient craftsmanship.

In analysing the 'Shield of Achilles,' I found that though the description had to be progressive from a beginning to an end, there were signs that it ended where it did, because in the poet's survey of his imagined masterpiece, he had come round to the point in its design at which he had begun his description. Further, when the items of certain parts of his description were read in reverse order, they revealed the artistic counterpart, in a bilaterally balanced whole, to the items of other parts, read as they stand in the text; descriptions of pageantry—processions, dances, chariots, ploughmen, flocks and herds—alternated with statical or monumental groups or objects—the Two Cities, Eris and Kêr, the Lion-hunt—which separate and enframe adjacent episodes, like pilasters on a frescoed wall, but at the same time connect the subjects on either hand. For there is sometimes subsidiary balance of counterparts between adjacent scenes—for example, the charging chariots with which the 'fight by the river' ends are answered by the procession of ploughmen with which the following episode opens.<sup>7</sup>

Next, following Mr. Sheppard's method of panel analysis, but supplementing it with this new device of reading backwards any passage which seemed to be the counterpart of one that stands earlier in the text, especially when action, movement, or any kind of pageantry is described, I have come to the conclusion that considerable parts of the *Iliad* are composed on a plan essentially the same as is followed in describing the Shield of Achilles. Not all parts of the poem, however, are composed on this balanced plan; and some of those which exhibit such a plan most clearly are among those which have been supposed on other grounds to have been inserted in the poem, and probably to have had once an independent existence.

The notion of following the action of a narrative composition backwards is not quite so absurd as it sounds. There is a literary device by which the same letters read forwards or backwards make the same sense and metre:—

*Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.*

or the same words, each of them reversible, scan and construe in either direction:—

*Odo tenet mulum, madidam mappam tenet Anna.  
Anna tenet mappam madidam, mulum tenet Odo.*

or the metrical scheme is reversible though the sense of the words is not, as in a pentameter — ∞ — ∞ — || — ∞ — ∞ —; or, as in an elegiac couplet,

<sup>7</sup> An instance in the *Iliad* itself of this alternation of large-scale figures 'heraldically opposed' and of tumultuary groups of more numerous figures is in XV, where Hector and Ajax are repeatedly pre-

sented in personal contrast (415 ff.: 484 ff.: 592 ff.), these 'pilaster groups' enframing and separating the *Prowess of Teucer* (429–83) and the *Prowess of Antilochus* (515–91).

a more complex centre-piece is flanked by symmetrical wing-panels,  
 $- \infty - \infty - || \infty - \infty - \infty | - \infty | - \infty - \infty - || - \infty - \infty -$ .

Similar palindromic structure is possible also in music. The *cross-canon*, in which the notes make up the same phrase—sometimes quite a long one—in either direction, is the equivalent of *Roma tibi subito*. In the *minuet-and-trio*, with its A B A structure, the movements, though not the phrases, can be played in reverse order; and in the *rondo*, two such A B A schemes similarly enflank the central movement, in a structure represented by A B A . C . A B A.

In an order of time, it is, of course, less easy to appreciate, at first hearing, the balance and interdependence of movements or phrases, than the balance of end-groups in a pediment (over which the eye can pass backwards and forwards) and their relation to more central figures or groups in an order of space. But it is significant that in Greek the same word *ῥυθμός* was used both for spatial and for temporal composition, and that it appears to have extended its meaning not from relations in space to relations in time, but conversely, from time sequence to visible structure. And it is certain that in Greece, as in other primitive societies, dance-music and song begin further back than any sculpture or painting, except perhaps the decorative rhythms of pot-painting or basketry, or the notching of wood and bone.

Now one of the symptoms of artistic decline in the Late Minoan culture is the disastrously pervasive jazz of broad and narrow bands, mechanically applied to the pots while still on the wheel; and the disruption of friezes or zones into panels. It is, on the other hand, one of the first signs of revived grip and mastery of the craftsman over his materials, that the panels, or the contents of the friezes, begin, like Aristotle's 'epic,' to have 'a beginning and a middle and an end,' instead of meaningless iteration; and, moreover, to make 'beginning' and 'end' correspond with, and answer to, each other, like the A B A movements of a minuet-and-trio, or the lions or birds, 'heraldically opposed' and duplicated, of a 'Gilgamesh' or 'Persian Artemis.'

In the simplest schemes the zone is divided by pilaster-elements *a a* and the panels between pilasters are filled with ornaments which have width as well as height, B C D E. These in turn have graduated values (Fig. 1). B merely serves to bind together *a a* into a centre-piece of low value between C C; and this rhythm *a C a b a C a* often recurs throughout a whole frieze. But here the compositions *a C a b a C a* are subordinated as side panels or wing-pieces to the central composition [*a*] D *a* E *a* D [*a*]; and as [*a*] delimiting this triptych is also the limiting pilaster of the side panel, there is nothing to prevent the whole zone being read as a seven-panel scheme *a B a C a D a E a D a C a B a*, except the recurrence of C beyond B. This has the result that even when the vase is rotated, no sooner has the central symmetry *a D a E a D a* passed out of view, than the lateral symmetry *a C a B a C a* becomes perceptible. We are only left with the mounting sequence  $- B - C - D - E$  for the briefest moment; and in that moment the far panel D beyond E has disappeared, and the 'running' ornament E, itself unsymmetrical, leads the whole

pageant E – D – C – B, heading to right or to left. Once again symmetry is qualified by movement, but here only in alternate pulses with statical compositions. Note, for comparison with the fighting groups in the centre-piece of the *κόλος μάχη* (p. 275 and Fig. 6), how the pilaster-element *a* is

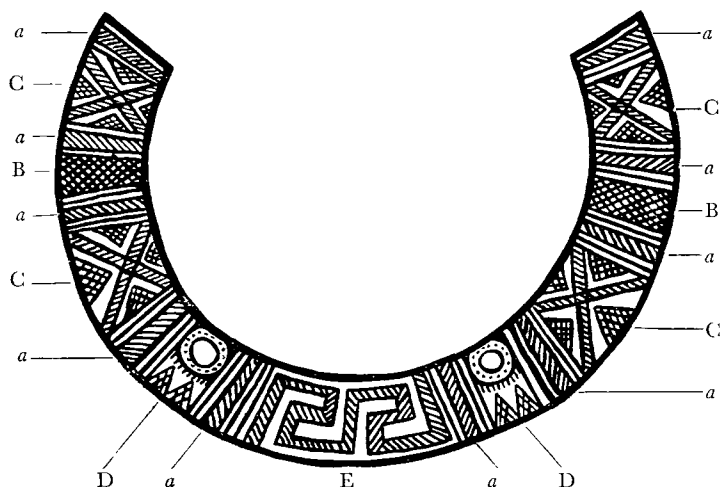


FIG. 1.—GEOMETRIC DESIGN FROM A JUG IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

only shaded obliquely to *right* where it comes into symmetry with *a* shaded obliquely to *left* to enframe the kinetic centre E.

In a vase from Kynosarges, probably earlier, we have something even more elaborate. The pattern runs thus: *c b A b c : D : c b A b c*, but then comes E, not another D. Moreover, this series can also be read

*c b | A b c D c b A b c E*

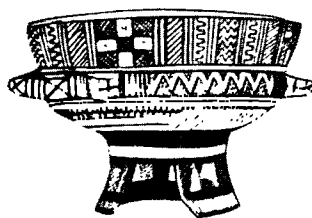


FIG. 2.—VASE FROM KYNOSARGES.

Athens, British School Museum, Cat. No. 9: published *BSA*. XII, p. 85, fig. 6, top right.

*A b c D c b A | b c E c b |* a longer rhythm alternating with a shorter, as in an elegiac couplet.

Sometimes the pilasters are still further elaborated as in Fig. 3, where if all their elements be reckoned, their rhythm is *x b x a x b x*. Note that each pair *b b* is obliquely shaded down-outwards from the pilaster *a* and down-inwards to the panel. The panels are alternately static and kinetic, and the kinetic swastikas make continuous pageantry in the same direction. But while the kinetic panels repeat the same swastika-motive, the static

ones are not only different but complementary: for D dissects the rectangle by a lozenge, with lattice triangles pointing outwards into the angles, E dissects by a saltire, with the triangles pointing inwards from the sides,



FIG. 3.—GLOMETRIC VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.  
(Perrot and Chipiez, VII, p. 169, fig. 52.)

recalling the subtle counterchange in the *Iliad* between the components of the κόλος μάχη and of the Διὸς ἀπάτη (p. 277).



FIG. 4.—GEOMETRIC DESIGN FROM A JUG IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

A similar scheme (Fig. 4), essentially – B – C – D – E – D – C – B – like Fig. 1, makes use of other devices to give significance and balance. On

a b C d e f G f e d c a

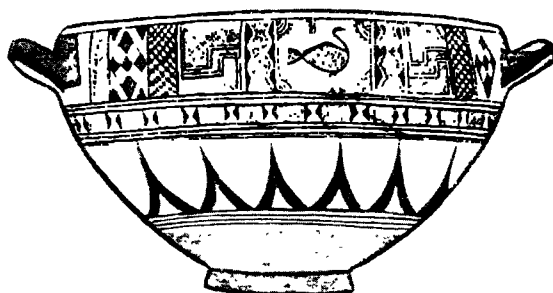


FIG. 5.—GEOMETRIC VASE FROM RHODES, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

the one hand, the centre-piece E and its own side panels D are enframed in broader and more emphatic pilaster elements, themselves composite, so that the triptych has also the rhythm *a A . a D a . A . a E a . A . a D a . A a*, and this rhythm has been carried forward on the left into . . . *a D a . A . a C a*. the composer forgetting what he has done at A B A on the right, and how little space he has in hand to the left; a type of abridgment which we shall encounter again (Fig. 5), and indeed it is common in these vase rhythms. On the other hand, see how the crowding of diverse panels B C on either flank stabilises the whole design; and how the use of *same-handed* swastikas C C on both flanks, both counterpoises the forward movement of the horse E, and also supplies identical counterpart, when the vase is rotated, and all that is visible is the pageant series – B – C – D – E – or – E – D – C – B – A. As on the ‘Shield of Achilles,’ there is alternation of statical and kinetic *panels*—groups and pageantry—within the statical pilasters A A. Note finally how the stability of this pilaster-frame is secured by sloping the oblique shading of A alternately to right and to left.

How far such compositions could go, even in purely geometric decoration applied to objects of common use, is illustrated by a vase from Rhodes (Fig. 5),<sup>8</sup> in which the structure runs *a b C d e f G f e d c . a*: the penultimate *b* being omitted, and *c* abridged, only because the draughtsman had miscalculated his centre point; that is to say, he had been drawing all the while from *a* to G and G to *a* in the order of time as well as in space, without taking thought for more than the general coherence of his design, as is also shown by its unconformability with the two minor zones below it, and of these with each other. We shall have before long a notable literary example of such abridgment of the counterpart in a literary design.<sup>9</sup> Note again here, how symmetry is qualified by movement; *both* the key-frets at *e* step upward in the same direction, and the bird necessarily looks only one way.

### III. BILATERAL SYMMETRY IN EPISODES WITHIN THE ‘ILIAD’

To illustrate this counterpoise or bilateral symmetry of such separable (and at one time separate) components of our *Iliad*, let us take the Κόλος μάχη and the Διὸς ἀπάτη, which not only are alike, in that Zeus is stationed not in Olympus but on Mount Ida, but also occupy pendant positions (as we shall see presently) on either hand of the *Embassy* episode (Book IX), which, whether originally included, or not, in the *Iliad*, is at all events of central significance in the poem as we have it.

<sup>8</sup> Walters. *Hist. Anc. Pottery*, i, p. 284, fig. 84: cf. *Who were the Greeks?* pp 470–3.

<sup>9</sup> The omission of a counterpart in XXIV to the scenes at Chrysa in I; see below, pp. 288, 294.

Other qualifications of symmetry by movement are Schweitzer, *Geom. Stil in Griechenland*, ii (= *J.M.* 43,

p. 1), fig. 20 from Eleusis, with the rhythm *a b c | d e d | f b a*, and fig. 21 from the Dipylon, with the rhythm *a b c | d e d | e b a*. The latter construction is to be seen in the second lateral scene of the Διὸς ἀπάτη (p. 276, below).

ΚΟΛΟΣ ΜΑΧΗ: a carefully designed episode; balancing ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΘΗ.

Il. VIII.	1	A	Dawn.	Olympus: Zeus forbids Gods to fight.
	28			Athena pleads for leave to advise combatants.
	41-77	B		Zeus leaves Olympus for Ida:—
	53			Breakfast time in the plain: both sides arm and array.
	68			Zeus at midday weighs κῆρε: Achaeans lose: thunder.
130	78	C		Achaeans retreat: chariot fighting.
	80			Nestor's chariot-accident: Diomedes and Odysseus.
	132	D		Zeus thunders:
	137	E		Achaean retreat continues:
	170	D		Zeus thunders: to encourage Trojans.
	198-244	F		Hera and Poseidon angry: { Agamemnon prays at Hera's suggestion.
	245	D		Zeus sends a sign: to encourage Achaeans.
	253	E		Achaean counter-attack:
	335	D		Zeus encourages Trojans again.
	350	C		Athena and Hera drive out in chariot.
87	397			Zeus sends Iris to turn back the chariot.
	427			Afternoon. Hera and Athena return to Olympus.
	438	B		Zeus returns from Ida to Olympus.
	444			Hera insists on right to advise combatants.
	485	A	Sunset.	Olympus: Zeus reveals his plan to make Achilles fight [thus anticipating Patroclus' action in XII].
	489			Trojan Bivouac scene begins.

In the Κόλος μάχη, we begin and end with a scene in Olympus (VIII, 1-27: 485-88), in which Zeus advances the action of the *Iliad* as a whole, but in which on each occasion his will is challenged by a goddess in favour of the Achaeans (28: 444). Next within this pair of framing panels, Zeus goes to Ida (41-77) and returns thence (438-444). Within this again, after brief introduction (53-67), comes at the beginning a battle-piece (78-131) in which the chief episode is the disaster to Nestor's chariot (80-131), which is retrieved by Diomedes and Odysseus, a three-figure composition. What had determined the disaster was the weighing of the κῆρε by Zeus, and the sinking of the Achaean scale (68-78). At the end comes the chariot sally of Hera and Athena (350-437), another fiasco, also caused by the intervention of Iris sent by Zeus (397-426). It forms another three-figure composition; Hera-Athena-Iris balancing Nestor-Diomedes-Odysseus. Between these lateral panels is the main battle, itself punctuated by four signs from Zeus (132, 170, 245, 335) into five scenes. Of these, two lateral pairs are filled with fighting men; the centre-piece between them exhibits Hera and Poseidon afar and very angry, and Agamemnon in the foreground praying to Zeus (198-244). The pattern then runs as follows:—

A	B	C	D	E	D	F	D	E	D	C	B	A
Olympus: Athena.	Zeus to Ida.	Chariot scene.	Zeus thunders.	Fighting.	Zeus thunders.	Hera and Poseidon. Agamemnon prays.	Zeus thunders.	Fighting.	Zeus thunders.	Chariot scene.	Zeus from Ida.	Olympus: Hera.



Note, however, that as on the Rhodian vase (Fig. 5), three of the signs from Zeus (Nos. 1, 2 and 4) encourage the Trojans, but No. 3 encourages the Achaeans, in answer to Agamemnon's prayer: the general effect of the *mêlée* then resembles that of the well-known Macmillan vase in the British Museum (*JHS.* XI. (1890), Pl. II.).

ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΤΗ: a carefully constructed episode, balancing ΚΟΛΟΣ ΜΑΧΗ.

Il. XIV. 1 A NESTOR arms and goes out to the FIGHT AT THE SHIPS (XV, 379).

	27		Description of the order of the ships.
	42	B	Agamemnon's speech.
	52	C	Nestor advises retreat.
	64	B	Agamemnon despairs.
I	82	D	Odysseus rebukes Agamemnon: ('advance!')
	103	B	Agamemnon recovers.
	109	E	Diomedes insists on fighting:
	133	B	Agamemnon agrees.
	135	F	Poseidon joins Agamemnon, 139-46, and enters the battle, 147-52.
	153		Hera sees Poseidon in battle, and Zeus on Mt. Ida [3-figure group].
	159		Plans the Διὸς ἀπάτη: borrows girdle from Aphr. 188-215
II	225: 281	G	[2-figure group].
	292		Hera goes to Lemnos: on to Ida with Sleep.
	354-61		Dialogue between Zeus and Hera.
			Zeus sleeps: Sleep returns to Poseidon.
III	362	F	Poseidon encourages Achaeans: even wounded chiefs re-arm.
	402	H	Ajax wounds Hector, who retires.
	440	K	Ajax' prowess:—emphasised, 508. ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι.
	XV. 4		Zeus wakes and discovers Poseidon.
	13		Dialogue between Zeus and Hera.
IV	78		Hera goes to Olympus with message from Zeus.
	143	G	Zeus orders Apollo to arrange intervention of Patroclus
	172		[2-figure group].
			Zeus orders Iris to stop Poseidon's fighting [3-figure group].
	184	F	Poseidon deserts Agamemnon, and leaves the battle (219).
	220	J	Apollo, under orders from Zeus, revives Hector.
	262	K	Hector re-enters the battle.
	271	L	Achaeans retire.
V	281	M	Speech of Thoas: 'retreat to the ships!' (cf. XIV. 82).
	306	L	Trojans advance.
	343	K	Hector charges at the Wall.
	355	J	Apollo destroys the Wall.
	367	A	NESTOR prays: Zeus thunders: FIGHT AT THE SHIPS, 379-89.

The Διὸς ἀπάτη is more elaborate.<sup>10</sup> It exhibits the same combination of statical and progressive elements as our Rhodian vase (Fig. 5); but also

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Sheppard, *Pattern*, p. 141, treats the Διὸς ἀπάτη rather differently, making it part of a much

that alternation of centre-points which we saw on the Kynosarges vase, and in the 'Shield of Achilles.' To appreciate this, however, we must accept the poet's demarcation against that of the Alexandrian editors, and include in this episode the first 389 lines of Book XV, until the story returns to Patroclus. The frame to the whole episode is set by the reappearance of Nestor, with whose doings Book XIV had begun, at XV, 367; and we must note, for the delectation of 'higher' critics, that in XIV, 15, 55, what worries Nestor is that the Wall has been already overthrown—ἐρέριπτο δὲ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν (15): κατερήριπεν (55)—whereas it has still to be overthrown by Apollo in XV, 355, before Hector can reach the ships.

Within this frame of Nestor's doings, there are five main scenes or panels. Of these, II and IV are the two halves of the Διὸς ἀπάτη in the strict sense; Zeus-put-to-sleep and Zeus-awakening; so that through III Zeus is asleep. The structure of II and IV is minutely counterpoised; besides Zeus and Hera, whose movements are alike to and fro, Aphrodite and Hypnos in II are balanced in IV by Apollo and Iris; so that in each we have the sequence of a three-figure group, a two-figure group, a dialogue between Zeus and Hera; a swiftly moving goddess, and the recumbent god.

While Zeus sleeps, Ajax has his great moment in Scene III: his abettor is Poseidon, his enemy is Hector: and because Zeus sleeps, and Poseidon is in action, Ajax triumphs momentarily; but Hector is not dead; and Zeus wakes. These two lateral figures in this centre-piece, Poseidon and Hector, are its links with the wide lateral panels, the wings of the Διὸς ἀπάτη triptych, Scenes I and V.

Each of these lateral scenes is itself complex, and has a balanced movement of its own. In each the human protagonist is inspired and aided by a god; Agamemnon by Poseidon in I, Hector by Apollo in V. Note the counter-change, however, in regard to the linkage with III, for the helper of Ajax is the *god* who comes on out of I, his foe is the *hero* who goes on into V where another god is waiting to help him. Now we see why the central figure in III is not Agamemnon. Not only would the carry-forward of *two* figures out of I have upset the balance with V; but also Agamemnon has already been the central figure in the Κόλος μάχη; and the Κόλος μάχη (if we may anticipate our argument a little) is itself the counterpart of the Διὸς ἀπάτη in the design of the *Iliad* as a whole (Fig. 7). Note also the counter-changes of the scene before Troy and in Olympus: in the Κόλος μάχη the lateral scenes, and the vignette of Hera and Poseidon in the upper part of the centre-piece, are in Olympus, the fivefold Κόλος μάχη itself is on earth; in the Διὸς ἀπάτη, the lateral scenes are on earth, an Achaean rally in I, in V a Trojan rally; the centre-piece is with Zeus on Mount Ida, but in the heart of it is a terrestrial vignette: and in that vignette an effectual outbreak of Poseidon balances his ineffectual wrath in the Olympian vignette of the Κόλος μάχη. I do not attempt yet to account for these things, any more than I propose to account for the figures of Helios and Selene in the pediment of the Parthenon, or the grooms and their teams at Olympia, or the archers and the wounded men (central and bilateral) at Aegina.



to despair and back to confident leadership (134), rewarded by Poseidon's intervention, which is to be consummated, as we have seen, in Scene III. The structure of Scene I may accordingly be represented thus:—A | B C B D B E B | F |. The Trojan counter-rally in V is not so complicated, but consists of the same number of elements, | J K L M L K J | A. Apollo restores Hector, Hector renews the battle, Achaeans waver, Thoas counsels retreat, Trojans advance, Hector charges, Apollo destroys the Wall. Thus the fighting has reached the ships, as Nestor and Agamemnon had foreseen (XIV, 40), so it is Nestor who reappears to offer prayer to Zeus; and *bang!* a thunderbolt (377), as in Κόλος μάχη after Agamemnon's prayer: *exeunt fighting* (389). The Διὸς ἀπάτη is over, and within the tent of Nestor, Patroclus springs to his feet (390) and is off to Achilles with the news.

Comparison between Κόλος μάχη and Διὸς ἀπάτη will perhaps be easier, if they are analysed diagrammatically, as in Fig. 6. Circumferential plotting of the details not only economises space in such long compositions, but brings out more clearly the balance, counterparts, and counter-changes. These have been further emphasised by principal and subordinate head-lines, black-and-white backgrounds, and other visual aids. Whether the poet designed all this or not, experiment shows that such symmetries, once seen, are not easily forgotten. Merely as a *memoria technica*, this interrelation of parts, like the rhymes in a sonnet, has value.

#### IV. DIAGRAMMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE 'ILIAD' AS A WHOLE

After these examples of diagrammatic analysis, on a rather larger scale than in the 'Shield of Achilles,' and in respect to the structure not of an objective work of art, but of the subjective ποίημα as it took shape in a poet's mind, let us attempt similar examination of the *Iliad* as a whole, with a view to determine the respective positions and structural functions within it, of Books I and XXIV for example; reserving, however, more minute analysis of these two books until we have some evidence that either of them has in fact any definable place in the *Iliad* as a ποίημα or work of art at all. I have selected these two books, partly because, if there is any ground for such appearance of design at all, it will be most crucially tested by parts of the poem so remote from each other; partly because, the 'higher' the critic, the more emphatically does he claim Book I as an 'early' and integral part of the *Iliad*, and relegate Book XXIV to a very 'late' phase of accretion.

In the diagrammatic analysis of the whole *Iliad* attempted in Fig. 7, the poem begins and ends at 'six o'clock' at the bottom of the diagram; the *Embassy* has been set at 'noon,' at the top: and the action of the narrative is 'clockwise,' so that the appearance of Aeneas in Book V stands about 'nine o'clock' and his reappearance in Book XX about 'three.' It will be observed that between certain 'hours,' and especially between 'noon' and 'three o'clock,' the action is more rapid than, for example, between 'six' and 'nine'; still more between 'nine' and 'noon'; and that even so, Books XII and XIII appear by title only, not only because



broadly portrayed, and of eminent significance in the story. Chief among these are the great duels, of which there are seven; but the fights between Patroclus and Sarpedon, and between Hector and Patroclus, are so crowded together, that if the remaining five duels seem to be disposed according to some design, we may regard these as twins in the sixth place.

Now these great duels fall into contrasted pairs, and these pairs are symmetrically placed in respect to the beginning and end of the *Iliad* as we have it, including Book XXIV.

*First Pair.*—The duel arranged (but not achieved) between Menelaus and Paris in III was the *right* way to end the war, by a square fight between the two persons primarily concerned in its cause;

εἴνεκ' ἑμῆς ἔριδος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἀρχῆς,

as Menelaus puts it in III, 100.<sup>11</sup> The fight in XXII between Achilles and Hector was the *wrong* way: it settled nothing about Troy or Helen, at the expense of two noble men alike unconcerned in the *casus belli*. The parallel significance of these two episodes is emphasised by the *τειχοσκοπία* which is staged in the background to each of them (III, 121–244; XXII, 405–515), and the presentation therein of Helen and Andromache respectively, called out each from her weaving to Priam and his Elders.

*Second Pair.*—The duel between Diomedes and Aeneas in V balances that between Achilles and Aeneas in XX. In both Aeneas is saved by intervention of a deity in a cloud: both his opponents are involved in direct conflict with gods; and Achilles' fight with the River in XXI, with its grotesque exaggerations, is even a more flagrant parody of warfare between heroes, than Diomedes' encounters with Aphrodite and Ares.

*Third Pair.*—The fight in VII between Hector and Ajax, equally matched, is unprovoked, quite inconclusive, and is followed by friendly exchange of presents; in XVI, Hector and Patroclus meet, unequally matched, in tragic *περιπέτεια* after the killing of Sarpedon by Patroclus; and is followed by unrequited seizure of the magic armour. The *ἀνάρσεις νεκρῶν* which follows without explanation after the duel in VII finds its counterpart in an *ἀνάρσεις νεκροῦ* in XVII, the recovery of the body of Patroclus by Menelaus. Further, the arming of Patroclus, XVI, 130–54, which precedes his encounters with Sarpedon and Hector, is balanced by the arming of Paris (VI, 313–69; 503–24) which precedes the duel in VII. The *Πατρόκλεια* then, like the *Διὸς ἀπάτη*, consists of a centre-piece with lateral scenes, an arming, and a rescue of the body; and around the duel in VII stand their respective counterparts, necessarily counter-changed, however, *κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν*; for arming must precede, and rescue follow, the fight. But the two triptychs match each other as wholes.

*Arms and the Man.*—This motive of armour, arming, and loss of arms, essential to the action of the *Πατρόκλεια*, from the beginning of XVI to the end of XIX, has further echo in the friendly exchange of arms between Diomedes and Glaucus in VI, which we now see to be the counterpart of the *Ὀπλοποιία* in XIX, the one (about 'nine o'clock') following the duel

<sup>11</sup> On the significance of *ἀρχή* here, I have commented in *The Political Ideas of the Greeks*, London, 1927, p. 83.

between Aeneas and Diomedes, as the other (about 'three o'clock') precedes that between Aeneas and Achilles.

*Achilles and Thetis; Hector and the Trojan Women.*—There are not many occasions for women to take part in the action of the *Iliad*. Indeed between the two τειχοσκοπίαί in III and XXII there is only one of primary significance, the intervention of Thetis in XVIII. This, however, standing as it must between the Πατρόκλεια and the encounter of Achilles with Aeneas, is balanced, between the encounter of Aeneas with Diomedes and the counterpart of the Πατρόκλεια in VII, by the threefold appearance in VI of Hecuba, Helen, and Andromache. At first sight, the meeting of Hector and Andromache is the tragic counterpart of the visit of Thetis to Achilles; for each hero knows, and each of the women, how fateful is *this* arming: οὐ γάρ τ' οἶδ' ἢ ἔτι σφιν ὑπότηροπος ἴξομαι αὖτος (VI, 367), μεθ' Ἑκτόρα πότμος ἔτοιμος (XVIII, 96). But we must beware of modern sentiment, especially when it conflicts with the poet's arrangement of his scenes. Andromache, the wife, stands with Hector in a lateral panel—a wing-piece of this triptych—face to face with Hecuba the mother, who nearly broke Hector's fortitude (VI, 263) and was dismissed by him like Andromache to her proper duties. Between these two, in the centre-piece, and again with Hector, stands Helen, as unlikely a counterpart of Thetis, we might think, as the poet could have found. But look again; between them, in utter antithesis as ever to Achilles, sits Paris, weak of will, toying with the arms he will not or dare not use.

*Glaucus and Sarpedon.*—Only one pair of episodes remains to be co-ordinated between Books VI–VII and XVI–XVIII. The Πατρόκλεια in XVI contains, like the Διὸς ἀπάτη, a centre-piece flanked by lateral episodes or wing-pieces, and outside these, as we have seen already, are the arming of Patroclus in XVI, and the recovery of his body in XVII, which have their counterparts (counter-changed as we have seen, p. 281) on either wing of the duel of Hector and Ajax in VII. The centre-piece here is the encounter of Patroclus with Apollo, the climax of his brief career; for had Apollo not stopped him, Troy would have fallen then and there (XVI, 698). Before this climax comes the fight with Sarpedon, after it the fight with Hector. Now the fight with Hector we have already had occasion to correlate with the duel of Hector and Ajax in VII. There remains, therefore, the fight with Sarpedon, uncorrelated so far. But there is one other encounter, at the beginning of VI, and consequently the formal counterpart of the Ὀπλοποιία in XVIII and its sequel in XIX. With this position in the poem its subject-matter agrees, for it is the story of an exchange—not indeed of new arms for old, but of bronze arms for golden. But the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus has another aspect, for Glaucus was a Lycian like Sarpedon: and while the fight to the death between Hector and Patroclus balances that between Hector and Ajax, which ended in friendly exchange of gifts, so the exchange of gifts between Diomedes and the Lycian Glaucus balances the fight to the death between Patroclus and the Lycian Sarpedon.

*The Two Reconciliations.*—The meeting of Diomedes with Glaucus has, however, yet another aspect and another counterpart. As an appease-

ment of hostility with gifts it ranges with the μήνιος ἀπόρρησις between Achilles and Agamemnon in XIX. The latter, however, being of supreme significance in the whole story, has been wrought up into an elaborate episode of debate, developed through six speeches (B C D, B C D) before Agamemnon can take his oath in response to Achilles' declaration (A A). This is the centre-piece; its lateral episodes E E show first Thetis (20-39), then Briseis (282-301), beside the body of Patroclus. This might have been (and perhaps once was) the whole episode; but the question, how to re-invigorate Achilles himself, remains unsettled, till his own lament over Patroclus leads to divine intervention (338-63) and so at last (F F = 364) Achilles puts on the arms which Thetis had brought him at the beginning of this scheme (1-39). The whole structure then is:—

F : E : A . B C D, B C D . A : E : F.

Κόλος μάχη and Διὸς ἀπάτη.—That these two episodes have their own symmetry and also balance one another in their counter-changes and their centre-pieces, we have seen already (p. 277). Now we have to note further that in the poem as a whole they occupy corresponding positions, the Κόλος μάχη following the building of the Wall, after the duel of Hector and Ajax, the Διὸς ἀπάτη ending with the destruction of the Wall, which provokes and is followed by the Πατρόκλεια (XV, 390-XVI). Now after the Κόλος μάχη stands at the end of VIII the Night-watch of the Trojans in the plain (489-565), to which there is an obvious counterpart in that Night-watch of the Achaeans in X, of which the central episode, as we now have it, is the *Doloneia*; and a *Doloneia* is itself only conceivable if the Trojans are making their Night-watch in the plain, as in VIII. That the *Doloneia*, however, does not immediately precede the balanced composition of which the Διὸς ἀπάτη is the centre-piece, is an anomaly, which, if there is no reasonable explanation of it, destroys the symmetry of structure which we have followed successfully so far. How anomalous it is we shall best understand if we consider two corollaries of our hypothesis of counterbalance, (1) the centre point of the whole scheme of the *Iliad*, and (2) the composition of the far extremes, Books I-II and XXIII-XXIV, which stand beyond the great pair of duels in III and XXII.

*The 'Embassy' as the Centre-piece of the whole Iliad.*—If our hypothesis holds, either Books XI, XII, XIII are anomalous and interrupt the symmetry, in which case X balances the end of VIII, and the pivot in IX is the *Embassy*; or else there is no anomaly, and in that event the correspondence between the two Night-watches is accidental, the *Embassy* is at best a side-show, and the centre point, if there be one, must be sought in the *Prowess of Agamemnon*. Between these alternatives it is easy to decide. In the *Iliad* as we have it, the *Embassy* would remain central if there were no other symmetry at all. Up to this point, Achilles has been, legally at least, in the right, Agamemnon in the wrong; from this point onward, Agamemnon at all events has done what he could and ought, to put things right; the repentance of Achilles, when it comes, is too late to save Patroclus, and his victory over Hector, which might have been so splendid, is soiled by conflicting motives and atrocious deeds, so that release is not



achieved, nor Achilles' wrath appeased, till after two books more. It is a tragedy of μήνις and λύσις; but while λύσις begins with the *Embassy*, the new μήνις is delayed, in the poem as we have it, till after the Διὸς ἀπάτη. The Διὸς ἀπάτη, however, stands, as we have seen, in relation to what follows it, as the Κόλος μάχη stands to what precedes. Both, therefore, would stand as side panels to the *Embassy* as centre-piece, and enhance its significance, if it were not for Books XI, XII, XIII, which contain nothing of comparable importance. Whether these portions of the *Iliad* are late and incoherent additions, or rugged remnants of early saga—like the crag, which the Nike Temple crowns, in the design of the Propylaea—is as immaterial as the authorship of the *Doloneia*. What does matter is that whereas the *Doloneia* falls within the structure of the *Iliad*, as principal episode of one of a pair of 'Night-watches,' the *Prowess of Agamemnon*, the *Fight at the Wall* and the *Fight at the Ships* stand outside that structure, though they repeat on an ampler scale what the poet incorporates essentially in the lateral-episodes of the Διὸς ἀπάτη.

Thus the points in which correspondence and balance are defective themselves acquire fresh importance, as tests of the reality of the scheme. On the one hand, the fact that there is nothing immediately before the *Embassy* to balance the *Doloneia*, is only what we should expect if the *Doloneia* is as loosely attached to the main composition as is already generally agreed on other grounds. That with the *Doloneia* omitted, the *Bivouac of the Trojans* at the end of VIII and the *Night-watch of the Achaeans* at the beginning of X are counterparts, is a new point gained, in view of the fresh start which Agamemnon makes at the beginning of XI, now that he knows there is nothing to expect from Achilles. But the superabundance of incoherent incident, between the *Doloneia* and the Διὸς ἀπάτη, is also, if not a new point, an important confirmation of the common opinion that these sections also are accretions; though it has not commonly been thought that they were (as suggested here) even more loosely attached to the structure of the poem than the *Doloneia* itself. I have indeed called attention to these anomalies, less to excuse my own failure to bring these portions of the *Iliad* into the suggested scheme of composition, than to emphasise the significance of this fresh test of relevance, even in the *Iliad's* present elaborated, if not expanded form.

*The First Book and the Last.*—But the *Embassy* is not central only in relation to the scheme of composition which begins with the duel in III and ends with the other duel in XXII. The same principles of construction determine both the content and the form of Books I and XXIV, which stand far outside the great pair of duels in III and XXII. The argument will be best understood if the correspondences of form and of substance are examined separately; for even if the poet had a tale of μήνις and λύσις to tell, we have no reason to suppose that he would tell it in delicately balanced scenes, unless we find this to be the case; and conversely, the observance of such a canon of formal symmetry is no proof that the corresponding episodes stood so related within the story. If we find them to be so related in form, as well as in substance, the probability is greatly increased that these correspondences were designed.

On literary grounds only, it has long been perceived that there was reason for connecting the *Embassy* with Books XXIII and XXIV. Jebb,<sup>12</sup> for example, argues that 'the great rhetorical poet, who had shown Achilles inexorable to the Achaean chiefs, wished to paint a companion picture, and to show him relenting at the prayer of the aged Priam.' This, however, takes no account of the displacement of the centre of interest by the addition of XXIII-XXIV to an earlier version which ended with XXII; still less of the new moral perspective in which the character of Achilles has been set by the intrusion of IX. This point, which has been already noted briefly, needs perhaps fuller elaboration here.

For in IX the *μήνις*, originated in I, finds its *λύσις* so far as Agamemnon is concerned, and the second *μήνις* of Achilles, provoked by the death of Patroclus, is put into a quite different relation both to what had gone before and to what followed. Without a *Refusal of Atonement*, it was simply the death of his friend that drove Achilles back into the war. Consequently it would have been still for Agamemnon to make atonement to *him*. And if this had been done in a *Μήνιος ἀπώρρησις* not preceded by an *Embassy*, all that Achilles would have had to do would have been to seek out and kill Hector, thereby dissolving his second *μήνις* and settling the whole affair. Of course the two dead heroes would be buried decently, like other combatants in Book VII, and like the victims of the plague in Book I: but there was no need for the poet to go on to say that.

But with the *Embassy* introduced into its present place, or indeed anywhere between I and XI, and quite irrespective of any other 'expansions,' the attempt of Achilles, already conscience-stricken in his rejection of the *Embassy*, to have it both ways by letting Patroclus go to the war, separates the moral and the political aspects of his behaviour, and prepares us for—if it does not wholly explain—the savagery of his remorse and his treatment of Hector's body. His second *μήνις* thus acquires a tragic significance, which it had not, so long as Achilles was politically in the right on the first issue: and to leave this second *μήνις*, thus aggravated, without its *λύσις*, was inconsistent—to say nothing more—with the morality and the political code so clearly enunciated in Books I and IX.

The *Embassy*, then, is the central incident of any version of the *Iliad* that had come to include Book IX, and we have only to follow the consequences of that re-orientation of the poem as a whole to see how inevitable is the inclusion, also, in some form, of Books XXIII and XXIV.

*The Chronological Plan of the Iliad.*—That the *Embassy* has been made central, in point of time, as well as of argument and plot, is shown by the peculiar apportionment of days. To the symmetrical time-chart of the *Iliad* my attention was called, some while ago, by Mr. J. U. Powell. Starting with Book I, the programme of days is as follows:—

1 — 9 — 1 — 12 — 3 — *Embassy* — 3 — 12 — 1 — 9 — 1.

And of these intervals, all the first four (1 — 9 — 1 — 12 —) are contained in I, and all the last four (— 12 — 1 — 9 — 1, but in reverse order)

<sup>12</sup> Jebb, *Homer*, p. 162.

are contained in XXIV.<sup>13</sup> We may note in passing that the other seven days (— 3 — *Embassy* — 3 —) have their six dividing nights in three pairs; one pair embracing the *Embassy*: one pair, the Νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσις in VII; the

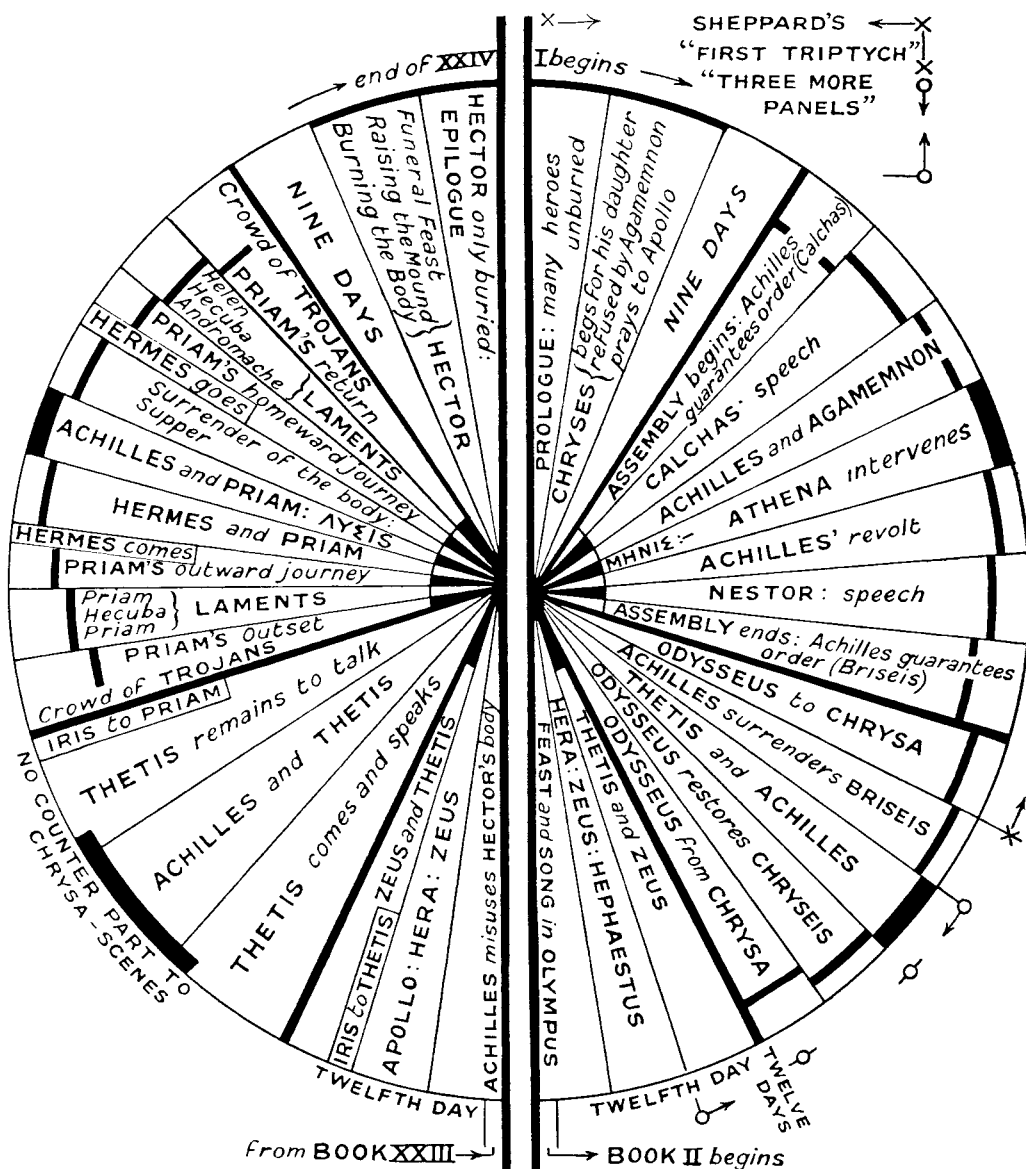


FIG. 8.—BOOKS I AND XXIV COMPARED DIAGRAMMATICALLY

Both narratives proceed clockwise, and corresponding episodes are set at equal distances from the vertical diameter.

third pair the *Funeral of Patroclus*—another Νεκροῦ ἀναίρεσις, if you like—in XXIII: also that none of them fall within the compass of the ‘original

<sup>13</sup> In XXIV, 107, ἐννημαρ is correct, for XXIV only begins on the fourth day after the death of

Hector: cf. XXIV, 31.

poem' of some commentators, the action of which, from Agamemnon's arming to the death of Hector, occupies only a single day.

This curious distribution of time demonstrates not only the central position of IX, but the inclusion of XXIV in any poem which contained I in its present form. Either this formal time-chart was in the original story, as far back as we can trace it—in which case the substance, if not the form, of XXIV was in the original story too, and in that event the original story did not end with the death of Hector—or else XXIV has been composed not merely *for* its present place in an *Iliad* which contained our I, but *by* someone whose technique demanded a counterbalanced plan; not merely that the action should cover the same number of days as in I, but that those days should fall into the same groups as in I, only in counterpoised or reverse order.

*The Structure of Book I.*—Mr. Sheppard's analysis is designed to display Book I as the work of a poet familiar with the technique of counterpoise; of centre-pieces, triptychs with wing-panels; of paired triptychs about a central panel. Will this analysis hold? This is Mr. Sheppard's summary of his panel-scheme<sup>14</sup>:—

'The pattern is obvious, the action clear, the movement rapid. First, the exordium . . . then the Introduction to the Quarrel, in the form "Apollo sent a plague because his priest was slighted, and his servant prayed, and Apollo in his splendour sent the plague." Then the Quarrel in three panels: first, the utterance of Calchas and the threat of Agamemnon, then Athena's intervention, then, to balance the first panel, Achilles' oath that he will leave the field, and Nestor's vain attempt to restore peace.'

With the general conception I think we should agree, though Nestor's attempt to restore peace was not wholly vain, seeing that it was followed by Achilles' promise, faithfully kept, not to resist by violence the abduction of Briseis. This promise, however, was itself already anticipated and balanced by Achilles' promise to resist violence, if offered to Calchas by Agamemnon: an important incident, because, taken with these other two, it presents Achilles as law-abiding, however high-spirited.

Mr. Sheppard presents 'then the fetching of Briseis from the hero's hut'—apparently as centre-piece of the whole composition—'and three more panels, of which the first contains the hero's prayer to Thetis, the second the placation of Apollo by Odysseus and his crew at Chryse, the third the prayer of Thetis in Olympus, and the Nod of Zeus. Finally, to complete the Rhapsody, a quarrel between Zeus and Hera, with Hephaestus as the peacemaker.'

I suggest that comparison with the structure of Book XXIV leads to a different grouping of the scenes, which is presented diagrammatically in Fig. 8. At the inner end of both books (the end of I and the beginning of XXIV, where they are continuous with Books II and XXIII respectively) stands a scene in Olympus, with three divine figures; Zeus, Hera and Hephaestus in I, Apollo, Hera and Zeus in XXIV. Next, in both, stands the visit of Thetis to Zeus. In I, she elicits his cryptic assent;

<sup>14</sup> Sheppard, *The Pattern of the Iliad*, p. 24.

in XXIV, she achieves fulfilment of that Will of Zeus, now fully manifest. Immediately next, in XXIV, comes the interview of Thetis with Achilles; in Book I also, the counterpart interview comes soon, but is enframed by the two halves of the visit of Odysseus to Chryse, to which there is inevitably no formal counterpart in XXIV. To the abduction of Briseis also (which stands, as Mr. Sheppard has seen, isolated between the Thetis movement and the Assembly movement in which the Μῆνις broke out) there is no formal counterpart in XXIV. There are indeed two quite explicit allusions to the restored Briseis in XXIV, one in Thetis' speech to Achilles (130), the other at the close of the meeting of Priam with Achilles (676); but as a significant figure Briseis had passed out of the story in XIX (282-302), bewailing her own fate, not Achilles' loss, by the body of Patroclus.

In the latter half of XXIV, the counterpoise to the earlier half of I is revealed, in the structure of μῆνις and λύσις, by the symmetrical pauses of nine days, already noted; by the triptych arrangement of the Burial of Hector and the Prayer of Chryses; and by the grim terminal antithesis between the due burial of Hector effected through the λύσις, and the unburied victims of Apollo's μῆνις in I, 3-5.

In view of these peculiarities, and especially these correspondences of structure, it would appear unlikely that there was any great interval for development of technique between the composition of Book I in its present form, and of Book XXIV as its counterpart, in an *Iliad* already enlarged (as we have seen) by the *Embassy* (Book IX) with all the re-orientation that this enlargement involved. Neither I nor XXIV shows quite so complete accommodation of matter to structural form as either the Κόλος μάχη or the Διὸς ἀπάτη; but the constraint of structural technique is apparent, even in such stubborn material as the beginning and the end of a presumably well-known tale. The rather desperate devices of the nine-days' and twelve-days' intervals, to break up a continuous narrative, are significant in this respect.

## V. THE CONTENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF BOOKS XXIII AND XXIV

From the structure, we have now to turn to the content and meaning of XXIV; and again we must consider it in close relation to I. This I have ventured to undertake with more confidence, because Mr. Sheppard's treatment of XXIV is summary, and it is only occasionally that he employs it to illustrate Book I.<sup>15</sup>

Though Book XXIV has been entitled Ἑκτορος λύτρα, the *Ransom of Hector*, and though the scene of the λύσις itself is of great beauty and power, that scene itself is but the sequel of a λύσις more significant in the larger design of the *Iliad*, from the moment when the episode of the *Embassy* intervened and changed the whole perspective and moral interest of the poem. It is Achilles now for whom the poet has to find a λύσις from the constraint and burden of his μῆνις, and the means by which he brings this

<sup>15</sup> E.g. (1) *Pattern*, p. 13. Achilles' warning to Priam not to provoke him, XXIV, 516, compared with his impulse to draw sword on Agamemnon, I,

168 ff.; (2) pp. 205-7. Chryses in I as pendant to Priam in XXIV.

about deserve to be examined closely; for here is the supreme test of his art and his philosophy too.

*The Funeral Games and their Counterpart in the Poem.*—Though it has been customary to think poorly of XXIII, and especially of the *Funeral Games*, there is literary reason for connecting that episode with XXIV, and also with IX; and the subject-matter points the same way. In the general plan of the *Iliad* as we have it, XXIII balances II, and serves also to connect XXII with XXIV, as II connects I with III. Both books consist of two distinct episodes. One in each book is in the heart of the plot; the Dream and its consequences in Book II, and the Burial of Patroclus, likewise the consequence of a Dream, in Book XXIII. The other pair, the *Catalogue* and the *Games*, are extraneous, and at first sight loosely attached to the story.<sup>16</sup>

The narrative of the Funeral Games (we are assured) fits badly into its place. Ancient grammarians cut out certain lines—the only remedy they had for grammatical misfits—but did not make matters much better. The very action (it appears) is confused; the people have no time to go home; the prizes have to be brought all the way from the ships; Achilles suddenly revives from utter weariness, though he has not even washed since he killed Hector two days before; the whole atmosphere and perspective are different; the transition from the death of Hector to its inevitable sequel, the death of Achilles, is interrupted; for, of course (it is said), the 'original' poem carried the story on to its tragic finish. The test of archery has been turned topsy-turvy by sheer inexperience of such matters. The games, in general, are a clumsy imitation of those at the funeral of Pelias, which (by the way) are not recorded, though the grandfather of one of these competitors took a distinguished part in them. Finally, as the games for Pelias are depicted on certain Corinthian vases of the sixth century whereas the games for Patroclus are not, it is argued that XXIII cannot have been as early as that.

As 'snags of this kind' (we are told) only occur in the *Iliad* where we must recognise 'interpolation,' we cannot blame the poet of the *Iliad*, even if he was himself a mere compiler. So the whole lay (we are asked to conclude) is interpolated, and consequently has broken or disturbed a train of thought. This, by the way, in a less eminent critic would be an argument in a circle. Yet 'originally independent, it has been forcibly inserted, on account of its excellence, at the only practicable point.'<sup>17</sup>

In so far as the *Games* exhibit the principal heroes with their characteristic tempers and prowesses, on an occasion rather civil than military, they are artistically an agreeable counterpart to the Ἐπιπώλησις rather than to the *Catalogue*; and in our *Iliad* the Ἐπιπώλησις is one of the episodes for which it is least easy to provide either counterpoise or explanation, in its present position. One is tempted to suspect that it may once have stood where the *Catalogue* now stands, and have been transferred to its present place as prelude to the doings of Diomedes in Book V.

<sup>16</sup> e.g. Leaf, *Companion to the Iliad*, p. 41, 369.

pp. 69 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Ilias*, 1916.

But in the deeper meaning of the *Iliad*, both the *Games* and the *Burial of Patroclus* have significance as phases in the restoration of Achilles to normal health and temper. In the *Burial* episode the very fact that there was something still to do for his dead friend, that must be done now, and done in the best and completest way, revived at all events his physical energies, his administrative grip and drive. To his friend, and among his own men, Achilles is once more all that friend or follower could desire.

In the *Games*, the λύσις goes further. Among his equals and his elders, and with Agamemnon, Achilles is himself again; efficient and hospitable, courteous and tactful; liberal, even lavish, in his provision for their needs and whims. For the moment, the war, and his own grief and wrath, are forgotten; his guests too have forgotten the war for the moment, so that we have for once a glimpse of Achaean society and nobility at their ease and at their best. Achilles is at peace with the world, and that world is for the moment at peace with itself. Only when the guests are gone, and the camp is still, are we allowed to see the sick soul of the man, and the savagery to which it drives him. That way lies the fate of Ajax, at best.

It is thus that those inevitable incidents of a great funeral serve to give sorely needed pause and relief after the wild work of Hector's end, and at the same time to present—here only in the whole poem—the 'godlike' Achilles, as the poet had come to know him—as we all think of him in the days before the Quarrel—πόδας ὠκὺς above all others, 'rejoicing as a strong man to run his course,' but playing the perfect host in games where, being the host, he might not run himself. It is thus that the poet prepares us, in the just balancing of all accounts save one, for the supreme λύσις, the surrender not of Hector's body only, but of that evil will in Achilles.

*The Content and Significance of Book XXIV.*—The last book of the *Iliad* has been a sore trouble to critics. Indeed from certain comments it would appear that Homer should have been ashamed to let a fine work of art trail off at the finish like this. I venture to submit a rather different estimate, observing the wise maxim that as a poet Homer can only be interpreted out of Homer, and directing attention only to a few principal points in the narrative. And once again I am well aware of my debt to the pioneer-work of Mr. Sheppard.<sup>18</sup>

As usual, when Homer has anything of special significance on hand, the gods have a finger in the pie. Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, for, in the event, it is the purpose of Zeus, not so much that Achilles must and shall surrender Hector's body, as that he shall have knowledge of the will of Zeus, and freedom to bring his own will, *if he will*, into conformity with the divine will. The phrase is perhaps oddly modern; but Homer is so modern. His tenses, so to speak, are less the historic present of the ballad-monger, than the gnomic aorist of the philosopher.

As Mr. Sheppard has noted, Homeric heroes are men of a hard age, wonderfully like their northern counterparts, the men of Icelandic Saga,

<sup>18</sup> Sheppard, *Pattern*, p. 201: 'If you cut out from the epic this description which forms a panel in the pattern between the mourning for Patroclus and the

supplication of King Priam, you destroy not only the balance of the composition, but the logical development of the hero's own psychology.'

in their great qualities, and in their shortcomings. Life was risky, and a man held his own life cheap, as he held the lives of other people. Killing was no murder, within the rules of the war-game: rather, it was a fine art, in which skill was memorable, experiment and discovery (as in all war) most attractively possible. Hence that insistence on the gory details of the business, the *curiosa felicitas* of the masters of fence; the risks of reckless inexperience, as in Patroclus' last fight, when he thought himself invulnerable in the magic armour; and the sporting chance—to give it its modern name—whether a god would (or would not) take a hand in the game, turning man's miss into a crashing stroke.

But there were rules of the game, and things more precious than life—your own life or other people's. Just because life was short and precarious, a man had fundamental *right* to respect and consideration, according to his personal worth. Worth, it is true, went with station, in an age when might-in-the-present consecrated, and had yet in the last resort to maintain, what might-in-the-past had created. But while there were degrees of rank, within all degrees there was that ultimate regard for individual prowess which goes far to redeem and sanction any rule-of-force.

First, then, at the beginning of XXIV, the gods were of opinion that Achilles was going too far. Some of them, but not all, were for clearing up the mess by sending Hermes to steal Hector's body. But there were political, military, and personal considerations: Hera, Athena, and Poseidon stood out for the rigour of the game: the *spretæ iniuria formæ* of the two goddesses shall be avenged on the person of Hector.<sup>19</sup> Poseidon's grievance against Troy was of older standing: Laomedon would not pay; Priam shall.

Apollo, advocate of the Trojan cause throughout, and none too scrupulous in that rôle, states the case for decency rather than for mercy. Hector, while he lived, did his duty by the gods: they at least have no quarrel with him now. He cannot harm the enemy any more; and matters could take their course if it were not for Achilles' behaviour. That is inexcusable, except on the view that Achilles is upset, that he has lost his head and his temper. You may carry both pity and self-respect to disastrous lengths; but pity and self-respect may also be the best policy:—thoroughly Apolline rationalism. Even if a man loses his brother or his son, and great as is his distress, he forgives; such is human nature. Achilles' previous record had been good; but he has gone too far. By his treatment of Hector he sullies the earth; and as earth cannot speak, it is for us gods to protest.

Hera admits the general principle. *Noblesse oblige*, but nobility has prerogatives as well. Circumstances alter cases. Hector was a mere mortal, Achilles on his mother's side is divine. Apollo knows this quite well; he came to the wedding of Thetis, and should stand by the code. Snobbish, commonplace, trivial; but quite in accord with Hera's rôle in the *Iliad*.

At this point Zeus intervenes. Apollo is right; *ius suum cuique*: give Hector a good man's due, as he gave us our due, in sacrifice and burnt-

<sup>19</sup> The insinuation that we have here a more dis- however, justified by the text.  
creditable version of the Judgment of Paris is not.



offering. With dismay the poet had noted, at the time of the outrage (XXIII, 403), that Zeus *let* this awful thing be done: with a mere thunder-clap he could have saved Achilles from himself. To steal away the body is impracticable. Achilles might not notice, but Thetis will, and there will be more worry. Zeus has not forgotten Book I, nor the trouble into which Thetis put him and everyone else. Better, then, to work with and through Thetis. Achilles will attend to her. Where is she?

Thetis was in retirement, grieving for Achilles, for by killing Hector he has sealed his own death-warrant: μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἔτοιμος. Reluctant and resigned she comes. The gods are now in formal council. Introduced by Iris, she enters mourning. Even those two goddesses are moved: Athena makes place for her by Father Zeus: Hera greets her and offers the loving-cup, and Thetis pledges her in it. For the full value of this pageantry we must look back to Book I, where Thetis, alone and secretly, learned what was the will of Zeus, and Hera, though she knew it not, was angry. Now, if no favour, there is at least a fair field.

Then Zeus declares his will. How sore is her grief, is known to him; but this business is urgent. Achilles' treatment of Hector has shocked the gods: they are even trying to make Hermes steal the body. But there is a more excellent way, the right way, the way of Zeus. Yet even the way of Zeus depends on the will of Achilles, to do the thing that is right. To Thetis alone has been revealed the will of Zeus; she knows quite well what that right thing is; she loves Achilles; and mercy and love can set this right. 'Tell him, from Me, that his behaviour to Hector offends the gods, Zeus most of all. In rage he did it, but that was nine days ago. If he has the fear of God—the fear of Me—in him, he will let the body go. He will be no loser. Every formality shall be observed, provided he will play the game':—how like the diplomatic ceremonial of the *Embassy*! 'Priam himself shall bring the ransom, and worthy of Hector it shall be.' But wholly with Achilles it rests, to accept or to refuse. 'This *glory* will I vouchsafe to Achilles,<sup>20</sup> and establish for ever thy mercy and love for him.' Thetis cannot prolong the life of her son; but she can give him the option of what later Greece called εὐδαιμονία, that untranslatable, unspeakable experience of the man with whom all is well between him and the heart of things—the peace of God that passeth understanding, that fulfilleth the Counsel of Zeus.<sup>21</sup> If she will, and if he will, the son of Thetis shall for all time be 'greater than his father.' Homer will see to that.

Thetis found Achilles still mourning aloud. His men were going about as usual, with that Greek detachment from 'troubles not their own'; a meal, as usual, was a-cooking. Thetis seizes the occasion, putting her own trouble first. Mother-like, what worries her (130) is that he has had nothing to eat: and what has become of Briseis? Just because Achilles has so short a time to live, all *that*—the grief and the reprisals alike—is a waste of time (131-2). Then, as in duty bound, she gives the message of

<sup>20</sup> XXIV, 110. κῦδος προτιάπτω is almost physical; to 'attach glory' to Achilles, as a medal is 'conferred' by pinning it on.

<sup>21</sup> Compare Sheppard, *Pattern*, p. 202: 'Zeus sent

Thetis to her son for the last time, to touch his heart and to bring him back the human pity, which Apollo said he had quite lost.'

Zeus, but shortly, and omitting all her own part in the business, and also all mention of the lovingkindness of Zeus. If he is to win that glory, she knows, he must win it for himself and by himself. And then, changing the mood, and again omitting all reference to the 'fear of God'—for it is not the will of God that through fear a man should do right—she gives, coolly and reasonably, her own counsel, first to let the body go, and secondly to do so under the code—to accept the ransom which in a conventional phrase she assumes will be offered: and *somebody will have to come and offer it*.

Then the miracle happens. At once, without preface or protest, πόδας ὠκύς, impetuous, and sound still at heart, Achilles casts the load from his soul. Reversing her order of thought, and facing first what was now hardest (after all that), the meeting with Priam, 'Would he were here, who should bring the ransom and take back the body!' That first, and only after that, he adds, 'if indeed it was in love for me that Heaven itself bids.' Past his mother's reticence, out of his own misery, Achilles looks into the soul of Zeus and knows that God is good.

Only then, when the great renunciation has been made, so frankly, unreservedly, willingly, do mother and son settle down to a long, long talk, 'by the gathering of ships,' so that 'many winged words were they speaking to each other.'<sup>22</sup>

Homeric canons of narrative solved in a very simple way the problem of describing simultaneous events. The nineteenth-century novelist, like Heliodorus in the *Aethiopica* (which I commend to anyone who enjoys racy narrative, thrilling adventures, vivid description of landscape, and the most lovable pair of lovers in the world), attains his end by the crude artifice of putting the clock back—'let us now return to our hero.' Homer knows that this cannot be done; he respects time's irrevocable continuity, its *passage* no less than its *unity*. Zeus had told Thetis that he intended to make Priam come himself to beg for the body; and the Counsel of Zeus tarries not. But Thetis has first to achieve her object, before Zeus can even bid Iris fly to Troy Town. So the words of Thetis are brief, and Achilles makes a lightning decision. Only when all this is known to his listeners does the poet return to Olympus, and let Zeus give Iris her other commission. But while Iris is on her way, with the good news already true, as she tells it to Priam (185), and while Priam is preparing for his journey, action 'by the gathering of the ships' does not stand still:—'so they, mother and son, spoke many winged words to each other.' The crisis over, they had indeed enough to say. And Thetis we see no more.

That is the romantic, naturalist, humanist content of the first half of Book XXIV within the strict frame of counterpart with the latter half of Book I, which itself, for all its formality, is narrative so graphic and rapid that it has hardly been observed that it has formal structure at all. But a poet so great was master of his method; he has concealed his art; yet his art and his design are there, and of superb subtilty.

*The Mission to Chryse*.—One curious anomaly and lack of correspondence between I and XXIV becomes, however, apparent when these two

<sup>22</sup> Compare Sheppard, *Pattern*, p. 210: 'The tragedy of the *Iliad*, like the later Attic tragedies, ends in the peace, not of exhaustion, but of the healing of the human soul.'

books are analysed and compared. In I, the Quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon arises from the capture of Chryseis, and results in the seizure of Briseis. Earlier and later phases of the affair of Chryseis stand as side-panels to the Assembly-scene in which the μῆνις breaks out. But the repatriation of Chryseis is also the counterpart of the abduction of Briseis, and these two episodes are the side-panels of the visit of Thetis to Achilles. This whole composition in I stands between the μῆνις composition and the scene in Olympus which closes this book; as the visit of Thetis to Achilles in XXIV stands between the scene in Olympus with which XXIV opens, and the λύσις composition—even more elaborately composite than the μῆνις scene in I, but likewise enframed between opening and closing phrases describing the crowd of Trojans round the old king, and the threefold oratory before his departure and after his return. But there is no counterpart to Chryseis in XXIV, and only the vaguest allusion to Briseis.

There is, however, good reason for this superficial anomaly. In XXIV what balances Chryses demanding Chryseis (as Mr. Sheppard has seen<sup>23</sup>) is Priam begging for the body of Hector; and conversely, the moral turning-point of the λύσις, which answers to the outbreak of μῆνις in the Assembly-scene, is in the scene between Achilles and his mother.

Formally, however, the two appearances of Thetis are counterparts, and this seeming anomaly enhances their respective significance. Thetis in I comes to Achilles in his impetuous youth, and herself impetuously pours out to Zeus his trouble about Briseis, and Agamemnon's insult to him; and in the poet's design Chryseis, Thetis, and Briseis form one group of three gracious figures. In XXIV, Chryseis belongs to the past, Briseis is forgotten (130) till the λύσις is achieved (676), Thetis, with full knowledge now of the Counsel of Zeus, sees Achilles bereft of Patroclus, agonised by remorse, and himself already in the shadow of death: ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή. What wonder that Thetis stands here alone; or that the poet finds it enough to say that

ὦς οἷγ' ἐν νηῶν ἄγύρει μήτηρ τε καὶ υἱὸς  
πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον,

while Iris prepares Priam for the counterpart of Chryses in Book I?

## VI. THE RÔLE OF THETIS IN THE 'ILIAD'

In his recent book on the *Odyssey*, Professor W. J. Woodhouse has suggested that one of the principal innovations of its composer was that he created the character of Telemachus, and thereby achieved that transformation of three several motives, the Faithful Wife, the Husband's Vengeance, and the Son seeking his Father, into the coherent Tale of Three which our *Odyssey* celebrates in their permutations (p. 267 above).

So too the poet of our *Iliad* not only combined the μῆνις of Achilles against Agamemnon with his μῆνις against Hector, but has done this by

<sup>23</sup> *Pattern*, p. 207: 'But it is an old man, like Chryses, praying like him in the name of a father, who comes as the last suppliant of the *Iliad* to the hut of Achilles.' Cf. pp. 205, 208-9.

the creation of secondary characters: Phoenix, whose advice Achilles ought to have followed in the *Embassy*, Patroclus, whose request he ought not to have granted, and above all Thetis, whose appearances mark the three great turning points in the composite story, and grip it together. And this enhancement of the human value of his principals by the creation of ancillary characters is no freak or brain-wave, but a habitual device of his art. It must be noted, too, that some of the most effective of these foils and acolytes are women. Priam has his Hecuba, whose outlook on the war is as different from his, as Hector's is from that of Andromache, or Helen's from that of Paris. On the Achaean side, where *ex hypothesi* feminine interest must be remote, male accessories are frequent. Agamemnon has his Menelaus, Ajax his Teucer, Nestor his Antilochus; Diomedes and Odysseus grandly enhance each other. For Achilles, the poet has been more lavish. Of the girl from Brisa, after all, he has made little or nothing: in Achilles' deep need she was as little use as his cook; by the body of Patroclus she wept for her own troubles, like the other women,

Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἑκάστη.

But he has created Patroclus and Thetis, and of these, Thetis is his masterpiece.

In Patroclus he has given us a second self of the young Achilles who came to Troy πόδας ὠκύς, literally 'for honour and glory': familiar as they are, no other words describe that frankly boyish ambition of them both; and that was the reward, we remember, that Zeus had at last to confer (XXIV, 110):

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε κύδος Ἀχίλλῃ προτιάπτω.

And it is not only Patroclus that is dead: for with him died a more splendid boy, the young Achilles. From the first moment of the μῆνις (as Mr. Sheppard has seen, p. 20) it is to Patroclus that Achilles entrusts what—in spite of his greeting to the heralds—might so easily have overmastered himself, the surrender of Briseis, and formal witness to the fact. But it is not to Patroclus that Achilles turns for help.

That is the mission of Thetis; and from her first word we know—as she knew—that it is a new Achilles with whom she had to deal. Τέκνον· τί κλαίεις;—how often had she begun like that!—τί δὲ σὸν δέμας ἵκετο—ΠΟ! τί δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος; And in grief of soul Achilles replies, almost reproachfully, 'what need is there to *tell*?'

οἶσθα· τίη τοι ταῦτα ἰδυίη πάντ' ἀγορεύω;

For this is no human friend, no older man looking πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω a certain distance, but a goddess who *knows*, and knowing fully the facts, knows (Greek-wise) what there can be to *do*. When she next speaks, we too know it; for she speaks not a word of consolation, but forthwith of his inevitable end; the thing that all these years she had hidden, and pondered in her heart, is out:—τῷ σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισιν. So too, though she must needs *ask* Zeus, αἶ κε πίθηται, she *knows* that he will hear;—καί μιν πείσεσθαι οἶω. How different from Hecuba, from Andromache, even

from Helen, with Hector in VI! Yet this affair of Briseis was a mortal accident, that even a goddess might not have known, any more than she knew what the *fresh* trouble was, that Achilles' cry announced to her in XVIII, 63-4, when she thought, now at least he was safe.

ἀλλ' εἴμ' ὄφρα ἴδοιμι φίλον τέκος, ἦδ' ἐπακούσω  
ὅττι μιν ἴκετο πένθος, ἀπὸ πολέμοιο μένοντα.

And when she finds him, she asks the same question again: ἐξάυδα . . . Achilles must put into words his trouble; then *she-who-knows* will find the remedy, if remedy there be within the Διὸς βουλή that she knows.

For the same reason, Zeus has no need to reveal his will to her in words; his nod is sign enough that he too knows and understands. How different from his treatment of his Olympian family!

Thetis, in fact, is not Olympian, not quite an ordinary goddess. Indeed she is something more. Married, for sufficient reason, to a mortal, and mother of a mortal son, she is nevertheless little less than the Counsel of Zeus, the Divine Wisdom in person. And is that perhaps her name? Is Thetis twin sister of Themis? Or at least did the poet think so? Like Proteus, Thetis could assume any form she pleased. Only by holding fast to that which lay behind appearances, could mortal Peleus win her; and of him that should hold her, the son should be greater than his father. So Themis foretold; but neither Zeus nor Poseidon ventured; and the Olympians left behind them no god greater than themselves. Did the poet know that story too?

Yes, apart from all else, the poet of the *Iliad* created Patroclus and Thetis; and of these, Thetis is his masterpiece.

J. L. MYRES.

## NOTES

**M. Jean Gennadius.**—By the death of M. Gennadius in September the Society has lost one of its oldest and most devoted friends and supporters, and indeed in a sense one of its founders, for, as I have stated in my History of the Society, it was in conversation with M. Gennadius, then Greek Chargé d’Affaires in London, that in 1877 the idea of founding such a Society arose when he told me of the recent foundation in Paris of a *Société pour l’Encouragement des Études Grecques*. We were agreed that the French lead might well be followed in this country, and when, in the autumn of 1878, the co-operation of Professor Sayce made it possible for me to take the preliminary steps for carrying out the idea, M. Gennadius was helpful in suggesting the names of Englishmen whom he had known to have travelled in Greece, for it was to these in the first instance that our appeal was addressed. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies was founded in June 1879, and, in recognition of the active part he had played in its inception, M. Gennadius was included in the first list of Vice-Presidents and attended many meetings of Council, for a time also serving on the Library Committee. From 1882 he was enrolled as an Honorary Member, and during the half-century which has since elapsed he never ceased to follow the progress of the Society with constant and sympathetic interest. I have before me the eloquent address which he delivered when, in 1904, the Society celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. Taking a legitimate pride in the fact that ‘the idea of the Society was conceived in the chambers of the Greek Legation in Pall Mall,’ M. Gennadius went on to speak of the rapidity of its growth, the excellence of its work, its present vigour and wide activity, the position it had attained among learned bodies, as having exceeded by far the expectations then formed, and as now justifying the hopes for its future. This success, he added, was the more remarkable because it had synchronised with the recrudescence of efforts to circumscribe Greek studies in the school and university curriculum.

It was a matter of great regret to us all that when, twenty-five years later, the Society celebrated its Jubilee, M. Gennadius was prevented by illness from taking the prominent place which had been assigned to him in the list of speakers,

but he followed with the keenest interest all the arrangements for the Festival and enjoyed to the full the messages and addresses of congratulation which reached the Society from learned bodies and scholars all over the world. Members of this Society will always bear his name in honoured memory as one of its founders, and will also associate it with the wonderful Library of books dealing with all periods of Greek literature, history, and art which he spent a long life in collecting, and which is now by his own wish housed in the beautiful *Gennadeion* on the slopes of Mt. Lycabettus in Athens. However one may regret that the Committee of the British School at Athens were not in a position to fulfil the conditions under which this unique Library was in the first instance offered to them—a regret shared to the full by the donor himself—it must nevertheless be a great satisfaction to his many English friends that M. Gennadius lived to see his desire, that the Library should find a permanent and worthy home in Athens, carried out with such brilliant success by the sister American School with the proviso that students of the British School have free access to its treasures. For the following account of the contents of the Library we are indebted to Mr. William Miller, who, as resident in Athens, is familiar with its use, and can speak with special authority on the mediaeval and modern departments of the collection.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN.

### **The ‘Gennadeion’: Dr. Gennadius’ Monument at Athens.**

—The lamented death of Dr. Joannes Gennadius has severed a link which for two generations had contributed to unite Great Britain with Greece. No foreign diplomatist possessed such a complete knowledge of our language, which he wrote and spoke with elegance, and of our psychology; no Greek public man had lived so long in England, with which he had literary, no less than political, associations, going back to the early seventies of the last century. Of his diplomatic services to both countries, his own and that of his adoption, others have written; I propose here to say something of the noble library which will always be a monument to his patriotic father, one of the finest figures of the Greek struggle for independence, the διδάσκαλος τοῦ γένους, to

himself and to the distinguished English lady who was his wife and whose initials, with his own, are imprinted on many of the beautiful bindings which adorn the 'Gennadeion' upon the slopes of Lykabettos. The librarian might, indeed, greet the future biographer of Joannes Gennadius with the saying: *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*. For here, in this marble building, away from the ceaseless motor-traffic of the modern Athenian streets, with its front facing purple Hymettos, of whose most famous monastery Gennadius was the historian,<sup>1</sup> as became the descendant of its patrons, the famous Benizelos family of Turkish Athens, are deposited the 28,000 volumes which he had collected and which he and his wife presented in 1922 to the trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in memory of his father. I was present as representative of the Hellenic Society at the inauguration of the library on 23 April, 1926, when Dr. Gennadius paid his last visit to Athens and when we hastened from this temple of the humanities to celebrate the centenary of the Sortie from Missolonghi. Since then the indefatigable labours of two successive librarians, the American scholars, Drs. Scoggin and Lowe, have catalogued the library—no easy task, because one volume often contains several works.

The library consists of five main divisions. One section is of interest to bibliophiles, for its founder collected not only books about Greece and the neighbouring countries of South-eastern Europe, but also first editions of the classics, volumes which had belonged to eminent personages, and rare bindings, in which he was himself a specialist. A second section covers the Byzantine, Frankish and Turkish periods of Greek history. A third and very large department is that of modern Greek history since 1821, including a collection of Greek newspapers and of English newspaper articles. A fourth is devoted to theology, which was one of the founder's hobbies, while a small room opening out of the main library contains books by, or presented to, members of the Gennadius family. Thus, the 'Gennadeion' appeals to very different classes of readers; the classical archaeologist will pursue his studies elsewhere, for, although Greek archaeology is not excluded, the deed of gift expressed 'the confident hope that the American School' might 'become a world-centre for the study of modern,' as well as ancient and Byzantine, history, and the present librarian is a distinguished Byzantinologist. So far, however, the founder's 'hope' has

not been realised, for few students of either the British or the American School are interested in the mediaeval, Turkish and modern periods, although a lecture on Byzantine history, as was seen when M. Grégoire lectured at the French School last winter, will draw an enormous audience of Athenians. Hitherto the workers in the 'Gennadeion' have been few—*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*—though the facilities for studying there are great and the materials which it contains enormous.

The most important section of the library is that which deals with modern Greek and Balkan history, in which both Joannes and Georgios Gennadius played distinguished parts in their respective generations. The War of Independence naturally bulks large in the shelves. All the leading historians of the 'struggle' are represented, including the rare second edition of Samuel Howe, of which Mrs. Howe assured Dr. Gennadius 'that she knew of only two copies, and those in her own family.' Of still greater interest are the contemporary accounts of the foundation of modern Greece by men who had wielded the rifle or the yataghan before they had taken up the pen. There are the Memoirs of the famous Metropolitan Germanos of Patras, who raised the standard of revolt at Hagia Lavra, of Kolokotrones, of Constantine Metaxas and Nicholas Dragoumes. Foreign volunteers include Raybaud (in a copy which was successively the property of the Duchesse de Berry and Talleyrand), Jourdain, Muller of Altdorf, who commanded at Palamidi, and an anonymous 'young English volunteer in the Greek service,' whose *Sketches of Modern Greece* I have seen only here. Akin to these writers are the foreign delegates, such as Blaquiére, Leicester Stanhope, 'the typographical colonel,' who was, in a sense, the father of Greek journalism in Greece—for the earliest Greek newspapers were published abroad—Emerson, the British Consul Green, Julius Millingen, and J. P. Miller of Vermont. Foreign travellers of the period comprise Waddington, Swan, Bulwer and the once-famous Urquhart. Greater rarities than these standard works are the monographs on incidents of Greece's rebirth, such as the murder of the Patriarch Gregory V. Here may be found the official programme of the transport of his remains to the Athens Cathedral in 1871 with the panegyric delivered over them. The maritime war may be studied here in the 'Synoptic history' of 'the three nautical islands,' the ΣΠΕΤΣΙΩΤΙΚΑ of Anargyros and the voluminous documents about Navarino, the centenary of which Greece celebrated so successfully in 1927. The presi-

<sup>1</sup> *JHS*, L, 165, 363.

dency of Capo d'Istria occupies a whole section of the collection, of which the criticisms of his system by Koraes form a part. Various pamphlets treat of the loans of 1824-25 and the construction of the Greek frigates in America. Archives, such as those of Count Romas, edited by Mr. Kampouroglous, the eminent historian of Turkish Athens (who has recently celebrated his 80th birthday), and those of Makrygiannes, form a background to the literature of the Philhellenes, among whom Byron naturally occupies a prominent place. Biographies of the heroes of the War of Independence are abundant, including Dr. Gennadius' life of his father, written under the pseudonym of 'Xenophon Anastasiades,' while the funeral oration over the tomb of Sir Richard Church was also composed by him. Lives of Canning, Lord Guilford, Santa Rosa and Fabrier are followed and illustrated by such works as Krazeisen's *Portraits des Grecs et des Philhellènes les plus célèbres*, Hess's *Befreiung Griechenlands in xxxix Bildern*, and several pictures of the battle of Navarino, besides a collection of maps and charts, and a historical account of the Greek flag. Nor did the collector ignore the poems, plays and novels, which have the War of Independence for their theme. There are French, German and Roumanian dramas on the fall of Missolonghi, and *A satirical poem* (on the famous siege) addressed to Her Majesty's Protestant subjects, both houses of parliament, and the clergy, by Francis Glasse, writing under the pseudonym of 'Britannicus.' The novels in English range from Morier's *Photo the Suliote* to Benson's *The Vintage*.

'Candidates for the Greek throne' fill a whole volume, which includes the pamphlet of Prince George Comnène, *Sur la Grèce*, stating that in 1781 the Greeks demanded Prince Demetrios Comnenos, self-styled descendant of the Emperors of Trebizond, as head of a new Greek state. The reign of Otho is well represented not only by the standard histories of Parish, Thouvenel and Evangelides, but also by the very valuable *Briefe einer Hofdame in Athen, 1837-1842* by Frä. von Nordenflycht, and by Baron Ow's *Aufzeichnungen eines Junkers am Hofe zu Athen* (1837). The specimen of that valuable source for Athenian life in the early years of the new capital, *Cochrane's Wanderings in Greece*, was a presentation copy given by the author to Sir Richard Church. There are—in Greek and German—the proceedings of the National Assembly of 1843-44, which was the result of the bloodless September revolution. Books of travel about this period abound, notable among them being a fine copy of the *Südöstlicher Bildersaal* of Prince von Pueckler-Muskau.

With the reign of George I we come to the Union with the Ionian Islands, to the history and topography of which no fewer than 352 volumes of this collection are dedicated, among them 17 volumes of 'Pamphlets, articles, and various publications on the affairs of the Islands during the British Protectorate, and after the Union.' Both sides are impartially represented: Lombardos, the chief opponent of the Protectorate, may be read here as an antidote to the British treatises and articles, and Gladstone's historic mission fills a whole volume. The long series of Cretan insurrections, which formed so large a portion of the history of the second dynasty, produced a rich crop of official documents, pamphlets, and patriotic poems, ranging from the insurrection of 1858 to 1910. The book by Stillman, the well-known American consul in Crete and afterwards correspondent of *The Times* in Athens and Rome, was a presentation copy to Froude. A privately printed and unpublished 'Memorandum' of Prince George, in 1905, to the four protecting Powers, was a gift from the Prince to Dr. Gennadius, who lets us into the secret that he 'prepared' *The Case for the Cretans* in 1910 'at the suggestion of M. Venizelos,' who, however, never published it. Closely connected with this section is the literature about the 'Thirty Days' War' between Greece and Turkey in 1897. Mr. H. W. Nevinson's admirable book with that title heads the tale of British war-correspondents, while the late Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett's *The Battlefields of Thessaly* presents the Turkish side. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 furnished a further set of books, among them Mr. John Mavrogordato's *Letters from Greece concerning the War of the Balkan Allies*, besides four volumes of London illustrated newspapers. Greece's attitude during the European War introduced highly controversial matter into the library about that period, which even now concerns the politician rather than the historian. As might have been expected from a book-collector, who was for so many years his country's diplomatic representative, official publications regarding this period abound. There are whole series of Blue and Yellow Books about Greece and Turkey, British consular reports, Greek budgets and official handbooks. Several volumes describe the revival of the Olympic Games at Athens in 1896—a movement which has tended towards the development of physical culture, which is so marked a feature of contemporary Greece.

Modern Greece is unthinkable without newspapers, and of these the 'Gennadeion' contains a good collection, but not so good as either the Finlay Library or the Library of Parliament.



Thus, the 'Ελληνικά Χρονικά of Missolonghi are here represented only by the reprint of Levides, published in 1840, whereas Finlay bought his copies on the spot during the siege and the bound volume in the possession of the British Archaeological School contains a transcript in his beautiful Greek handwriting of Number 20, which was stopped by Lord Byron because it contained an attack upon Austria as the oppressor of the Hungarians. The Finlay Library also possesses what the 'Gennadeion' lacks—a set of the first Athenian newspaper, 'Εφημερίς Ἀθηνῶν, while the first newspaper published in Greece after the declaration of the War of Independence, the 'Ελληνική Σάλπιγξ of Kalamata, is lacking in both these libraries. Nor is there, unfortunately, a complete set, but only a number of unbound copies, of that unrivalled comic newspaper, the 'Ρωμηός of Soures, the Aristophanes of modern Greece, entirely written in verse and providing an unrivalled commentary on the political life of the later part of George I's reign. There was—so the late M. Skouloudes informed me—a reason for the exclusion of the Greek *Punch* from this collection, for Soures admired, and Dr. Gennadius did not share his admiration for, Trikoupes. There are, however, the rare scientific and literary weekly, 'Ἡώς, issued at Nauplia when it was the capital; the once famous 'Απόλλων of Hydra, comprising the number which contains Alexander Soutsos' poem, comparing the two Mavromichalai, who murdered Capo d'Istria, with Harmodios and Aristogeiton; and an almost complete set of the first six volumes of the Γενική Ἐφημερίς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, followed by one of its successor, the 'Εφημερίς τῆς Κυβερνήσεως from 1833 to 1842. The official gazette of 'the provisional government' of M. Venizelos, Admiral Kountouriotis, and General Dangles in 1916-17 is an interesting curiosity. The most influential Greek newspaper published abroad, the now defunct Νέα Ἡμέρα of Trieste (which did not survive its transference to Athens), is represented by a number of volumes, while Greek journalism in England may here be studied in the Βρετανικός Ἀστὴρ of Stephanos Xenos, the publicist and novelist, the *Hellenic Herald* and 'Εσπερία of Dr. Pouptes, now the Athenian correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, and in the monthly Ἐρευνα of Mr. Platon Drakoules. Magazines and periodical publications of learned societies abound, such as the trilingual 'Ιόνιος Ἀνθολογία of 1834, the Πανδώρα and the Ἑβδομάς (1884-92), valuable for the lists of Philhellenes which it contains, compiled from Col. Touret's notes. A whole set of pamphlets refers to the University of Athens.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of the Library to the study of the modern history of the Near East are the 84 volumes (containing some 1100 pamphlets and articles) labelled 'Ελλάς and the 66 volumes (containing about 750) labelled *Question d'Orient*. The former series deals with politics from 1832 to 1897, education (about which Dr. Gennadius himself wrote a pamphlet), the postal service, industry and agriculture: the latter embraces seven volumes on the 'Policy of the Great Powers,' and articles from English reviews between 1810 and 1878. All opinions are represented. The Macedonian Question provides 14 more volumes; and there is a large literature about the Dodekanese. The plans include Schinkel's happily averted *Entwurf* for a Royal Palace on the Akropolis, Klenze's *Plan de la nouvelle ville d'Athènes, adopté par le Roi Othon*, Stademann's *Panorama von Athen* and Mrs. Bracebridge's *Notes Descriptive of a Panoramic Sketch of Athens*. A curiosity of the 'family room,' which contains 290 publications by or about Dr. Gennadius, is 'the first book forming my library'—a gift from his father in 1852. We learn, too, from notes by him that he was the anonymous compiler of Stanford's *Ethnological Map of European Turkey and Greece*, that he 'had a good deal to do with' the publications of both 'The Eastern Question Association' and the 'Greek Committee,' which—so the catalogue informs us—'was founded at a private informal gathering of Dilke, Chamberlain, and Shaw Lefevre in my chambers.' A coloured picture formerly on the wall of this room represents a scene from the play, 'Ἡ Κατοχή (the 'Anglo-French Occupation' at the time of the Crimean War), showing the old patriot, Georgios Gennadius, standing in the historic political coffee-house, Ὡραία Ἑλλάς, through the windows of which are seen Greek troops marching to the frontier.

There is a small collection of manuscripts, of which some illustrate the modern history of Greece. These comprise 'A Log of the proceedings of H.M. ship "Albion"' (the flagship at the battle of Navarino); copies of letters from Guilford to Church, Bathurst, and Stratford Canning in 1827 about the Ionian Islands: 'Letters and Dispatches,' addressed to Church by Greek military chiefs and politicians and Philhellenes in 1827-29; five letters of Eynard, dated 1825-41; and two letters from the Duchesse de Plaisance to her husband, describing her meeting with the brigand Bibises. Of special interest is the 'Monument des philhellènes à Nauplie' by Fornesy. One manuscript was published by me in the *English Historical*

*Review*,<sup>1</sup> under the title of 'Three Letters on the Ionian Islands, 1850-3.'

In large metal and glass cases ranged round the ground floor of the Library are the rare books. Several belonged to Royal personages, such as Henry VIII (a copy of the work of Erasmus on the Pronunciation of Greek), James I, George III, Louis XIV (the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey'), Napoleon I, Josephine, Nicholas I of Russia, and Amalia of Greece. Other books contain Byron's autograph, and there are Racine's copy of Hesiod and a presentation copy of a work by Casaubon. There are the first Greek books printed in Paris, Vienna, Spain, and Athens. Of very early editions there are the first Greek book, Laskaris' 'Greek Grammar,' printed at Milan in 1476, the Milanese Greek and Latin Psalter of 1481, a series of Aldines and Elzevirs, and the *editio princeps* of Suidas' Lexicon of 1499. The last important addition to this department is the 1488 edition of Homer. Upon these treasures look down from the gallery Hamilton's portrait of Georgios Gennadius, and two portraits of the founder (in the fustanella) and his wife by De László, painted in 1925 and exhibited in Washington.

The portion of the Library, which deals with medieval Greek history, contains all the standard works upon this subject. There is much about the Byzantine Empire, ranging from general works, such as those of Gibbon, Finlay (in both editions), Lebeau, Lampros, Paparrhegopoulos (in the illustrated last edition) and Robert Byron, to books on special periods, such as those of Bury, Schlumberger, Diehl and Chalandon, Miss Dawes' translation of the *Alexiad* and Mrs. Buckler's work on its author. The Empire of Trebizond figures not only in Fallmerayer and Finlay, but in the German translation by Carl B. Reiching, of the latter's volume, containing the critical remark by Fallmerayer: *Ein deutscher Literat . . . hatte uber Byzanz und Trapezunt wenigstens ein Dutzend Bande abgesponnen . . . Der Dritte redet kurz aber verstandlich*—a criticism which might be applied to the very different manner in which Hopf and Finlay wrote the history of Frankish Greece. One volume contains Finlay's articles for *Blackwood's Magazine*, with a letter from Blackwood and Sons to Dr. Gennadius, appending a list of them; another consists of reviews of Finlay's historical work. But, of course, the student of Finlay will go to the Finlay Library of the British School rather than to the 'Gennadeion,' for in the former are stored all his writings, pub-

lished or unpublished, including a complete set of his articles as correspondent of *The Times*,<sup>2</sup> which could appropriately form an eighth volume of the Oxford edition of his great history, bringing the narrative down to 1874. There is, moreover, this difference between the two Libraries, that, whereas the books in the 'Gennadeion' are beautiful, virgin copies, those in the 'Finlay' are covered with the historian's caustic marginalia, which often possess more value than the text which they cauterise, for Finlay knew Greece as no *Stubengelehrter* could know it, and had, like Dr. Gennadius, helped to make, as well as write, its history. Besides these standard works on Byzantine history, flanked by the inadequate Bonn Corpus of the Byzantine historians (of which the Finlay Library possesses only a certain number of volumes), the 'Gennadeion' has a collection of pamphlets on the relations between Byzantium and other states. There are splendidly bound copies of Sathas' *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* and minor works all in blue: there is much about Cyprus, beginning with L. de Mas Latrie's unfinished *magnum opus* on the Lusignan period, while Meliarakes represents the Empire of Nicaea. The Frankish and Venetian period can be studied, so far as books are concerned, on these shelves. They bear a complete set of Buchon's works, in beautiful bindings: all that Hopf so painstakingly compiled and buried in the catacombs of Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopaedia and similar publications; Baronne de Guldencrone's *L'Achaïe Féodale*; Cte. Fernand de Sassenaz' *Les Brienne de Lecce et d'Athènes*; and Sauger's rare *Histoire Nouvelle des Anciens Ducs . . . de l'Archipel* in both the French edition of 1699 and the Greek translation of 1878. In this connexion may be mentioned the goodly store of volumes on the relations of Venice and Genoa with the Levant. The Catalan period is illustrated here by Moncada and by a bound volume containing some, but not nearly all, the monographs of the distinguished Catalan scholar, Antonio Rubió y Lluch, who has practically created the history of the Catalans at Athens from the archives of Barcelona and Palermo. Outside of Greece proper, but occasionally connected with her romantic and variegated story in the middle and later ages, are the doings of the Knights of Malta, chronicled by Vertot, and there are numerous pamphlets on the battle of Lepanto, one or two of which I remember to have purchased for Dr. Gennadius at a sale in Rome. Turkey

<sup>1</sup> xliii (1928), 240.

<sup>2</sup> One of these, never printed. I published in *BS.I.* xxvii, 92-112.

naturally claims a share in a Greek library, and Rampoldi's *Annali Musulmani* are prominent here, besides the usual histories of the Ottomans. Whole shelves are filled with works of travel in Greece and the Levant, from which the historian may glean much about Greece in the Turkish period, which Demetrios Gr. Kampouroglous, in a long series of volumes, the result of fifty years of research, has made his own. Nor are the neighbouring Balkan nationalities neglected; of special value is the complete set of the rare works about Skanderbeg, as I found when writing in this Library the article upon him for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Law is not neglected: witness the presence of Ashburner's *Rhodian Sea Law*. A whole section is set apart for treatises on the language question, in which Dr. Gennadius took a keen interest and about which he felt strongly. Here a finely bound set of Hatzidakis on *Linguistics* catches the eye. One shelf is devoted to another exciting Greek subject—eruptions, and there are several treatises on the Greek flora. In fact, Dr. Gennadius might have adapted the Terentian maxim: *Nihil Graecum a mea bibliotheca alienum puto*, using the word 'Greek' in the sense which it bears in the inscription engraved above the entrance of the 'Gennadeion': 'Those are called Greeks who share our (Greek) culture.'

Meanwhile, the Library has grown since its foundation, and is still growing. At first, few new books were bought and the collections of historical reviews stopped at 1922. But of late times the librarian has been able to keep the collection well up to date; for example, the recent works of Aspreas and Karolides have been acquired for the modern section, and it is understood that more books, notably the Koraes volumes, will be sent from Dr. Gennadius' private library in England. It is to be hoped that, as in the Finlay Library, under the care of Mr. Heurtley, the addition of new publications will be continued and continual.

In Greece alone much has been lately produced about those periods of the national history, which are specially represented by the 'Gennadeion.' Numerous periodicals publish contributions by scholars to the elucidation of what was once scornfully dismissed as 'the Lower Empire': it is realised that Greek history is one and indivisible, and that the language of to-day is not a mere bastard dialect of no interest to scholars. The best way to keep the memory of Dr. Gennadius green at Athens is to keep the noble library, which he founded, up to date, so that it may respond to all the requirements of students. It is now catalogued, well-arranged, and comfortable, alike in summer

and winter, and there is space for further acquisitions.

It has been a fortunate circumstance for modern Athens that patriotic Greeks, long resident abroad, have so generously contributed to create her public buildings and institutions. As individuals founded the British Empire, so individuals have enriched and embellished the capital of Modern Greece. The last, but not the least, of these was Joannes Gennadius. Although his life was mainly spent by the Thames, he never forgot the Ilissos; even amidst the controversies of politics, foreign and domestic, he never ceased to be a devotee of Greek learning and a collector of all that referred to the Greece, which he loved. Of his services to his country this was not the least, and is likely to be the most permanent. Diplomacy is, even to-day, still more in his day, mostly unseen, and diplomatic reputations are soon forgotten; but future generations will remember Joannes Gennadius as the founder of the 'Gennadeion.'

WILLIAM MILLER.

**Marathon.**—Like everyone else, I am much interested in the campaign of Marathon, and therefore grateful for the able reconstruction given us in the last number of the *Journal* by so great a student of military affairs as Sir Frederick Maurice. With the greater part of it I am in agreement, but I cannot help thinking that the soldier in the author has allowed the *politics* of the day to fall too much into the background. There was, and it was natural in the circumstances of the time that there should be, a party of men in Athens who regarded Persian domination (represented by Hippias) as a lesser evil than *Spartan* rule, with which they were threatened—or imagined themselves to be threatened. Then the shield. Surely we are to understand from Herodotus that it was flashed from a *height*. There are points on Mount Pentelicus from which not only the whole of Marathon field but also the city of Athens can be seen. But my greatest difficulty in ignoring the traitors in the city is this—What did Datis say to his royal master when he got back with only half his commission fulfilled? He could hardly admit such a complete defeat at Marathon (even if true) as to render an attack on Athens impossible. At least he would have been obliged to *try*. On *any* hypothesis this is a grave difficulty—Why *did* the Persians retreat from Phalerum without striking a blow? The Spartans? But Datis had plenty of troops, some of them fresh from their victory at Eretria. The returned army of Miltiades? <sup>1</sup> But they

<sup>1</sup> Why does Sir Frederick ignore Callimachus?

must have been utterly worn out with their twenty-six miles' march back from Marathon. They *could* not have fought again without prolonged rest. No, but what they *could* do was to prevent any attempt at revolt in the city. The revolt then was an integral part of Datis's plan, and when it failed, he felt justified in returning to Darius to tell him that Athens was not to be taken by a mere punitive force, and that Hippias was a broken reed, but that the great king should go himself and make a permanent conquest of the whole country.

As to the cavalry, I think we may allow a squadron or so to Datis, and he may have been depending on it for a raid on Athens from Phalerum. In that case what happened at Marathon need not have worried him much. The object of this action was merely to keep the Athenian army amused while he skipped round to Phalerum, but everything went wrong because the Persians were depending too much for the success of their plan on Hippias and his friends in the city.

R. B. HENDERSON.

**Droop Cups and the Dating of Laconian Pottery.**—It has been thought desirable that, as I was perhaps mainly responsible for the dates originally suggested<sup>1</sup> for the Laconian vase series and repeated in the final publication of the Orthia Sanctuary,<sup>2</sup> I should give my view on Professor Ure's suggestion<sup>3</sup> that these should be modified.

My view is that they must be modified to some extent, if Professor Ure's evidence is sound, which I have no reason to doubt, but much less than he appears to suggest. I do not think it is necessary to put the end of Laconian IV back from 500 B.C. to 560 B.C., but its beginning we must put back from 550 B.C. by about twenty years.

The dates originally suggested for Laconian IV (550–500 B.C.) and Laconian V (500–425 B.C.) are certainly contradicted by the date (560 B.C.) now assigned by Professor Ure to a grave at Rhitsona<sup>4</sup> which contained one of the group of Attic cups that copy, as Professor Ure agrees with me in thinking, the form of stem usual in the Laconian V kylix. To these cups my name has been attached,<sup>5</sup> most improperly, I feel, since *ostendisse non tradidisse* is the best that can be said of my part in the matter.

To those<sup>6</sup> who 'see no reason to suspect Laconian influence' in these cups there is of course no value for the history of Spartan ceramics in the study of them. Yet to most students of pottery it will, I think, be obvious that Professor Ure has followed with profit a path which I came upon twenty years ago, but forbore to pursue; though, if I had had the wit to see it, it was my business then to follow it up, engaged as I was on the question of dating the Laconian series. I was, however, content to suggest dates that seemed probable for the periods Laconian III, IV, and V, not guessing that the Attic imitations which appealed to me mainly as evidence of the popularity of the Spartan pottery held a clue which, if followed, might have led us to a date that would have modified one of the three more or less fixed points<sup>7</sup> which the excavation of the shrine of Orthia provided for the ceramic dating.<sup>7</sup>

The point in question was given by the fact that the Arkesilas vase falls, in my judgment, in Laconian III, but late in that period.<sup>8</sup> We were led to the belief, that the king referred to by the vase was the second Arkesilas (approx. 560 B.C.–544 B.C.), because, first, the amount of the Laconian III dedications seemed to demand a not too short time for their depositing (fifty years seemed reasonable), and, second, the earlier deposits of Laconian I and II seemed to need not less than a century for their development after the more or less fixed point (700 B.C.) given by the incidence of the Proto-Corinthian sherds.<sup>9</sup> Thus the lower date of Laconian III seemed most probably to fall about 550 B.C.

The evidence of the Droop cups definitely upsets this date, for as early as 560 B.C.<sup>10</sup> they are now found imitating among other features the channels at the top of the stem, which, though characteristic of Laconian V, are not found in Laconian III.

The discrepancy is, however, not so great as the foregoing sentence implies. The actual

<sup>5</sup> *JHS.* XLIX, 270–1.

<sup>6</sup> *Artemis Orthia*, 109.

<sup>7</sup> Yet the clue was at that time distinctly unobtrusive. For, though it should perhaps have been seen that the date originally suggested (Burrows and Ure, *BSA.* XIV, 265 and 306) for the grave now dated at 560 B.C. by Professor Ure, viz. 'a little after' 550 B.C., would not quite fit in with the dates put forward for Laconian IV, yet it is only the new date that presents a blatant discrepancy.

<sup>8</sup> *JHS.* XXX, 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Artemis Orthia*, 17 and 109.

<sup>10</sup> Ure, *loc. cit.* 57.

<sup>1</sup> *BSA.* XIV, 40 and 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Artemis Orthia*, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Ure, *JHS.* LII, 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 57.

discrepancy is given by Professor Ure<sup>1</sup> when he says, 'Assuming that this foot was introduced at the earliest date allowed by this statement *i.e.* that it was introduced during the period covered by Laconian IV', fifty years before it achieved popularity, even so it would appear in Laconia later than the burial of the earliest of the Attic vases that imitate it.'

We may take it that that is the actual discrepancy, for the sentence quoted is misleading in that it suggests that it is highly improbable that the form of stem was copied at an early date in Laconian IV.

On the contrary, there is, in fact, nothing to prevent us from thinking that probable, if we are led to do so. The mistake lies in the assumption that the form did not achieve popularity before the end of Laconian IV and the beginning of Laconian V. That we do not know.<sup>2</sup> That the form is standard in Laconian V and non-existent in Laconian III says nothing as to the point in between at which it achieved popularity. The rudiments of the channels are indeed to be seen on the kylix belonging in 1909 to Mme. Mela,<sup>3</sup> which I thought to be early Laconian IV.

The shrine of Orthia produced no evidence on the point, for, in fact, it produced no great quantity of Laconian IV, and, I think, no kylix stems. So long after the excavation I can hardly trust my memory on the point, but I cannot think that if there had been a Laconian IV kylix stem available I should have omitted it from the photograph of typical stems.<sup>4</sup> The kylix was not, in any case, a much-favoured form among the dedications to Orthia in Laconian III and IV.

There is then no evidence as to the point at which the ridges became popular, and the

<sup>1</sup> Ure, *loc. cit.* 71.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that while I thought the imitations belonged to the latter part of the sixth century, I was of opinion (*JHS.* XXX, 27) that the channels were probably one of the later developments of Laconian IV. But that opinion was not founded on any definite evidence.

<sup>3</sup> *JHS.* XXX, 14, Fig. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Artemis Orthia*, 70, Fig. 52. My note-books, being full of notes on what was positively there, are naturally silent on the point, which is a negative one.

new evidence makes it highly probable that the substitution of them for the painted rings of Laconian III was one of the first marks of degeneration.

In any case, the channels or ridges may well have been a novel feature in an early batch of Laconian IV to be exported, and one that caught the copyist's fancy.

It is not necessary, then, on the new evidence to put the end of Laconian IV so early as 560 B.C. It is, however, necessary to put the beginning of Laconian IV perhaps even earlier than that—that is to say, the beginning of the degeneration in Laconian IV must be set at least twenty years earlier than had seemed probable.

Thus it would seem that we were in error in thinking that the Arkesilas of the vase was Arkesilas II. Arkesilas I is thought to have reigned from 599 to 583 B.C., and, as the vase falls rather late in Laconian III, a reference to him would be quite consistent with a final date of 575 or 570 B.C. for the period.

This dating will only allow one hundred and twenty-five, or at most one hundred and thirty years for the periods Laconian I, II and III, for which one hundred and fifty years had seemed a reasonable allowance.

Some may perhaps think that the period of development should be shortened, and the end of Laconian II (the date of the filling in of the sand) put at least ten years earlier, not later than 610 B.C. Yet the epigraphists would possibly resent the putting of the inscriptions that were found below the sand any earlier than they have already been put.

It seems to me, therefore, that we shall do less violence to the probabilities if we shorten the period Laconian III to twenty-five or thirty years.<sup>5</sup> For one conclusion is forced on us by the new evidence—namely, that the decay of Spartan ceramic art was more rapid, the blight that settled on it more devastating, than had before seemed plausible.

J. P. DROOP.

<sup>5</sup> It is conceivable that the greater frequency of the dedications (which must be assumed to account for the same quantity of deposits being accumulated in less time) may be due to encouragement given to the cult by the building of the new shrine.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Walter Leaf, 1852-1927: Some Chapters of an Autobiography, with a Memoir.** By CHARLOTTE M. LEAF. Pp. x + 338: 8 plates. London: John Murray, 1932. 10s. 6d.

This record of the remarkably full and useful life of one of the most distinguished Presidents of the Hellenic Society suffers, for readers of this *Journal*, from two defects: first, that the Autobiography breaks off in 1877, two years before the Society came into existence, and secondly, that the biographer, admirable and sympathetic as her narrative is of Walter Leaf's later life, was apparently unaware of the prominent part he played in the administration of this Society and of the British School at Athens. The references to these institutions are so casual and infrequent that neither finds place in the Index. Another drawback to the book is that in Dr. Cyril Bailey's otherwise excellent account of Leaf's classical work the opening paragraphs give a most misleading and inaccurate description of the steps which led to his becoming our most prominent Homeric scholar. It was not, as Dr. Bailey says, to Leaf, but to J. H. Pratt, his Cambridge friend and contemporary, that the publishers offered the task of preparing a school edition of the books of the *Iliad* which tell the story of Achilles, the suggestion being due to a passage in De Quincey's *Essay on Homer and the Homeridae*. Pratt, then a master at Harrow, had been engaged on the work for some two years when, after climbing in the Alps with Leaf in the summer of 1878, he went down to the Lake of Como and was drowned at Bellagio. It was then that Mr. George Macmillan appealed to Leaf to take up and complete his friend's work, and it was his ready response to that appeal which laid the foundation for his devotion to Homeric study. Dr. Bailey's presentation of the case is wholly without excuse, for the genesis of 'The Story of Achilles' is plainly told in Leaf's Preface to that volume, and the facts are also set forth on p. 149 of Mrs. Leaf's Memoir, where a passage is quoted from her husband's diary which makes the position perfectly clear. The same passage indicates that but for this call to the classics Leaf might have devoted himself to the study of economics, as it is well known that Professor Fawcett (see p. 138 of

the Autobiography) had encouraged him to do. Fortunately, he was able later in life, when he became one of our leading bankers, to show, as had been previously shown by such men as Grote and Thomas Hodgkin, that classical scholarship is by no means incompatible with a practical grasp of finance.

Having dwelt on omissions and inaccuracies in the field which specially concerns this *Journal*, it may be well to remind its readers that Leaf served the Society as a member of Council from 1882, was for some years a member of the Editorial Committee of this *Journal*, and was in due course elected a Vice-President, while his tenure of the office of President during the Great War was notable for the interesting and stimulating Annual Addresses which are fresh in the memory of its members. His services to the British School at Athens were no less conspicuous. A member of the Committee from its foundation until his death, he held the office of Hon. Treasurer during its early years, and not only controlled the School finance in its most difficult period but was himself to the day of his death a liberal contributor to its too scanty resources. It was he who with the then Hon. Secretary organised in 1895 the appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury which led to the annual grant of £500 from the public funds.

Apart from the blemishes to which in this *Journal* it seemed necessary to call attention, it is a pleasure to say that taken as a whole the book gives a charming picture of the career of a singularly many-sided and high-minded man. His own account of his early years at Harrow and Cambridge, the life-long friendships then made, his success in winning a Trinity Scholarship on equal terms with two of those friends, Henry Butcher and A. W. Verrall, his final success in the Classical Tripos when he was bracketed Senior Classic with F. H. Rawlins, his winning of a Trinity Fellowship, is full of interest, while sidelights are thrown on other subjects, such as music, Alpine climbing, and economics, which later played an important part in his life. In the Memoir which takes up the broken thread of the Autobiography Mrs. Leaf makes skilful use of the short diaries in which her husband recorded his doings day by day, amplifying them from

her own personal knowledge. Throughout we have the impression of a strenuous and happy life, with at times indications of diffidence which seem strange in a man so well equipped. There is a delightful account, based largely on his own letters, of journeys to Greece, which bore fruit in his books on *Troy*, on *Homer and History*, and in the edition of certain chapters of Strabo, which was the only part completed of a scheme of an annotated translation of the whole of that author which he laid before the Hellenic Society. The final years were overshadowed by the Great War, in which heavy responsibilities fell upon him as an adviser on the financial problems which the country had to face. In 1918 he became Chairman of the Westminster Bank, and it was partly in connexion with banking business that he carried out in 1919 the lecture tour in the United States which had been postponed by the outbreak of war. Mrs. Leaf gives a vivid account of this tour, which was extended to the Canadian Rockies, and of a later journey in 1923 which included the Yosemite Valley and the Grand Canyon and brought him into personal relations with leading statesmen, financiers, and scholars. In the end Leaf may almost be said to have died in his country's service, for after a visit to Geneva in September 1925 to attend a meeting of the League of Nations, in connexion with the International Chamber of Commerce, he was called upon in the following year, as President of that Chamber, to go to Essen to deliver to a German commercial audience a message of reconciliation and pacification. Of this message, delivered in perfect German (for Leaf was a master of foreign languages), an English version is given in the Memoir, and it is indeed a noble legacy of a great patriotic Englishman. But the strain of its delivery, and of the emotion it involved, was too great, and a violent heart attack prevented his finishing his speech. Though, with characteristic courage, he faced the situation, he was never the same man again. A journey to and from Capetown in the summer was enjoyed as he always enjoyed new scenes and new friendships, and on his return he was able to some extent to take up his work. During a visit to Torquay, however, in the early spring of 1927, another heart attack came on, and he died peacefully on March 8. But, as Mrs. Leaf truly says, 'the work he loved best was accomplished,' and he had 'died in harness—his own eternal desire.'

G. A. M.

**Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia.** By HETTY GOLDMAN. Pp. 294; 341 illustrations in the text, 21 plates, 4 plans. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press: London: H. Milford, 1931. 73s. 6d.

The ancient city of Eutresis was situated close to Leuctra and the modern village of Parapoungia: a stone found in the excavations reported in this book is inscribed [EY]ΤΡΕΙΣΙΣ, which seems to fix the site beyond dispute. Much more material of the historical period was found and is excellently published here, notably an archaic marble torso of the Strangford Apollo type. But the main interest of the excavation is prehistoric. Neolithic and Helladic settlements lay on a hill-top south of the Hellenic city. The Mycenaean town was no bigger than these, but was included in a very large walled area, which was probably designed as a place of refuge for the surrounding countryside. The site was excavated by Miss Goldman and her associates of the American School at Athens in four seasons from 1924 to 1927. This definitive publication has therefore the merit of making the results accessible promptly, as well as with the fullness and precision which we have come to expect from American explorers in this field. It is no slight upon Miss Goldman's text to praise particularly the eighteen plates of coloured illustrations of Helladic pottery. Every variety is represented, and since these wares are hardly seen outside the provincial museums of Greece, and cannot be described in words, these plates alone would be a very valuable contribution to Greek Mainland prehistory. But the text-illustrations are not less useful for other material. The earliest house-plans at Eutresis are Pre-helladic, pit-dwellings of elliptical shape. An E.H. I house has its rectangular footing of rough stones nearly intact: the superstructures of all Helladic houses were of unburnt brick. In the later examples post-holes and column-bases, hearths and ovens, give useful information about the forms of the complete buildings and the habits of their occupants. There is little new in kinds of pottery, but some curious variations in quantities are plausibly explained by the author. The Middle Helladic period shows the coming, with some violence, of the so-called Minyan people with their distinctive pottery and new methods of town-planning. Miss Goldman recognises Minyan affinities with north-west Asia Minor, if not with Troy itself, particularly in their rougher pottery and in the incised biconical clay whorls or buttons, which are as typical of the Minyan culture as the fine grey ware. There is very little obvious Cretan influence before the third Late Helladic period, as has

been observed elsewhere on minor sites in central Greece. Late Minoan I and II can hardly have been lost or 'telescoped,' and the explanation seems to be that L.M. I and II are only found (as at Thebes) where there were active relations with Crete through a reigning house. There are no signs of violent disturbance with the coming of L.M. III, though there is sudden and complete change. The extensive fortifications and the mature art indicate an even spiritual and political life until the end of the Mycenaean age.

**The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology.**

By M. P. NILSSON. Pp. 258. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 17s. 6d.

This is an important and valuable book for the student no less of literature than of mythology. The author asks at the outset: how old is Greek Mythology? From such an inquiry not only Hellenistic accretions but 'late' myths such as those of Dionysus are of course excluded. The question only concerns the old stock of myths and when they came into being. The answer which Prof. Nilsson gives and supports with very strong evidence is obvious from the title of the book. Greek mythology goes back to Mycenaean times. But our knowledge of mythology being so largely derived from literature, the question of its origin cannot be studied without touching upon the many problems connected with Homer. Homer did not create the myths nor did the myths create Homer, but just as the dramatists drew upon cycles of myths to make plays, so the author of the *Iliad* drew upon the Trojan cycle to make an epic. That is briefly the first stage: it carries mythology back beyond Homer. But the Homeric poems describe scenes and objects which cannot all have been contemporaneous. Archaeology has shown that over half a millennium must separate the earliest and the latest elements in Homer. That has nothing to do with the date of composition of the poems except that the final form must have been given them later than the latest datable element. But it has an important bearing on the age of the myths. If the boars' tusk helmet and other objects go back to Mycenaean times, is it not a fair presumption that the myths are at least as old?

This presupposes that the Mycenaean age was predominantly Greek, not merely a Minoan offshoot. For the bulk of the names in Greek mythology are definitely Greek, not Minoan. For the author, then, the Mycenaeans were immigrant Greeks, who took over the Minoan civilisation. The next step is to establish a connexion between the myths and the Mycenaeans, and Chapter II, which is the most important

part of the book, consists of a detailed examination of the centres (a) of myths, (b) of Mycenaean civilisation. These are shown to correspond remarkably well. There are many Mycenaean sites in the Argolid, which is also the centre of many stories: of Atreus, Pelops and Agamemnon, of Perseus, of Bellerophon. Similarly, but less obviously, in Laconia, Pylos, Ithaca, Boeotia and even Attica. There are weak spots in the argumentation, but Nilsson does not shirk them. For instance, if this connexion between mythological and Mycenaean centres is so close, why does Mycenaean art not depict the myths as in classical times? The author answers (1) that occasionally scenes of Greek mythology are represented in Mycenaean art (see refs. on p. 33) and (2) Mycenaean art is definitely an offshoot of Minoan: the artists were doubtless Minoans working for Graeco-Mycenaean masters, but following their own traditions in method and usually also in subject-matter. Objection might also be raised that Bellerophon does not properly belong to Tiryns but to Lycia. But Nilsson shows that Lycia is not devoid, like the middle part of Western Asia Minor, of Mycenaean remains. Again, what are we to make of Cadmus the Phoenician? He would seem to be as old as any other Theban myth, yet he cannot possibly be Mycenaean. Nilsson argues that the myth of a foreign founder of Thebes is old, but the idea of making him a Phoenician belongs to the beginning of the historical age. A separate chapter is devoted to Heracles, who is rather a figure of folk tale than one peculiar to Greek mythology. He appears everywhere and almost defies localisation, but Nilsson shows reason for believing that the stories about him are also Mycenaean in origin. Finally, the author compares the monarchical system of Olympus with the overlordship of Agamemnon, and concludes that the former can only have originated during the time of the latter, that is, in Mycenaean times.

**Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler.** By JOHANNES FRIEDRICH. Pp. viii + 158. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1932. 9.80 m.

Here, in a small book of some 150 pages, are the total extant remains of the Lycian, Carian, Lydian, Phrygian, and a few other minor dialects which have left traces of themselves in Asia Minor and some neighbouring lands, preceded by specimens of the greater and more ancient languages of the peninsula. Convenience of reference was the chief purpose which the author had in view, and, in respect of the latter languages an advantage is certainly thus secured, although the reader will find that he still requires access to a wide range of publications in using this book. The



contents are presented almost exclusively in transcription, though the Carian texts appear in facsimile and there are sign-lists of the Carian, Lycian, and Lydian alphabets, but there are no translations and nothing beyond bibliographical references as aids to the understanding of the texts. Yet these are among the obscurest known to philology, many of them almost wholly uninterpreted at present and the rest very imperfectly understood. This being so, it seems ironical to include such a book in a collection destined to students—one wonders what they are expected to make of it. And the author denies them even the most essential explanations: in his early passages, devoted to the Proto-Hittite, Subaraean, and Luvian specimens, he makes use of the conventional system of complicated typography to distinguish phrases written in Sumerian, Akkadian, and the vernacular respectively, but he has missed the chance that his first note on p. 1 gave him to solve at least one puzzle for the bewildered student. It is difficult to see the propriety, in a book with this title, of excluding altogether the ordinary 'Hittite,' at once the best understood and by far the most important of all the Anatolian languages at present known. That it is dealt with in another volume of the series hardly justifies so glaring an omission. In other directions the title of the work must be widely interpreted, for not all that is included belongs strictly to Asia Minor. Vannic is somewhat outside the pale, Subaraean (and *a fortiori* the dialect of the Ras Shamra vocabulary) is not at present known to have been in common use there, while 'Eteocretan,' 'Eteocyprian,' and the Lemnos inscriptions have no more than a putative connexion.

C. J. G.

**Rhythmic Form in Art.** By IRMA A. RICHTER. Pp. xiii + 127: 34 plates, 38 diagrams. London: John Lane, 1932. 21s.

The author, who is a practising painter, applies her theories on the principles of design to several branches of ancient Egyptian and Greek art, and to European painting; in the Classical section she has had the advantage of consulting her sister, Miss Gisela Richter. Her main point is that certain typical ancient designs appear to be based on a set of geometric figures which were held sacred by the Pythagoreans, and that the correspondence is therefore likely to be conscious. The Pythagorean figures are those constructed on the 'divine proportion,' a geometric relation incapable of arithmetical expression; its first two terms AB and BC are together equal to the third term CD, and so on, while by the nearest arithmetical approximation

each term of the sequence is 1.618 times as large as its successor. The divine proportion is inherent in the regular pentagon and decagon and in the Pythagorean Star, and Miss Richter draws these figures, together with concentric circles in the divine progression, on the works of art she illustrates. Exact correspondence of the geometric figures to a sculptural or pictorial design is more than anyone could expect, and does not occur even on the frontispiece, a group of three persons which Baldassare Peruzzi deliberately drew on the framework of a regular pentagon inscribed within a circle. Miss Richter is therefore entitled to claim some latitude, and the mere fact that one is not always convinced of the relevance of the geometric figures she applies to the designs does not disprove her theories.

She starts with a protodynastic relief and two pieces of later Egyptian jewellery. Now there is plenty of evidence for the Egyptian system of designing upon a network of small squares, and it is hard to believe that no trace would have survived of this geometrical system, which would need to be delineated in advance with equal care, and that upon the same ground unless it were regarded as an alternative to the arithmetical system. Three examples of its alleged use cannot stand out against both this improbability and the absence of anything so advanced in what is known of Egyptian mathematics. It is true that the Rhind Papyrus contains one problem involving a geometrical progression, but it is treated purely by arithmetic.

The examples of Greek art are more numerous—six vases (for their shape), one vase-painting, the centre of the Ludovisi Throne, a metope from the Parthenon and the building itself, architecturally considered. The vase-painting and the reliefs fit quite well into the suggested geometric framework, but here again it would need more than three instances to prove that the result is not due to coincidence. I have met with as much success in applying circles in the divine progression to a piece of amateur sculpture, which I can guarantee to have been designed on no such principle. As for the vase shapes, only an expert potter could say whether it were feasible to construct a whirling mass of clay in accordance with intricate, arithmetically incommensurate diagrams, but anyone can imagine how the Pythagoreans would have felt at the discovery that some obscure artisans were commercialising their most mystical ideas. And from the practical standpoint it would be as useful as working the totalisator on the basis of Relativity.

There remains the question of geometrical design in the Parthenon, a building in which

mathematical conceptions might well have played a part (though surely the *Timaeus* would have mentioned it, if there had been anything Pythagorean). The matter is complicated at the outset by the variations in measurement found in various parts of the building (and here it might be argued that the architect would not have gone to such trouble in working out proportions merely in order to depart from them). But assuming that a close approximation to any existing measurement may be taken as good evidence, Miss Richter has made out an impressive case. I do not see, however, that the building could derive its excellence from dependence on this juggling with figures: the method is too complicated to be serviceable. When the length of the top step is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times its width (within an inch), it is surely unnecessary to try to relate the length and width on two different steps by taking the sum of the radii of the second and fourth circles which could be derived from one of the measurements by the divine progression. If the architect really indulged in this method it must have been from mystic rather than aesthetic reasons, and its scope would have been limited to making small adjustments in the rough measurements already determined on other grounds. Still, the theory is a very enterprising piece of work, carried out with great industry, and though it may have no bearing on the conscious practice of Greek artists, it illustrates another aspect of the obscure mathematical basis of artistic design.

A. W. L.

**The Meaning of Modern Sculpture.** By R. H. WILENSKI. Pp. xx — 172: 24 plates. London: Faber and Faber, 1932. 10s. 6d.

I am encouraged to review this book by a footnote to the effect that I am comparatively honest for an archaeologist. It is not the sort of book for which this *Journal* usually finds room, being, in fact, a piece of undiluted propaganda. The author, wishing to make known the virtues of a small group of English sculptors, feels it necessary to clear the way by attacking vested interests, represented especially by the cult of Greek sculpture. It appears to him that there is an international conspiracy to foster admiration for antiques, and that the Big Three of the archaeological underworld deliberately stuff the public with absurdities in order to retain their salaries. They bear the hitherto unspotted names of Ernest Gardner, Gisela Richter, and Stanley Casson; Mr. Wilenski fills an entertaining chapter with passages they have written, annotated to emphasise their imbecility when torn from the contexts. If he had confined himself

to this kind of thing he might have achieved his object better, and if he had come to me I could have supplied him with plenty of sillier material. But having learnt enough to see that a good deal of classical archaeology is nonsense, he jumped to the conclusion that so is the whole of it, and went on to prove the point with a disregard for truth which would, I feel, have been utterly beyond the reach of any trained mind, except as a 'leg-pull'; yet I do not suspect him of falsifying the evidence, because I once looked at one of his previous books, a pocket history of the world's art, in which the broadness of his ignorance was only equalled by the acuteness of his carelessness. In the present instance the result is unfortunate, for he spoils his case by over-statement, and to such a degree that no one could believe him: it is a pity, as he has a reasonable message to deliver.

His message contains no more than a half-truth: it is the dogma that sculpture is distinct from modelling and means carving in Stone. To Mr. Wilenski, Stone is always its one mystic self, whether it be soft as soap or hard as steel; he does not even specify the material of some sculptures he illustrates. This incapacity vitiates half his criticism: what sense is there in blaming the Greeks, just because their marble statues do not resemble Egyptian work in granite or diorite, or in praising a modern artist for imitating in carved marble a Sumerian statue which was ground out of the hardest of volcanic rocks? Incidentally our author had nothing to say about the Sumerian statue when first exhibited except that the hands were contrary to nature; now he accepts the fact that it is a masterpiece. (I mean the statue in the British Museum: the enlightenment of the critic is conceivably due to association with the sculptors he advertises, for most people owe their previous knowledge of the group to the courageous art-dealer who introduced this statue to Europe.)

Another instance, as I hold, of the critic's incompetence is his estimate of a speech against modern art by the Dean of St. Paul's as vulgar and sycophantic. I can see no reason why the Dean should not have been expressing his true sentiments, for as a Platonist and a Christian he ought to feel a profound horror of an art which takes it for granted that the basic principle of his twin religions is as dead as Plato. There is no place in modern sculpture for the individual soul. This applies outside as well as inside the little group, whose likes and dislikes, theory and practice, form the subject of the second half of the book. As it happens, their work does not always conform to the prejudices of their exponent: a torso, illustrated in Pl. 18, is a translation into the female of the fourth-century Hypnos, the sole

difference in the design being that the free leg is raised higher in view of the incompleteness of the figure.

I should add that there is a lot to be said for the illustrations.

A. W. L.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Great Britain, Fasc. 9 = Oxford, Fasc. 2.** By J. D. BEAZLEY, H. G. G. PAYNE, E. R. PRICE. Pp. viii + 80; 67 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. 21s.

This fascicule is even better than its predecessor. The reproduction of the photographs is far ahead of any other fascicule, and the smallest fragments are perfectly clear, e.g., II. D. iv; III. H. i; III. I. lviii. The clear photography and the grey backgrounds and the admirable grouping make the duller vases look attractive, e.g. Italo-Corinthian III. C. iv; Ionian common ware II. D. i; Attic black ware III. I. lxxv. Some of the plates are as wholes quite beautiful, e.g. the details of black figure III. H. vii, the plastic vases II. D. vii-ix, III. C. vii-viii, the overhead views of aryballoi, etc., III. C. iii. But this is more than the best picture-book of Greek vases that has yet been published. It has a commentary by three experts, each writing on his or her own subject and often about vases that they have themselves presented to the museum. Therefore the text, which is printed on excellent paper, is far more than a description of the vases; it gives dates, references, parallels and attributions and a wealth of *obiter dicta* on all sorts of subjects. At the beginning are two pages of *addenda* to fascicule I by J. D. Beazley; this adds references to publications, explanations and *disiecta membra*. H. G. G. Payne describes Hellenic Cretan, Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases and plastic vases. Payne's discussion of Hellenic Cretan is admirable, particularly the plastic vases; there is no need to say anything about the Protocorinthian and Corinthian, for this was written at the same time as *Necrocorinthia*, which is now the standard work on Corinthian. Miss E. R. Price deals with East Greek vases and plastic vases. The excellence of her work is well known from the article on Naucratis pottery and the *Classification des Céramiques Antiques*; but the Corpus is on a larger scale with full quotation of parallels, descriptions and dating, and all the fragments are referred to their shapes. The discussion of the Clazomenian fragments with the locust in the vineyard is particularly good. I add two notes for what they are worth: II. D. i, 20, a reference to Beazley, *BSA*. xxix, p. 195, n. 3, is needed; add also Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, no. 967, and one in the Manchester Museum: x, 14, there

are two amphorae of this type in Lausanne. It is very much to be hoped that Miss Price will continue her invaluable work. J. D. Beazley describes the Attic black figure, red figure and black ware; nothing need be said about this; it fulfils our expectations. The black-figure fragment, III. H. i, 26, joins a fragment in Manchester. As a whole this fascicule makes no bad text-book for the study of Greek vases.

T. B. L. W.

**Die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji: Band V: Hellenistische Tische, Zisternenmündungen, Beckenuntersätze, Altäre und Truhen.** By ERICH PERNICE. Pp. 99; 58 plates and 35 illustrations. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1932. 110 m.

In the fifth volume of Hellenistic Art in Pompeii Dr. Pernice gives a detailed account of an interesting though seldom noticed branch of sculpture—garden furniture or ornaments.

Two varieties of table are distinguished: the typically Roman creation with two solid supports, often elaborately carved, at the narrow ends; and the simpler kind resting on one central leg, the leaf decorated with lions' heads reminiscent of Sima spouts.

Much new and interesting matter has been collected about stone and clay well-heads and basins and their supports. The influence of terracotta prototypes in South Italy and Sicily is duly emphasised. Numerous references are given to the representation of these basins on vases, both South Italian and Attic red figure. The similarity between the supports and some Attic grave stelai of the fourth century is also noticed.

The last chapter deals with metal chests decorated in relief, and their stone supports. The Socrates and Diotima relief with the pendant centaurs is once more discussed in full, and the more natural interpretation is advocated instead of Robert's obscure suggestion.

The text is most careful and accurate, and is fully illustrated by an excellent collection of photographs and several scale drawings.

**La Pittura Ellenistico-Romana.** By G. E. RIZZO. Pp. 93, with 200 plates. Milano: Treves, 1929.

Professor Rizzo's account of Graeco-Roman painting may be described as conservative in the best sense of the word. Unlike some recent writers on the subject he does not attempt to alter the main outlines and introduce new hypotheses, more ingenious than plausible, to explain the admitted difficulties of his theme. On the other hand, he does not timidly accept the con-

ventional version of the story and refrain from expressing a personal opinion on disputed points. His book is therefore the best short account of Graeco-Roman painting available; and its value is greatly enhanced by the two hundred excellent plates which illustrate it.

A few points of detail seem to ask for comment. Professor Rizzo remarks that Vitruvius published his book on architecture before 23 B.C. But he mentions the temple of Quirinus [iii. 2. 7], which was not built till 16 B.C., and on the other hand knows of only one stone theatre in Rome [iii. 2. 2]; another was built in 13 B.C., and so we may assume that his book falls between these two years. The vogue for the so-called third style is thus dated about ten years later than Rizzo suggests. He is right, however, in pointing out that it was already anticipated in the House of Livia and the Farnesina house, whose decorations belong to a class by themselves, half-way between the second and third styles. He is also entirely justified in asserting that though the third style contains Egyptian elements its existence as a pictorial mode is due to Italian inventiveness. Like other writers he seems to make too much of the graffito ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ ἔποίησε in the Farnesina house. Is it really likely that the author of such a careful and elaborate decorative scheme should have scrawled his signature in so inconspicuous a place? Rizzo repeats the familiar but highly dubious guess that we may see the hand of Studius-Ludius in the garden-scene at Prima Porta, which, incidentally, he reproduces from excellent photographs as well as from the bedevilled chromolithograph in the *Antike Denkmäler*. But he declines, very judiciously, to mention the names of Parrhasios and Zeuxis in discussing the monochromes on marble slabs from Herculaneum. Indeed his restraint in starting conjectures as to the style of the great megalographers is exemplary; far too much space in nearly all books on ancient painting is devoted to these hazardous and fruitless speculations.

The plates are well chosen. There is a welcome view [Pl. iv] from the still unpublished Republican house on the Palatine. There are many interesting parallel versions confronted. It only remains, however, to add that the fragment from Boscoreale [Pl. ii B] is not in the British Museum. R. H.

**Corinth X: The Odeum.** By OSCAR BRONEER. Pp. xiv + 154; 16 plates, 139 figs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932. \$5.

The American publication of Corinth makes steady progress. In this well-illustrated monograph we have a careful description of the

Odeum, identified from Pausanias by B. H. Hill in 1907 and thoroughly explored by Broneer in 1927-9. A detailed account of an ancient theatre has always its peculiar interest, which in the present case is enhanced by the closeness with which the rebuildings and transformations of the Odeum can be dated.

On one point we are doomed to disappointment. Philostratus describes the Odeum as roofed like its sister at Athens. These roofs are a problem; how were they supported, and how much of the building did they cover? We hear with regret that the remains at Corinth yielded no evidence on these points; no trace of a roof remained to reward the excavators. On the general history of the building, they contradict Philostratus. He tells us that the Odeum was built by Herodes Atticus; we now learn that it was built nearly a century before Herodes, who did no more than give it a thorough embellishment. Fifty years after his restoration came another reconstruction, when the orchestra was converted into an arena for shows of gladiators or wild beasts. The end of the building came through fire in the late fourth century.

Among the small finds attention may be called to the fragments of a cuirassed statue (p. 125), of exceptionally fine workmanship.

**Festschrift zu Franz Polands fünfundsiebzigstem Geburtstag.** Edited by F. ZIMMERMAN. Pp. viii + 148; portrait, 3 plates, 5 figures in the text. Leipzig: Reissland, 1932. 3.60 m.

No fewer than fifty-eight scholars have contributed to this special number of the *Philologische Wochenschrift*, and the table of contents includes papers on almost every section of classical studies. We briefly refer to those which fall more immediately within the province of the *JHS*. In the section on Epigraphy, Korte's identification of the casualty list of Arginusae in *IG*<sup>2</sup>. 1951, and Munscher's discussion of the new hymns from Epidauros are the longest items; in addition, Herzog restores two epigrams, Hiller von Gærtringen treats of inscriptions from Sikinos, Preisendanz publishes a magical amulet. The only Hellenic paper in the historical section is Kolbe's *Problems of Athenian financial policy*. Eight papers are devoted to *Kunstgeschichte*: Miss Bieber publishes a Bocotian cup, von Bissing an Alexandrian relief of a deity with double axe and thunderbolt, Schroder a statuette in Dresden; Bitt discusses the superstructure of the Altar of Pergamon, von Geirke unfinished heads on sarcophagi, Herrmann the comedy mosaics of Pompeii,

Lippold a relief in Copenhagen inscribed ΣΤΑΦΥΛΑΙ ΠΡΟΖΕΝΕ, Rumpf the relations of literary tradition to artistic representation.

**Sexual Life in Ancient Greece.** By HANS LICHT. Translated by J. H. FREESE. Pp. xv + 557: 32 plates. London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1932. 42s.

This translation makes accessible to English readers a work which in the German original has attained a considerable reputation. The author diligently collected from the whole range of Greek literature the passages relating to sexual intercourse: an enormous labour, in view of the freedom, indeed enthusiasm, with which the Greeks discussed the subject. This mass of material is arranged in two parts: the first is general, and deals with marriage and the life of women, the human figure, festivals, the theatre, dances and games, religion, and the erotic element in Greek literature; while the second is devoted to heterosexual love, masturbation, tribadism, prostitution, male homosexuality, and perversions. The treatment is detached and scientific throughout. There is a commendable absence of special pleading either for or against the Greek attitude to sexual relations; especially in the section on male homosexuality there is no attempt either to justify or deprecate a morality so conspicuously different from the average standard of the present day.

The translation is excellent. In one respect, however, the English version is markedly inferior to the German. The original edition was illustrated with a large number of photographs from little-known or quite unpublished objects, so that even those not primarily concerned with the subject-matter used the book as a valuable repository of new material. The English edition, on the other hand, is much less freely illustrated from perfectly well-known documents, most of which have only a faint bearing on the matter in hand.

**Einleitung in der Altertumswissenschaft.**

Edited by ALFRED GERCKE and EDUARD NORDEN. Leipzig: Teubner.

**Vol. II, Part 1: Griechisches und römisches Privatleben.** By E. PERNICE. Pp. 87. 1930. 3.24 m.

**Vol. II, Part 3: Griechische und römische Kunst.** By A. RUMPF. Pp. 106. 1931. 4.32 m.

This series of studies, written by experts for serious students, is businesslike, up-to-date, free from all taint of popularity, and invaluable to those who wish to get information on a branch of archaeology other than their own. But it is one

thing to produce a concise account of Greek and Roman domestic life in 87 pages and another to compress Minoan, Greek and Roman art and architecture into 106 pages. To succeed, as Rumpf has done, is a brilliant achievement: to plan such an undertaking was, on the part of the editors, a mistake. Architecture, at any rate, should, like numismatics, have been treated separately. Its inclusion necessitates omissions elsewhere; and, since a book on Greek art which has to refer to other books for its illustrations is already at a disadvantage, the result is that reader and writer are severely handicapped.

In spite of this, the writer has given us an excellent summary and presented his various sections in such a way as to make a definite contribution to our knowledge. It is, indeed, the value and interest of each section that has mainly inspired our wish for less concise treatment. Moreover, the book would have been worth acquiring for its bibliography alone: though each of us might make suggestions when we come to the list of references on our special subjects, we turn to those on alien subjects with gratitude. All the same, Robertson's *Greek and Roman Architecture* and Lawrence's *Hellenistic Sculpture* should not have been overlooked.

Whereas Rumpf has included more than we would expect, Pernice has given us less than we could have wished. His book is divided into five chapters. The first deals with authorities and general questions (a very pleasant essay), the second with houses, the third with dress, the fourth with marriage, birth and death, and the fifth, a supplement, with Homeric weapons. In the preface he explains the reason for some of the limits he has set, convincing us that it is right and logical to exclude trade, agriculture and the position of slaves since they belong to economic not domestic life. But what about education, medicine, amusements and, above all, daily life? It is a rather dreary and incomplete picture that is given of the ancient Greeks and Romans: they are born, dress themselves, build a house, take a wife, die and have a funeral. How well Pernice could have brightened their existence is shown on page 7 by some charming descriptions of scenes on Greek vases. It would have been better to show us how to find our friends at work, at leisure, at school or at the doctor's than to have devoted to Homeric weapons a chapter which has no excuse for appearing at all, since armour and warfare do not come within the scope of the inquiry.

This chapter does, however, like all the rest, illustrate the soundness of Pernice's method: that judicious combination of literary and archaeological evidence which he advocates in

the preface. All sections, in short, are admirable, and the only caution that a reviewer can add to his recommendation of the book is on pre-historic questions. It is, for instance, misleading to suggest that round and oval house-forms were displaced by rectangular house-forms owing to the dominance of the Cretan-Mycenaean civilisation (*unter der Herrschaft der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur*) even if Cretan-Mycenaean be taken in a wider sense than is usual. Again, Pernice ought to indicate at what stage his Greeks who are Achaeans and practised cremation (p. 66) invaded Greece, for they arrived in time to build the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae (p. 15). It is dangerous to theorise on pre-historic racial questions even for those who are well acquainted with the latest developments in archaeology. Finally, a series of references on Minoan Crete without the *Palace of Minos* is as surprising as a bibliography on Greek vases without the name of Beazley.

These points, however, do not affect the main theme of the book. In matters concerning classical Greece and Rome the treatment seems wholly adequate.

**Vol. II, Part 2. Münzkunde.** By K. REGLING.  
Pp. 37. 1930. 1.80 m.

This is a most successful account of Greek and Roman numismatics written for the classical student who has no special knowledge. The whole ground is covered in thirty-seven pages, and while such compression does not make for easy reading there are no serious omissions. The subject is treated continuously in five sections, the first of which deals with the forerunners of coinage and the last with the Roman Empire, and in each section coins are considered under the heads of material, weight-standard, type, etc., and of their artistic, political and economic significance. The treatment is balanced, concise, yet, where necessary, detailed; and if the general presentation, following conventional lines, falls rather on the conservative side, especially in dealing with the early Roman Republic, this is only as it should be in a work of this nature, which, with its useful bibliography, can be confidently recommended.

**Vol. III, Part 3: Der griechische und der hellenistische Staat.** By V. EHRENBURG.  
Pp. 104. 1932. 5 m.

This book contains chapters on the genesis of the Greek city-state, on its social and political foundations, its executive organs and functions; on the federations of the classical and Hellenistic periods; on the foundations, structure and functions of the Hellenistic monarchies. As an

introduction to the study of Greek constitutions it is excellent. It is well proportioned, and refreshingly moderate and guarded in its statements. Though it—of necessity—deals with types rather than individuals, it makes allowance for the great diversity of Greek constitutional practice, and recognises the conflict of different ideals of which that practice was the outcome.

In the chapters on the Polis of the classical age Prof. Ehrenberg lays stress on the emotional factors in the development of the city-state—religion, and the aristocratic ideal with its 'agonal' point of view. Like Hasebroek, he holds that all cities, not excluding democracies, tended to economic parasitism, but he supplements and corrects his predecessor in representing this attitude as one of sentiment no less than of calculating policy. He rightly emphasises that the Polis was not an abstraction, but a society of living men—hence the readiness with which Greeks—the world's individualists par excellence—submitted to the νόμος τῆς πόλεως. Of the city's political institutions, he attaches due importance to the Councils, which were even more indispensable to democracies than to oligarchies.

Though the author admits the importance of the Minoan element in Greek religion, he hardly allows for the possible influence of Minoan social institutions. He is also somewhat reticent about the effects of tyranny upon the social structure of cities. And he does not give full credit to the early aristocracies for suppressing the blood-feud and private war.

In the section on the Hellenistic monarchies Prof. Ehrenberg represents these as being essentially a compromise between Greco-Macedonian and Oriental institutions, in which the elements were mixed with much practical good sense. His discussion of king-worship, the importance of which he is careful not to exaggerate, is admirably well balanced and judicious.

ἐν παρέργῳ.—The view that Ptolemy I at first coquetted with Alexander's ideas of racial equality does not seem to rest on sufficiently strong evidence; and it is doubtful whether the office of vizier ever became a regular one in any Hellenistic monarchy (Corradi, *Stud. Ellenistici*, pp. 256 ff.).

M. C.

**Greek History.** By M. L. W. LAISTNER.  
Pp. xi + 485. Boston and New York:  
D. C. Heath and Company, 1932. \$3.40.

Professor Laistner's work as an historian is already well known and highly valued. His *Survey of Ancient History*, on which, as the preface

tells us, the present work is based, has been favourably reviewed in many places—in this *Journal* among others—and there is therefore hardly any need to repeat that Professor Laistner shows the soundness of judgment, the range of interest and the felicity in quotation that we have learned to expect from him. On the general plan of this new book some criticism of a less favourable character is demanded. It is entitled 'Greek History' and, in fact, a large part of the book (pp. 141–399) is devoted to that subject in its ordinary limited use—from *circa* the Dorian migrations to the death of Alexander: in this central section Professor Laistner has some room, though none too much, to interpret Greece for us in her political life and civilisation. But what are we to say of the proportions of a work on 'Greek History' which devotes 130 pages to the Bronze Age and the great Kingdoms of the East, and precisely 61 pages—only 25 of them purely historical—to the world after Alexander? The extended use of the term 'Greek History' is in itself open to exception. We are always risking serious confusion, if we stretch the amazing name 'Greek' to its utmost possible capacity. But, if we do extend it at all, we must treat the sequel as fairly as the prelude. The world importance of Greece depends on the fact that her corn-ear did fall into the ground and die and bear much fruit. Alexander is a beginning much more than an end. We have no doubt that Professor Laistner understands this at least as well as we do and only suggest that, if his publisher, for practical considerations, asked for a book of this type, he himself should have insisted on a less misleading title.

H. M.

**Staatsform und Politik: Untersuchungen zur griechischen Geschichte des 6 und 5 Jahrhunderts.** By H. SCHAEFER. Pp. 283. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1932. 11 m.

This book examines the political terminology of the Greeks, somewhat on the same lines as Prof. Myres' *Political Ideas of the Greeks* (with which the author does not show acquaintance), but with special reference to their inter-state relations. His main conclusion is that the Greeks of the sixth and even of the fifth centuries applied to these relations a 'chivalrous' or 'agonal'—or should we say 'sporting'—principle inherited from the early city aristocracies: but that from the time of the Pentecontaetia, and more especially since the Peloponnesian War, they began to regard warfare and diplomacy as something more of a business; and that in the fourth century even Sparta fell in with the new movement and adopted a more

calculating foreign policy. The eventual change in the Greek political outlook, as defined by Dr. Schaefer, might be compared to the transition from mediaeval to modern Europe.

This presentation of Greek politics is a challenge to those scholars who attribute binding inter-state obligations and schemes for the balance of power to the pre-Periclean Greeks. Like other attempts to reduce Greek History to a simple formula, it does not do full justice to the great variety of Greek political experience. We may ask whether states with maritime and commercial interests retained the 'agonal' ideal undiluted until the fifth century, and whether cities whose life had been turned upside down by a tyranny could revert to the political standpoint of the pre-tyrant governments. Yet Dr. Schaefer does a real service in reminding us of the general looseness and informality of the early inter-state relations, and in warning us against a rigid juristic conception of such inchoate unions as the Peloponnesian League. In particular, he provides valuable new information on the progress from military to political alliances, from armistices to treaties, from informal to formal arbitrations.

The following are mere details.—Dr. Schaefer states that Cleisthenes disfranchised the newly-made citizens of the tyrant period (p. 113). But in Aristotle (both in the *Politics* and in the *Constitution of Athens*) Cleisthenes appears in exactly the opposite rôle. The grants of franchise made by Athens to Plataea in 427 and to Samos in 405 could hardly have been intended to strengthen the Athenian army (p. 139: the increment of soldiers from these sources would have been negligible).

M. C.

**A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.** By M. CARY. (*Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World*, Vol. III.) Pp. xvi + 448; with 3 maps. London: Methuen, 1932. 15s.

This is the first volume to appear in a new series of volumes dealing with the history of Ancient Greece and Rome, published by Messrs. Methuen & Co. in the wake of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. It will be of great interest to compare the two series, as they can be set side by side, and to note how far the greater unity of command in the Methuen series can make up for the formidable array of massed scholarship in the larger Cambridge work.

Dr. Cary, whose choice as general Editor goes a long way towards commending the work, is himself responsible for this first volume on the Hellenistic Age. He handles it firmly and

without apology. It is a critical age in Greek development, vital to the importance of Greece for the world—more important, from almost every point of view, than the much better studied fourth century. It must be studied therefore for its own sake and for its natural interest, even if the imperfection of the ancient record makes study harder than one might have hoped. We do not remember to have read anywhere a better appreciation of the Hellenistic Age than this of Dr. Cary's. It forms the happiest of introductions to the book.

Dr. Cary has followed the plan of tracing the history in a single line of narrative from the death of Alexander to the end of the first generation of successors, but of then dealing with the history in successive sections, grouped geographically and chronologically. The whole of the political field once covered, he fills in the background of Hellenistic life by noting the main characteristics of the age in war, economics, science, art, literature and religion. A number of complicated details are dealt with more closely in appendices and the book closes with useful lists of dynasties, bibliography and index.

The merits of this careful and well-thought treatment are very high and far outweigh any minor defects. Dr. Cary succeeds in giving some degree of coherence and meaning to the chaotic generation of struggling ambitions after Alexander's death. He faithfully records the troublesome detail of such recurrent troubles as the Syrian-Egyptian wars and makes us remember, if not the detail, the permanent facts over which the fight raged. He notes the points at which the impact of Rome was felt and judges the western 'barbarians,' if not with any special kindness, at least without the distinct flavour of injustice which the Greek historian is often tempted to infuse into his comments. In his chapters on special phases of Hellenistic life, he handles a wide material with full mastery and often in a few sentences opens up a wide and distant prospect.

The piecemeal treatment of the later period will not completely satisfy us, but it is much easier to criticise it than to suggest a better alternative. It is not easy to find the historical connexions that link up the separate parts into an intelligible whole. Perhaps the Hellenistic period actually lacked the unity essential to its treatment as a whole: perhaps some unifying principles are still to be found. The style is fresh and vivid, occasionally marred by eccentricities or even actual misuse of words. Very occasionally, we find a curious wilfulness of thought: on p. 174, for example, we read 'The Syracusan seamen, who no doubt felt little

interest in convoying Pyrrhus' runaways, let themselves be completely beaten: of their 110 vessels, 70 were sunk or captured.' An astonishing description of what looks like a very gallant action. But, meanwhile, we owe a real debt of gratitude to Dr. Cary for a learned book that is nevertheless light and enlightening. To many it may come as a revelation of astonishing advance in our knowledge of Hellenistic Greece in the last generation.

H. M.

**Hellenistic Queens.** By G. H. MACURDY.  
Pp. xv + 249. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. 24s.

This is an attractive and well-illustrated book and a work of sound scholarship and historical research at the same time. It seeks to study the lives of Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian queens and to estimate both their personal qualities and their power and position. Few will quarrel with the main contention, that, however powerful individual queens may have been, in Macedonia and Syria they had no legal equality and only after many generations obtained it in Egypt. Thus when the Syrian queen Cleopatra Thea issued coins in 125-121 B.C., she did so as regent for her son, but, as Miss Macurdy, following Kahrstedt, says, Cleopatra VII (the Great) was the only princess of the house of Ptolemy to exercise a right of coinage of her own and not as representative of a king. The book is also a defence of the queens in general against the indiscriminate condemnation of Mahaffy. They were not all fratricidal maniacs, and even the most murderous were no worse than their men-folk. The lives of these queens are treated in three chapters, all well illustrated from busts, vases and coins. First, we have the Macedonian queens from Olympias, the 'grim, relentless queen,' as the author happily describes her, to Laodice, wife of Perseus. In the second chapter we have the Seleucid queens, of whom the most notable is Cleopatra Thea. The long third chapter is devoted to the Ptolemaic queens, the beautiful Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the well-known Berenice, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes, about 130 B.C. Cleopatra II, who greatly increased queenly power, then the long-lived and domineering Cleopatra III, until finally we come to a fine study of the great Cleopatra VII. A short chapter on Cleopatra's daughter and an Epilogue complete this careful and well-documented survey. Prof. Macurdy moves with ease among twelve Cleopatras and four Arsinoes, but the average reader would have welcomed a table of dates.



**Sidelights on Greek History.** By MARCUS N. TOD. Pp. 96. Oxford: Blackwell, 1932. 2s. 6d.

In this delightful little volume Mr. Tod has collected three public lectures given by him on the historical value of Greek inscriptions. In the first chapter he carefully assesses the strong and the weak points of epigraphic sources for history, and illustrates his points from a number of notable texts. In the second chapter he reviews the methods and results of Greek interstate arbitration in the light of the epigraphic evidence which is our chief source of knowledge on this subject. In the third chapter he deals in a similar manner with Greek clubs. This last chapter in particular is a welcome addition to our English literature on Greek inscriptions: to many readers it may reveal an unsuspected and a highly attractive feature of Greek life. But the whole book will be read with pleasure by beginners in search of a guide, and by more seasoned travellers in a reminiscent mood.

M. C.

**Der Glaube der Hellenen, II.** By U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF. Pp. xii+620. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1932. 36 m.

In reviewing the first part of this admirable work, the writer of the present notice expressed the hope that the second volume might be prepared for the press by some competent hand. With admirable promptitude this wish, which many in and out of the author's own country must have shared, has been fulfilled. The greater part of Vol. II, we learn from the preface, was ready, or nearly ready, for publication: notes, fragments of rough draft, and the recorded utterances of Wilamowitz himself, furnished a little group of those nearest to him with sufficient material to complete the whole, omitting indeed several sections which would have formed part of the work had its author lived another twelve months, but by no means giving the effect of a torso or a patch-work. We have here over six hundred pages of the ideas of Wilamowitz, mostly set forth in his own words: and for that we must thank the pious care of Gunther Klaffenbach, the editor, and those who helped him.

The scope of the volume, from the beginning of the classical epoch to the triumph of Christianity and the disappearance of Greek culture, is such that it leads us through tolerably well-known territory, in which the available facts always bulk fairly large in proportion to the necessary conjectures, and sometimes it is possible to achieve a nearly complete and authentic picture. Here, even more perhaps than else-

where, Wilamowitz' great learning, penetrating insight and sturdy, one might almost say pugnacious, common-sense stood him in good stead.

To give an account of all the notable things in this volume would extend the review past any reasonable limits. I therefore confine myself strictly to indicating the attitude taken up by the author on controversial topics, whereof there are plenty, omitting the numerous asides in the form of emendations, interpretations of literary, epigraphical and artistic material, and excursus of all sorts which would alone make the book well worth reading and remembering.

He begins with a section entitled *Panhellenische Götter*, under which heading he includes heroes as well as gods proper. He supposes (p. 9 sqq.) that although hero-cult is a very old phenomenon on the mainland (not in Ionia), the choice of particular heroes to worship is in many places much later, the result of epic influence, Agamemnon for instance and Menelaos possessing themselves of Mycenae and Sparta at the expense of the real local cults, those of Perseus and the *Τυνδαρίδαι*. He definitely gives up (p. 20) the Dorian origin of Herakles. In Apollo, to whose Asianic origin he holds fast (p. 30) he sees (p. 27) the bringer of a new kind of religion, a revelation claiming absolute validity. The *Θεσμοφόρων* of Eleusis may have become, but certainly were not originally, Demeter and Kore: they were primarily deities of marriage (p. 45). The significance of the Mysteries for the religious life of Greece has been much exaggerated (p. 59). What brought about the reception of Dionysos was principally the enthusiastic adhesion of the women (p. 67). Prometheus is 'überhaupt das Geschöpf eines Dichters, nicht der Exponent eines Glaubens' (p. 95). A crying need of research is a study of the distribution of proper, especially theophoric names (p. 99, n. 3). Orphism had no demonstrable influence on Plato (p. 194 sqq.), and is a matter of which very little is known, for most modern work on the subject does little but darken counsel: 'so baut die Kritik auf dem grunde absoluter Kritiklosigkeit' (p. 202). Asklepios and all concerning him present us with more puzzles than ever, but until the end of the sixth century he was not a god, nor of more than local importance (of course at Trikkha, not Epidauros as yet), p. 227: and the last words of Sophokles meant simply that Nanthippe or some member of the family, not himself, had derived some benefit from the god and therefore a sacrifice was owing (p. 236). When Alexander went to Ammon and asked for an oracle (the question is discussed in the second section, *Weltgeltung und*

*Niedergang des Hellenismus*), he was simply and completely sincere; the idea that he was not is undeserving even of discussion (p. 265 sqq.). He was not a Greek and in religious matters did not think like one. Fortuna Primigenia, Iouis puer, is simply and solely a borrowing from Greece (p. 306, n. 1; injured by falling into the old mistake that *primigenia* means the same as πρωτογένεια). Eros and Psyche have nothing whatever to do with Platonic love or the winged soul of the *Phaedrus* (p. 365: 'ein Liebesverhältnis von Eros und der Seele ist für Platon sinnlos, undenkbar'). In Imperial times, emperor-worship was the one cult that really mattered (p. 430). The respectable, but still rather unimportant Eleusinian Mysteries had demonstrably been much altered since older days (p. 478 sqq.; this section deals with *Restauration und Untergang des Hellenentumes*).

It is not to be supposed that all between these few references consists of non-polemical statements: the fact that, among other things, I have left unmentioned brilliant characterisations of all the leading philosophers and other important writers is enough to show the falsity of any such idea. It was the intention of the author to bring his subject down to its fitting close, the triumph of Christianity, and to give a sketch of the new faith and the reasons for its success. Of this last part of the scheme only a few fragments have been published; they are good enough to make us regret what is and must remain missing. But we have cause to be grateful that so much was ready for publication, and that it has been produced so speedily.

In conclusion, it is not to be forgotten that the book is well indexed by Hiller von Gärtringen.

H. J. R.

**Gott und Hölle: der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe.** By JOSEF KROLL. (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, XX.). Pp. vii + 569. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1932. 25 m.

The limitation of this *Journal* to Hellenic studies makes it nearly impossible to review such a work adequately, for it is a study of a religious idea beginning in the Orient and still vigorous in mediaeval Europe. Its importance for certain developments of Greek, or Graeco-Roman thought, however, is too considerable to allow it to be neglected entirely. Dr. Kroll began by studying Christian apocalyptic writings, and noted that when these dealt with the Harrowing of Hell they bore a strong resemblance to certain passages in the two Senecan tragedies dealing with Herakles. This aroused his interest and he pushed his researches further, although it involved trespassing on ground where a classical

philologist must feel himself something of an intruder. It is manifest that he does not and cannot claim to speak as an expert at once on such matters as the Babylonian legend of Ishtar at one end, and on German mystery-plays at the other, of the long series. Yet with good sense and consultation of the best available authorities much may be done. Starting from the Christian writings, both canonical and apocryphal, he traces the threads, in the parables and the narratives of the Passion and finally in the wide field of post-Apostolic writings, which lead by one route or another to the familiar clause of the Creed. He then examines Egyptian, Babylonian, Indo-Iranian, Mandaian, Manichaean, and finally Jewish tradition, including such much-discussed passages as Ps. 24 '3, 7, ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, and 106 '7, 16, ὅτι συνέτριψε πύλας χαλκοῦς καὶ μοχλοῦς σιδηροῦς συνέθλασεν. Thus having assembled all the sources he can find for the idea, which he supposes ultimately Babylonian but strongly modified by Persian influence, of the violent entrance of a god into a lower realm occupied by hostile powers whom he overcomes, he passes (p. 363 sqq.) to a discussion of the forms assumed by it in the classical world. It can hardly be said to exist in early times; the reviewer thinks the author a little too ready to find traces of it in such figures as Typhon, whom he supposes to be somehow related to Tiamat (p. 364). But he is certainly right in not finding it in Homeric passages like O 179 and Y 61: even the wounding of Hades by Herakles is not exactly the same, at any rate in the Homeric form (E 395). But if we come to Hellenistic times, the resemblances are too many and too close for the connexion to be any longer denied. Thus the epigram of Lollius Bassus on the death of Germanicus (A. P. vii, 39) sounds almost like a deliberate allusion to ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, and Herakles, in and out of Seneca (for example in the episode of Cacus in the *Aeneid*), often behaves like a veritable harrower of Hell. Hardly enough use is made of Orpheus in this connexion. The link between Hellenistic and pre-classical is to be sought, according to Kroll, in the mystery-religions, with their recurring figures of suffering and dying, but ultimately triumphant gods.

It may be asked, however, if Kroll has not neglected the possibility of the theme belonging rather to *marchen* than to any form of a *ἱερός λόγος*. Another point to be further considered is whether the original Descent was in all cases a triumphant attack by something like material force and not rather the employment of superior magic: a suggestion made by Miss Burstein in her treatment of the same theme (*Folk-Lore*, Vol.

XXXIX. pp. 113-32). If, as he promises, the author publishes more studies of this fertile theme, it is to be hoped that he will consider these among other matters. Meanwhile, his work is of permanent value as a collection of excellent material, discussed with penetration and moderation. It may be doubted whether anyone better qualified to deal with the remaining materials and the further problems can be found.

H. J. R.

**De Priapo.** Scripsit HANS HERTER. (RGV. xviii). Pp. 334: 3 plates of illustrations. Giessen: Topelmann, 1932. 17.50 m.

It might easily happen that a long work on Priapus would be either a deadly dull enumeration of the places where that god was worshipped, the authors mentioning him, and the known representations of him in art, or else a morbid and unclean book, dealing with much foulness under a thin veneer of scientific or philological interest. Dr. Herter, who for years has made the phallic cults his specialty, has triumphantly avoided both dangers. Shirking no difficulty, giving all facts in full, and treating, where necessary, of the most delicate matters in a forthright Latin style too plain to give offence, he has contrived to produce a wholly delightful work, one of the very best that this excellent series has given us. He knows that to worship the generative power in nature is a characteristic of simple people, such as the early inhabitants of Lampsakos and its neighbourhood were: he recognises the large element of sheer naiveté in the country cults of the god in post-Alexandrian times: and when he notes the presence of degenerate filthy-mindedness in some of the more sophisticated works of late antiquity, he is content to mention that it is there, give the authors credit for any wit they may show, and pass on to something more profitable. How much solid work has gone to the writing of his book may be estimated when we note that he lists five hundred art monuments: the extent of his reading may be judged from pp. 47-49, to take a random sample, in which he cites some thirty-five works, ancient and modern, in five languages.

Of the primitive cult itself, there is not very much to say. Dr. Herter's theory is that Priapus had a double origin, springing from a venerated stock or tree and from a deified ass (pp. 4 sqq., 266). This accounts for the shape of the numerous wooden Priapi, which might very easily develop out of a tree-trunk with a phallus added: it also accounts for the prominence of asses, the original victims of the god, in his cult and legend. It seems, however, to be somewhat unnecessary, since a *numen* of fertility

might well be embodied simultaneously and indifferently in the fertile tree and the proverbially lustful beast. On p. 214 there is perhaps another over-ingenious idea, the explanation of why Priapus is sometimes god of travellers. The god of gardens might and did readily become the guardian of their boundaries, a sort of Terminus: in this capacity he might be, and was, used as a convenient block on which to carve such information as the size of the estate; being thus not unlike a milestone, he might become a patron of wayfarers. But surely a shorter road to the same goal is furnished by his frequent association with Hermes.

But, supposing the above criticisms to be well founded, such passages are many times outweighed by the sterling good sense which marks the book as a whole. Scarcely a page, where literary evidence is discussed especially, is without instances of the scholarly insight of the author and his wholesome distaste for far-fetched and too clever exegesis. As one instance out of many may be mentioned p. 230. That Priapus occasionally guards sepulchres is known, and the symbolism is obvious enough. It does not follow, Herter rightly says, that, for instance, the long series of Priapi in the Porta Maggiore basilica has any sepulchral reference, 'quasi uero nostra aetate, ubicumque crucifixum conspicias, sepulcrum esse oporteat suspicari.'

The work is divided into a number of sections (Grammaticorum de Priapo testimonia grauisima—De patria Priapi—De nomine Priapi—De fabulis Priapeis—De monumentis—De Priapi simulacris—De Priapi officiis—De Priapi cultu—Quae rationes Priapo cum aliis numinibus intercesserint) followed by an *excursus de Petronio*, which briefly points out some objections to making the wrath of the god the mainspring of that author's plot, and three indexes. To the reviewer, the best reading was furnished by the many discussions of the reading and interpretation of passages in minor works of literature, principally poetical: the author has a pretty taste in epigram and an eye for the point of a joke. But the long and meritorious description of works of art is by no means to be neglected, any more than the good historical account of the rise, development and final fall of the cult.

H. J. R.

**Platons Gesetze und das griechische Familienrecht.** By WALTER G. BECKER. Pp. xvi + 363. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1932. 16 m.

This volume appears in a series devoted to the study of ancient law in various aspects; and its aim is to establish a comparison, as regards

the law of the family, between Plato's pronouncements in the *Laws* and the ascertained principles of the Athenian and other Greek codes. The author divides his subject under three main heads—marriage-law and the status of women (this is the longest and most elaborate section); degrees of relationship and the position of children; and matters of family property, inheritance and adoption. His method is to express Plato's rules in legal language (sometimes rather more precise than the text would seem to warrant) and to adduce parallels or contrasts from laws actually obtaining in Athens or elsewhere. Shrewd comments are offered from time to time, as on Plato's inconsistency regarding equality between men and women, and his 'Utopian' denial of property-rights to minors: but little or nothing is attempted in the way of general conclusions. The book commends itself, rather, as a well-documented record of painstaking research in a field hitherto unexplored. A valuable bibliography is appended: and besides a full subject-index a table of references to the *Laws* enhances the usefulness of the book as a companion to that work.

D. T.

**Studien zur Entwicklung der platonischen Dialektik.** By JULIUS STENZEL. 2nd edition, enlarged. Pp. 208. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1931. 12 m.

The greater part of this volume of papers is taken up by the long essay entitled 'Arete und Diacresis,' reprinted from the first edition, which appeared in 1917. The shorter study, 'Literarische Form und philosophische Gehalt des platonischen Dialoges,' dealing mainly with the problem of the Platonic Socrates, is also reproduced. To these are now added three papers which have already appeared in periodicals—'Zur Logik des Sokrates,' 'Über den Zusammenhang des Dichterischen und Religiösen bei Platon,' and 'Das Problem der Willensfreiheit im Platonismus.' As the general title of the book indicates, the author's attitude is evolutionary throughout. He distinguishes the mainly ethical interest of the historic Socrates from those developments in logic and metaphysics which should be attributed to Plato. He claims full attention for the elements of poetry, myth and religion in the dialogues, as indicating genuine and important interests of Plato, who must also by all means be placed in his own age as a typically Greek thinker. The last essay is a particularly useful analysis of the question of free will in the Platonic system, insisting upon the interaction of the ethical and

intellectual motives. While some of the author's particular pronouncements may be open to question, the whole work is highly stimulating and suggestive.

D. T.

**La philosophie de Plotin.** By ÉMILE BRÉHIER. Pp. xix + 189. Paris: Boivin et Cie., 1928. 15 fr.

This book, which reproduces a course of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne some ten years ago, is an interesting study of the 'divine things' of Plotinus, the Soul, the Intelligence and the One. M. Bréhier's purpose being to expound the core of Plotinus' thought, he deliberately confines himself to 'intelligibles' and forgoes any discussion of the sensible world, nature, matter and evil. An interpretation of Plotinus by one who is not only a translator of the *Enneads*, but also a distinguished authority on the history of both ancient and modern philosophy, cannot fail to command respect. M. Bréhier is a strong advocate of Oriental influence upon Plotinus. The near-Eastern religions with their saviour-gods were indeed wholly alien to the thought of Plotinus, and the Mithraic 'solar theology' is criticised in the *Enneads*, but the Plotinian doctrine of absorption in the One so much resembles the teaching of the Upanishads that, according to M. Bréhier, it is difficult in this case to rule out the direct influence of Indian upon Hellenic thought. The point has often been made before, Mystical union, the *via negativa*, the superiority of contemplation to action (a doctrine which comes to the student of Greek philosophy as a positive relief after the weary moralism of the Stoic age)—all these *may* have owed something to the doctrine of Brahman. But this cannot be proved, and there is little direct evidence worth anything. Mystical minds work in much the same way all the world over, and the mystical experience apparently not common in the Graeco-Roman world: once given, adequate materials for the philosophising of it seem to have existed in native Hellenic tradition.

M. Bréhier stresses the difficulties of the Plotinian Intelligence. It is sometimes an objective system of articulated ideas, sometimes a spiritual attitude, which deliberately empties itself of every object that might hinder its self-concentration. In the latter aspect it is virtually identical with the One, which M. Bréhier, adopting Hegel's view of Plotinus' meaning, holds to be 'thought which does not think,' 'subject without object,' 'pure subject.' It is extremely doubtful whether this is a legitimate interpretation of the One, which, if we take Plotinus at

his word, must not be described as anything whatever. Besides, it may be suspected that the conception of a *pure* subject would have been of less interest to Plotinus than it was to Hegel. An interesting feature of Plotinus' Intelligible World is the presence there of ideas of individuals—a deplorable heresy from the standpoint of orthodox Platonism, as M. Bréhier points out (p. 105), but, we may add, perhaps the most emphatic assertion to be found in pagan literature of the uniqueness of human personality. No two individuals, says Plotinus, have the same reason-principles. 'Must it not then be the case that absolute identity (between individuals) occurs only in another world period, but in this there is no absolute identity?' (*Enn.* V. 7. 2 *ad fin.*). Plotinus here accepts the Stoic doctrine of identical world periods, a point which is seldom mentioned by writers on this author.

A good point is made by M. Bréhier when he says that to the Greek of the third century A.D. the spherical universe of the philosophers with its neat mechanism of rotating spheres and a sublunary world determined by the contraries, hot and cold, wet and dry, had lost its power to stimulate the human intelligence. There was no 'mystery' about it, nothing fresh to be known. The age, however, had a great interest in the marvellous—astrology, telepathy, charms, curious facts of natural history, etc.—and this side of the thought of the period is represented in Plotinus by the 'sympathetic magic' and 'action at a distance,' which he so often uses to explain natural phenomena. 'All the physics of Plotinus are directed towards re-awakening the sense of the marvellous. Everywhere they point to internal affinities, due to the action of the soul and concealed beneath appearances' (p. xvii). For discursive thought and 'scientific' reasoning Plotinus showed a general aversion. Contemplation, whether sensible or intelligible, is the keynote of his philosophy (p. xvii). He has no objection whatever to describing the intelligible in terms of the sensible (p. xii). He speaks indeed as though the intelligible were only the sensible raised to a higher power. 'Le monde intelligible est précisément cette face intérieure des choses, dont la connaissance paraît être, bien plutôt qu'une abstraction, une sorte d'approfondissement de la sensation' (p. xvi). M. Bréhier's Introduction, from which these quotations are made, is throughout extremely interesting and suggestive, and the book as a whole will be found a most valuable aid to the study of Plotinus.

J. H. S.

**Greek Medicine : being extracts illustrative of medical writers from Hippocrates to Galen.** Translated and annotated by A. J. BROCK. Pp. xii + 256. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1929. 5s.

A volume on Greek Medicine is a very sound addition to the Library of Greek Thought, for the art of medicine among the Greeks (and this includes the Greeks of the Roman period) ranks among the greatest achievements of that race. The relations of Greek medicine to Greek culture, and notably to Greek philosophy, are important in any complete study of Greek civilisation, yet it is surprising how very few scholars have even a nodding acquaintance with the great writers on medicine—some very worthy people are not quite clear whether Galen wrote in Greek or in Latin. This book of translations of selected passages is, therefore, an excellent introduction, and it should serve, we think, as an incentive to a more detailed study of these authors, Hippocrates, Galen, Soranus, Diodorus Siculus and Aetius—to mention those included in the present volume, though these names by no means exhaust the list.

The editor and publishers of this series were very fortunate in their choice of Dr. A. J. Brock as translator; he has, of course, already made himself known to scholars by his excellent edition of Galen's *Natural Faculties* in the Loeb series, the first complete translation of any of Galen's works into English (Linacre, it will be remembered, translated into Latin).

For such a task Dr. Brock combines the essential qualities of scholar and physician, and this enables him to interpret with a happy felicity the mind and meaning of his author, for to him, as to Hippocrates, Soranus and the others, 'disease is a process rather than a state.' The translation is done with painstaking skill and accuracy, and the style flows easily along.

Not the least valuable part of the book is the Introduction, in which he treats the essential points in Greek medicine, giving a short account of his authors and of the evolution of the various schools of thought, the Dogmatists, the Empirics, the Pneumatists, the Methodists and the others. It is obvious that this, written as it is from the medical point of view and with ample regard to present-day needs and practice, should be of great interest to all who are interested in medicine as a science. The fundamental tenets of Hippocratic medicine (and this dominated the whole course of the art in Greece), that the physician must consider his patient as a whole, and not as a collection of scientifically named parts, that life is 'a constant interplay between organism and environment,' and that when this

balance is disturbed in disease, the organism tends of its own inherent power to react and regain control—all this is full of meaning to-day, when the specialisation of medicine tends to conceal the fundamental fact that the patient is after all a complete organic entity.

The extracts are chosen to illustrate these underlying principles, and to show how these brilliant pioneers sought to apply them in the practice of what they called their 'Art.' The selections from Hippocrates deal with his account of the progress of ancient medicine, of man's adaptation to environment, and with observations on pathological conditions. The extract from Thucydides contains his famous description of the plague, while excerpts are made from Plato to illustrate what the learned translator terms 'Bio-psychosis' and 'Psychobiosis.' Aristotle is placed under contribution for his biological investigations, and Rufus of Ephesus displays the subtle skill with which the practised physician investigates his patient. There are, besides, shorter extracts from Diodorus Siculus and Aetius. But most of the extracts come from Galen, and these show the multifarious activities of that master-mind. We hear him discourse brilliantly on the philosophico-medical schools of his day, on the decadence of medicine at Rome, on his experiences as a successful practitioner—including his association with Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. His views on physiology, on the vital forces, his rejection of the atomistic theory, his acceptance of the *pneuma* hypothesis, his intensely teleological outlook—all these are of intense and very human interest. But the most fascinating passages are those in which he lays bare his soul—his sense of awe and reverence before the great Creator who designed man's wondrous frame and erected the starry firmament, his Stoic and heroic outlook on life and things, his scorn of riches and pleasure, and his insistence on the cultivation of wisdom and self-restraint—all give a picture of a noble Hellene, an idealist, yet no dreamer. Such a revelation shows him to be far removed from the popular misconception which would hold him to be little better than a clever charlatan. This displays him as 'undoubtedly one of the great men of history.'

Regarding texts, it is noted that Dr. Brock has mainly used Littré for his translations of Hippocrates: this, of course, is an excellent edition, but some of these treatises have been edited by Heiberg in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (Vol. I, i, 1927). And though the texts of Galen from which Dr. Brock has made his selections are in quite a satisfactory condition, it must be admitted that Kuhn, especially where he follows

Chartier's readings, is not always a reliable guide. Future editors of Galen cannot afford to neglect the modern critical edition, which is appearing all too slowly.

J. P.

**The Works of Pindar.** Translated, with Literary and Critical Commentaries, by LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL. Vol. I: **Translation** in rhythmical prose with literary comments. Pp. xii + 383; 6 plates. Vol. II: **Critical Commentary.** Pp. xxviii + 489. Vol. III. **Text.** Pp. 184. London: Macmillan, 1930-1932. £2 8s.

In order to evaluate this important work it is necessary to realise what it sets out to be. It does not profess to include all of Pindar *cum pulvisculo*, but only the Epinikians and those fragments, old and new, which give us an appreciable and intelligible amount of what Pindar actually wrote. Hence, for example, the text of Paean iv begins at line 11 and the translation at 16. It does not profess to discuss in detail the MS. tradition, but refers to the published works of Schroeder and other authorities for most of this part of the matter, merely giving an outline of the generally accepted results. For this reason also the text has no apparatus criticus, but merely conventional signs indicating a conjecture and a corruption: important questions of reading are, of course, discussed in the commentary. It is not a manual for young students; Vol. I may be used by those who know no Greek, if they desire to find out what so famous a poet had to say, or it may be taken as part of the commentary. Vols. II and III are definitely for scholars who are willing to spend some trouble and thought on deciding exactly what Pindar meant and how he said it.

The reviewer is of opinion that within these self-imposed limits Dr. Farnell has been very successful, and that the book must be added to the short list of those works which a serious student of Pindar, or of Greek lyric poetry in general, must consult. Incidentally, it provides the only English commentary on the whole of Pindar (with the exceptions already mentioned). It is now no longer necessary, in turning from the Epinikians to the larger fragments, to resort to the appropriate volumes of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri or the numerous other collections of like nature.

The text is conservative, and deliberately so, for the editor holds that the MS. tradition, while not faultless, is comparatively reliable, a very large proportion of the alleged corruptions (apart from mere misinterpretations of the spelling of Pindar's day, to be set right by inter-

changing  $\sigma$  and  $\omega$ ,  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$ , and the like) being no more than misunderstandings of the sense and grammar by modern readers, or attempts to make the author observe a stricter strophic correspondence than there is any sufficient reason for thinking he did. Not many new readings are admitted: in Pyth. iv, 109, the old conjecture  $\lambdaευγαῖς$  is printed (given in some editions of L. S. under  $\lambdaευκός$ , but now dropped); N. ix, 23 has what seems to the reviewer a palmary emendation, or rather interpretation of the MSS., νόστον ἐρισσάμενοι (the traditional readings are  $\epsilonῖρισσάμενοι$  and  $\epsilonῖρυσσάμενοι$ , whereof the former might very easily have arisen under the hands of a good early Hellenistic copyist who had ΕΠΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ before him, and the second by itacism from it). Paean vi, 50 fills the lacuna very plausibly by πόθεν ἀθανάτων γένος ἄλβητο: we want something which is within the knowledge only of revealing gods ( $\tauαῦτα θεοῖς μὲν πῖεῖν σοφούς δυνατόν, βροτοῖσιν δ' ἀμήχανον εὔρεῖν$ ), and the birds when they set up as gods (Ar., *lues* 691) claim to know φύσιν οἰωνῶν γένεσιν τε θεῶν; Aristophanes knew his Pindar and is quite as likely to be alluding to him as to Hesiod, especially as he mentions a particular σοφός, namely Prodikos, whose speculations will be no longer needed.

The quality of the translation has been variously judged. The medium chosen, rhythmical and somewhat archaic prose, is undoubtedly the best, until there arises some poet of the first rank who is at once a master of Greek and of the lyric metres of English and so modest as to think his time well spent in rendering old poems instead of writing new ones. In the meanwhile, we not only have a good and thoughtful setting forth of the sense, but some echo of the sound of Pindar. I give one or two short examples: O. ii, 70 runs

These, then, fare along the road of God to the  
fenced holy place of Kronos,  
Where airs born of Ocean are wafted round  
the Island of the Blest,  
And flowers of gold are gleaming there.  
Some, earth's children, born from radiant  
trees,  
Others the water's nurslings;  
With clusters whereof they enwreath their  
hands and twine garlands for their brows.  
And the opening symphony of the *Nemeans*,  
Hail, Ortugia,  
Holy place where Alpheus breathed again,  
Flowering-branch of famed Syracuse,  
The couch of Artemis, Delos' sister-isle.

Good taste is shown by not allowing those Greek names that have no naturalised English form to be written as if they were a rather odd sort of

Latin: personally I should have left Kroisos unlatinised, alongside of Poias and the Herakleidae and Danaoi, but no two are likely to agree where the boundary-line ought to be drawn. The general effect, at least to the present reviewer's ear, is lofty and dignified, though lacking the prodigious vigour and wealth of music of the original: and so far, no one has come much nearer than this. Details it is easy to quarrel with; for instance, was it well to deprive Iamos of his bed of gilliflowers and lay him on 'yellow and purple rays of violets' (O. vi, 55)?

To criticise the commentary adequately would need a series of notes and articles rather than a review, for of necessity it is full of controversial matter. But a few general remarks may be in place here. It confines itself to elucidation of the text in those places where the translation, in showing how the editor supposes the Greek ought to be construed, leaves something yet to be explained or itself needs justification. Hence such matters as grammar, metre, antiquities and the thousand and one points which might reasonably be raised in a series of lectures or in a work like Wilamowitz' *Pindaros* (to which, as is natural, frequent reference is made), are dealt with only so far as is needful to the matter in hand. For instance, on O. i, 70-85 we have a very brief characterisation of Pindar's handling of the story of Oinomaos and a dozen words about the legend itself; 81 has no note, but the translation ('dire peril calleth not for a faint-hearted man') shows how the editor would interpret it. O. vii, 53 is given a twelve-line note mostly defending the translation; but O. ix, 28 has well over a page interpreting the run of Pindar's argument. N. i, 24 has about as much; N. iii, 10 saves much space by simply not reporting a deal of impossible interpretations and wild conjectures, all better forgotten. N. vi, 65 has also a long note, which, with the help of the late Dr. Norman Gardiner, at last makes the sense really clear; N. vii and its companion in obscurity the Sixth Paean receive the compliment of a thoughtful essay (Vol. I, pp. 203-10), besides notes on particular difficulties, whereof one, line 33 sqq., is a good deal lessened by reading and taking the trouble to explain what Pindar wrote, viz. βοαβοῶν (pres. partic.), not what various readers have fancied he wrote. I. vi (v), 57-8, on the other hand, points out that there is a difficulty and a real one, which it needs some knowledge of Greek to see and more to clear up. And so on throughout: the reviewer has found no cause to wish the longer notes shorter, and also has found no place where a tolerably competent reader has just complaint against the brevity of the short

comments. In general it may be said that Dr. Farnell has, besides the combination of poetic sense and common sense without which it is hopeless to interpret Pindar at all, instinctive sympathy with the poet's point of view; for surely all the wide differences between Boiotia and England do not destroy the real likeness that exists between the 'eagle of Zeus' and a high-minded, country-bred English gentleman.

I have purposely not included remarks on points of disagreement, since I hope to discuss some of them elsewhere: for instance, I take I. ii. 35 quite differently from Dr. Farnell and think him and every other commentator I have come across wrong on Frag. 13 (ποίηαν παλαίου πένθεος): here I prefer to record my deliberate opinion that this is now the standard interpretative edition of Pindar, as Schroeder's is the standard work on the text and Wilamowitz' the indispensable general treatise on the poet.

H. J. R.

**The Agamemnon of Aeschylus:** a revised text with introduction, verse-translation and critical notes. By J. C. LAWSON. Pp. xlvii + 168. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 15s.

It would be easy to disparage this book on the obvious grounds that the text has been altered in the interests of the editor's conception of the play. That would be unfair; an editor can only emend in accordance with his view of the meaning of the whole. Mr. Lawson has emended very freely, and his conception of the meaning often differs from that of most readers, but his methods, while they give him wide liberty (see Introd. pp. xxi-xxix), are logical enough. If nobody had the courage of his convictions, fewer mistakes would be made, but scholarship would greatly suffer.

In his introduction he criticises, as others have done, the theories of Verrall, and rightly considers that that editor built far too much upon the 'discrepancies,' especially the arrival of Agamemnon apparently the day after the fall of Troy. He also rejects Headlam's theory that a lapse of time is to be assumed at line 487, believing that Clytaemnestra in ll. 278-279 never meant to imply that 'Troy only fell the previous night. But even accepting his rendering: CHORUS. 'Since when in sooth hath Ilium lain despoiled?' CLYTEMNESTRA. 'Since that same night, I say, whence sprang this dawn,' the impression is that Clytaemnestra believed that she had got the news within twenty-four hours of the fall (cp. l. 320) and certainly she does not appear to suppose that the Greeks are already on their way back and almost

home: δει γάρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστιμοῦ σωτηρίας (342).

To examine the text in detail and estimate the value of Lawson's many conjectures would be a long task. As an example we may mention ὄμβροι δέ in 560, which gives good sense and saves the grammar, but the original error cannot have been palaeographical: ἐξ οὐράνου γάρ of the manuscripts is therefore said to have been a gloss on ὄμβροι. But why should anyone want to tell us that rain comes from the sky? Another case of wrong concordance in our text occurs in 119-120. Lawson takes λαγιναν = λαγίνην as a masculine word. Byzantine λαγίνης, reads γέννας and so explains the gender of βλαβέντα. For the use of a masculine word to denote a female hare he compares ὁ θῆλυς ὀρέυς, where, however, the addition of θῆλυς makes all the difference. Such instances are a fair sample, neither the best nor the worst. The editor has a liking for new or late words and forms, also for grammatical points, yet he starts off his notes with a remark on grammar that is quite wrong.

Yet, when all is said and done, a new edition of the Agamemnon never comes amiss: and the reviewer, who shares Mr. Lawson's feelings about the difficulty of lecturing on it, would have no hesitation in telling a student new to the Agamemnon to read Mr. Lawson's text and translation right through before applying himself to more detailed and comprehensive study.

**A History of Later Greek Literature from the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. to the death of Justinian in 565 A.D.** By F. A. WRIGHT. Pp. ix + 415. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1932. 18s.

Professor Wright's book will satisfy rather than stimulate curiosity. This is as it should be. It is convenient to have a summary history of post-classical literature at hand, and probably most readers will decide that they need no more. They will be right. The author makes gallant efforts on behalf of his subjects, but—*securus judicat orbis terrarum*: they are not worth reading. They never were. Exceptions, no doubt, may be named. But for the most part this literature of magazine articles, magazine poetry and school books is a dreary waste. With late Latin literature we feel that, bad as it is, something will come of it: when the life has departed the body will fertilise the ground. Greek literature is so thoroughly desiccated that it will not even render that service to the next age. Why this should be so is a difficult and in some ways a disquieting question. What made the later



centuries of antiquity so dull? Rhetorical education? Lack of curiosity? The methods of publication? The opening gap between the written and the spoken language? Viewed in this light, even post-classical literature acquires a certain, if pathological, interest. I wish that Professor Wright, having written this compact and lucid report of his journey through the wilderness, would append to it an essay on the meaning of it all.

**Les hymnes de Callimaque : commentaire explicatif et critique.** Pp. xi + 282.

**Callimaque et son œuvre poétique.** Pp. 654. By É. CAHEN. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1929 and 1930.

Here are two very welcome volumes. The *Commentaire* is the natural complement of Cahen's Budé text and translation of the *Hymns*, and itself, in turn, has interaction at various points with *Callimaque*. For each Hymn an introduction, aided by sectional notes, deals with date and occasion, literary type, and development of theme—a series of most valuable and illuminating discussions. The explanatory notes, to judge from frequent sampling *passim*, are lucid and reliable. Cahen's touch is both light and firm; and that syntax is largely transferred to *Callimaque* has some advantages. Still, one feels the need of notes here for (e.g.) ὄπρ with accusative I. 74, etc. and οὐδ' ὄσσον (II. 37); and some optatives (e.g. at III. 66, IV. 246) might usefully have been explained *in situ*. Trajection of a preposition is much more common in earlier poetry than II. 8 *n.* suggests; and the transference of appositional words to a relative clause in Hes. *Erg.* 160, so aptly invoked to settle the reading at I. 35, has parallels in II. 111–2, IV. 304–5, and *Frag.* 164 Schn.—also, I think, in IV. 228–30, where Cahen's interpretation seems dubious. III. 53 *n.* is an example of happy annotation; but V. 123–4 *n.* leaves a doubt as to how he views πτέρυγες as augural material. Among good critical comments are those on I. 42, IV. 12, 249, and III. 90–1—this last abandoning the Budé text, as he does also at I. 3, 36, 80, II. 72, III. 239, V. 36, 131. αὐτῇ in IV. 268 and τηλεσφορέας in VI. 129 might have had critical notes; and the desperate οὐα at VI. 133 still awaits satisfactory solution.

*Callimaque* is always valuable and at times brilliant. Much of the book necessarily deals in controversies; much of it, again, breaks fresh ground with a theory of the poet's literary doctrines and how they were put into practice. In both spheres Cahen is scrupulously honest, and in the main he reasons with great acumen. He begins with a Life of Callimachus, tracing the

stages in his career, with their putative dates, and assigning to this or that poem its place here or there in it. This reconstruction makes stimulating reading. As a whole it relies, inevitably and confessedly, mainly on probabilities and possibilities, and but little on exact proofs. Hence a general assessment is not easy; and it should be noted that several positions depend each on several pleas, so that rejection of an individual plea will not in itself invalidate that particular position. Much of the whole I find quite credible; but here are some difficulties—(a) Callimachus may have been poor when he wrote *Hymn* I. (p. 19), though ll. 94–6 have not the personal touch so clearly as (e.g.) *Hom. H. Demeter* 494, and at best seem no proof of poverty. But why 'still young' (*ibid.*)? This idea, like the other, is stamped only as 'probable'; but, even at that, one would welcome explanation. (b) *Frag.* 443 Schn. cannot fairly be used towards dating the *Aetia* without evidence that it belongs to that poem: but Cahen offers no such proof (pp. 19, 93), and p. 35, *n.* 1, obliquely allowing that possibly the *Aetia* was not 'faite d'un seul coup,' weakens the inference for which he uses the fragment.

What he proceeds to say of Callimachus' literary polemics should be read in conjunction with the later section on 'Literary Ideas' (pp. 289 sqq.). In brief, the poet's warfare is held to have been waged chiefly against the votaries of Antimachus, and the tussle with Apollonius to have occurred late and been—to use the lawyer's phrase—'short, sharp, and decisive.' Pp. 289 sqq. stress *inter alia* that to the Hesiodic bequest of didactic 'lyrism' Antimachus and his successors had done harm by adding an amorous element; and Callimachus' recoil in the *Aetia* makes the Cydippe-fragment, viewed as a love-tale, cold and lacking in psychological analysis. That whole section is rich in good things, and readers will probably count it the best part of the book.

Preceding it is a full discussion of the extant poetical remains. Here special mention may be made of the classification of the *Epigram*; the treatment of the Πλόκαμος as being, in effect, an enlarged epigram; and the chapters on *Hymns* and *Aetia*. In this last, Cahen is perhaps at his critical best in uttering salutary warnings to would-be reconstructors; and his own sole effort gives, I believe, its right grouping to *Frag.* 222 Schn., whether it actually came just after *Fragg.* 194 + 119 or not (pp. 137–8). P. Oxy. 2079 he regards as not having belonged to the *Aetia*—certainly not to the poem's original form (pp. 174 sqq.). It is good to find him insisting that ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἶδω may have had only a

particular application (pp. 175, 233). A few comments and criticisms may be made on this chapter. (a) That the Argonauts' Return *may* have belonged to Book II perhaps does not depend, *pace* p. 112, only on Frag. 21 a Schn. The Argo's keel, called φωνήσσα by Callimachus, was of Dodonaean wood (schol. Lycophr. 1319); and Epaphroditus on Dodona (Frag. 24 a Schn.) may belong to a note about it. (b) Schol. *Il.* 2. 145 probably points to P. Oxy. 2080, ll. 50-1 for Minos and the Cocalids. Cahen, who counts the reference merely as possible (p. 635), omits to note it at p. 159 *init.*: viewed as probable, it could, of course, illustrate from the *Aetia* itself his apt warning (pp. 118-19) that a scholiast's *subscriptio* is treacherous ground. (c) Is it really 'le procédé constant' that an αἰτίον, if used as the pretext for a narrative, is recalled at the end (p. 115)? No instances are cited: and, with our very imperfect knowledge of the *Aetia*, surely such dogmatism is dangerous. (d) On p. 134 Apollonius on Hylas is used as evidence—apparently primary—for Callimachus' procedure. One wants to hear reasons for this, especially as it looks (*ibid.*) as if any part of the 'unpolemical' *Argonautica* I-II might fairly, in Cahen's opinion, be similarly employed. But the loss of Hylas is, as he says, an unlikely adjunct to the *Aetia*'s story of Theodamas, though Fragg. 546 (it Hecker's ἀμφορέα be right) and 512 Schn. suggest that Callimachus may have sung somewhere of the boy's disappearance and Heracles' quest for him.

Later comes the discussion of mythology and religion, moral ideas, etc.; such matters as dialect, syntax, metre, and phrasing are fully treated: and the structure of the *Hymns* is explained. The concluding chapter deals admirably with the qualities of 'Alexandrinism' in general and Callimachus in particular: and an appendix usefully assembles and annotates his *fragmenta recentissima*.

M. T. S.

**Philostratus the elder Imagines; Philostratus the younger, Imagines; Callistratus, Descriptions.** By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS. (*The Loeb Classical Library*.) Pp. xxxii + 429; frontispiece and 37 illustrations. London: Heinemann, 1931.

This is a useful and convenient edition of three works which are very important to the archaeologist. The text follows the Teubner closely, although the Teubner editions have been inadvertently omitted from the list on p. xii. Another omission: the introduction should have contained a reference to Paul Friedländer's excellent history of the ἐκφρασις in his *Johannes von Gaza*: this includes, by the way, a brief but warm appre-

ciation of the elder Philostratus. The translation sometimes falls short of the terseness which is one of the Philostrati's two chief virtues (the other being their mastery of the nominativus pendens). I note some passages in which the rendering seems to miss the sense: let it be remembered that the Greek is often far from easy.

*Philostratus the elder.* 298 K 1: τὸ χαῦνον τοῦ στεφάνου is not its tenderness or delicacy, but its flimsiness. 298 K 16: ἀτακτεῖν is said of the wreaths, not of the wearers, cf. 303 K 28 ἀτακτεῖν of hair. 309 K 16: not 'the use they were to make of its tusks,' but 'what use to make of its tusks.' 311 K 16: τὰ μὲν . . . τὰς δὲ is not 'some . . . others': the Heliads spoken of are the same throughout: the painter, says Ph., 'puts roots to their toes: up to the waist, as you see, they are trees: and branches are taking the place of their arms': face, and body down to the waist, are still human. 313 K 28: στήλας is translated as if it were στύλους. 314 K 34: here, and in 322 K 22, γλαυκός is rendered 'bright,' but it is a colour-word in both places, and I think always. 319 K 4: this is translated 'Here is consternation over Oenomaus the Arcadian: these are men who shout a warning over him . . . and the scene is Arcadia and a portion of Peloponnesus': should it not be 'The consternation is for O.; and those who are shouting over him are Arcadia' (that is, perhaps, the men of Arcadia), 'and all the dwellers in Peloponnesus'? 322 K 1: nominativus pendens: not 'The one is a sacred ship' (which would be obvious), but 'The sacred ship—Dionysos is revelling on board.' 323 K 3: χρυσαῖ no doubt covers all that follows ἐνύφανται: 'woven into it, in gold, bacchantes on Tmolos, and the adventures of D. in Lydia.' 323 K 23, ὑπτίος 'supine' not 'prone.' 324 K 32, 'fluffy' will not do for ἐγγήγερται. 325 K 12: αὐταῖς is translated, but the text is αὐτοῖς. 331 K 4: the translation should give the 'beauty' in ὥρα. 332 K 20: not 'from every nostril' but 'from the whole nostril.' 333 K 2: Oneiros is said in the English to be wearing a white garment over a black 'because his work is at night after day is done': then he ought to wear black only: and I always thought that μετ' ἡμέραν meant 'by day'? And aren't there day-dreams as well as night-dreams? So the white and the black symbolise his day-work and his night-work respectively. 333 K 26: ἀντακουεσθαι is printed and translated: but the sense demands, and the manuscripts read, ἀντακούσεσθαι. 334 K 5: στικτοί, from its place in the sentence, should refer not to the horses, but to their trappings: the horses have bridles of silver, and trappings

spotted and golden. 334 K 7: this is usually supposed to be an allusion to enamel: in any case τὰ χρώματα . . . ἐγγεῖν τῷ χαλκῷ διαπύρω cannot be 'to compound the pigments of red-hot bronze,' but 'to pour them into the bronze when it is red-hot.' 334 K 10: εὐξωνος and κοῦφος are both predicates: 'for one is riding in light array.' 334 K 12: ἀπειλῶν πάλην τινὰ τῷ ἐηρίῳ is not merely 'threatening fight with . . . ' but ' . . . to grapple with. . . ' 334 K 16: the 'white medallion fashioned on his forehead' is only a round blaze. 334 K 24: σκυθρωπός of colour is 'sullen':

and like bright metal on a sullen ground. . . .  
(*King Henry IV*).

334 K 34: καὶ γὰρ . . . ἐρᾶται is made up of three kola: he is strong, being a hunter: he is proud of his horse: he is conscious of being loved. 335 K 9: the hounds, 'some sporting and bay-ing . . . , and some attentive: and they all follow the trail with grinning muzzles': surely three different kinds of behaviour are described: (1) some are barking; (2) others are considering; (3) others are following the trail.<sup>1</sup> 335 K 12:

<sup>1</sup> After writing this (and changing 'dogs' to 'hounds'), I thought I ought to consult a fox-hunter: my friend Mr. G. T. Hutchinson writes as follows:—

'Normal procedure when hunting by scent. Hounds "find"—either by "drawing" a likely place, or "hunting the drag" of their quarry. Having found, they hunt "in full cry." But note, that as soon as they are no longer "running in view" the scent *may* only serve for the leading hounds, who "speak to it": the rest would follow, but would not "open," so there would not be a good cry on a bad scenting-day.

'Suppose the fox turns, or scent fails on bad scenting-ground. Some over-keen hounds "flash over the line"—still "speaking"—too jealous to own that they have lost it: are these the hounds ἀγερῶχους καὶ ὑλακτούσας? Meanwhile the steady old hounds are "casting" i.e. searching for the line, or "working it out," "feathering on the line"—all this in silence. This demands brain—ἐνεούσας: perhaps "puzzling at the line" might be best.

'One or more of these tried hounds "hits off the line" or becomes certain enough to "speak" to it: the pack races to him, cf. Masfield:

"The keen hounds hurry to the finders,"  
and the chase proceeds.

'P.'s last sentence has the idea of hunting with a grin—we have no technical term for this, though Masfield says:

"While over the grass in crowd, in cry,  
Came the grip teeth grinning to make him die."

ᾄσσονται is future: they will sing when they have reached the temple. 335 K 23: διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ θαρρούντων βάλυσθαι: the boar's wounds are slight, according to the translation, 'because it is not hit by some of the over-confident youths': rather, because the shooters are nervous. 336 K 11: οἶμαι does not go with ἔτλη; and τοῦ Περσέως does not depend on ἄθλος but on ἀνήκοον: the construction is slightly anacoluthic—a variant of the nom. pendens. 336 K 30: no reason to translate ἐκπληξίς 'fear,' here or in 383 K 11. 340 K 3: this is a general reflection: there is beauty not in *her* first wrinkle, but in the first wrinkle. 347 K 15: εὐφραίνει must be transitive, and I take the object to be ἡμέρον, cf. πράσνει in 327 K 25. 348 K 15: isn't τὰ γὰρ . . . εἶναι a general statement? 348 K 32: doesn't the translation require ταῦτι γὰρ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν ἔργα—(παντὰ) πλὴν τοῦ δάκνειν ἢ ὀρύττειν, and shouldn't this perhaps be read? 350 K 5: 'he seems to strike terror among the Achaeans' should be 'he dumbfounds the Achaeans like a terror.' 352 K 15 τοῦτο τὸ ἄνθος is αἰδώς, or the colour set by αἰδώς on the cheek. 357 K 8 ἐξείροντα is translated 'leaping up,' and ἀναβρόσκοντα 'jumping aloft,' which is the same thing, isn't it? But ε. must be different from α, and I suppose ε. means kicking up one leg and α. springing up with both. 361 K 4: ὅσον τῆς ἡμιθέου φορᾶς ἦνθι is not 'all the offspring of the demigods who flourished at that time,' but 'the whole crop of demigods . . . : they were sons of gods, not of demigods—

heroes' race, half human, half divine.

364 K: ἐπαύλια τῆς θαλάττης are not 'farm-buildings on the seashore' but 'farms of the sea': the little rank-and-file islands stand to the sea as hamlets, cattle-folds, or petty farms to the land. 365 K 26: this should run 'what you see is Zeus hurling thunderbolts. . . . 372 K 10: isn't ἡδίους accusative, agreeing with ἰμάντας? The hands have put on thongs which

I suppose "grinning" is the poet's idea of hunting with bared teeth.

'I should be inclined to describe lot 1 as "racing" }  
"running" }  
in full cry," lot 2 as "working" }  
"puzzling" } out the line," and  
lot 3 as "hunting with bared" }  
"teeth," }  
"fangs."

'Generally, I'm inclined to think that in this passage Philostratus is more artist than realist—like the modern Christmas-card artist who depicts the lovely girl galloping or jumping in the middle of the hounds. So P. likes to recall the different aspects of the pack in action, and forgets that these don't in fact occur at the same moment.'

are more agreeable to the hands than if there were garlands on the hands. 372 K 27: Atlas is said to be hardly standing at all, almost collapsed. 377 K 22: Rohde's reading, here adopted, must mean 'Wonder not that they have wept at what is beyond tears (too fearful for tears), for they are children, and children are prompt to tears, whether what they fear be small or great.' 378 K 14: I take ὁ . . . γεωργὸς to be the subject: the sentence would naturally end νοεῖσθω Θειοδόμας εἶναι, but the construction bends off, and we get νοεῖσθω—Θειοδαμόντα τὸν Λ εἰ πῶν ἀκούσας ἔχεις. 386 K 2: here and elsewhere, εἶδος is mistranslated 'face' instead of 'appearance.'

*Philostratus the younger.* 393 K 1, of Odysseus, βεβυθισμένος τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀκτῖνα διὰ πανουργίαν οἶμαι καὶ τὸ διαθεῖν τι αἰεῖ: this cannot be merely 'keeping the glance of his eyes sunk low.' The light of the eye is said to be drowned: Odysseus' regard—this, if not exactly the metaphor, is not far off—is like the sea when the sun has just sunk in it: dusky, deep, and secret. The same expression is used in 402 K 10 of the boy Ganymede, looking inconsolable because he is losing his game.

396 K 21, τὴν δεξιὰν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς περισπαγών: 'swinging his right hand above his head' strikes a false note: he brings his hand round and lays it on the back of his head, as singers often do on vases (see Hartwig, *Meist.* p. 325).

404 K 18: not 'that the future . . . comes from the Fates,' but 'what the Fates have in store for the house of Pelops.' 415 K 17: θαρρήσει γὰρ ἡμᾶς γούν προσβλέπει is not 'he will not be afraid to have us, at least, look at him,' but 'he will not be afraid to look at us.' 417 K 19: τὴν βάσιν τηρήσας is not 'watching the boar's advance' but 'holding his stance,' keeping the attitude he has taken up.

*Callistatus.* 423 K 30: πλάσμα is predicate. 428 K 11: the two passages quoted here (and already in the Teubner edition) attest σείειν χαίτην, which nobody would dispute, but not σείειν ἱούλον, which must be wrong. 431 K 26: εἰωθεν is perfect. 434 K 20: ἡ δεῖ σοι τῆς τέχνης παραστήσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα; is not 'must I set before you the work of art?' but 'do you need my art to bring the thing before your mind?' 435 K 28: what C. says is "'not like a man'" (to use the Homeric image) "but like a wooded mountain-peak."

I note the less trivial misprints in the Greek. 297 K 8, read comma after νέους. P. 46, footnote. ἔλκον. 379 K 4, comma after πίνος. 382 K 16, after διύφηεν. 415 K 7, εἰς σὲ ἴσο, at least, it seems, the manuscripts). 427 K 18, τόν. On p. 179 read Daiphantos. The mosaic on p. xxxi is from, not by, Palestine.

J.H.S.—VOL. LII.

The illustrations are in the taste of Mr. Reinach's embellishments to the fifth volume of the Loeb *Anthology*.

J. D. B.

#### Varro und die hellenistische Sprachtheorie.

By HILFRIED DAHLMANN. Pp. 89. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1932. 6 m.

An essay on the composition, sources and originality of Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, especially in relation to Stoic theories on language. The author differs from Reitzenstein in denying that Books V and VI are Varro's unaided work: he believes that, like much of Varro, they have a Stoic work, perhaps by Chrysippus, behind them.

#### La Critique des Textes. By P. COLLOMP.

Pp. 128. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1931.

In a modest preface M. Collomp apologises for the amount of elementary detail incorporated in this book. One regrets to admit that such an apology is unnecessary, that far too many modern students of the Classics have only a hazy notion of the methods of classification of manuscripts or of textual criticism. A lively interest in the subject-matter and historical background of ancient literature must not be allowed completely to oust the study of textual criticism, and even if few of our students are likely ever to edit an ancient author themselves, they should not be left in ignorance of the work that has to be done in preparing a text and classifying manuscripts. M. Collomp's little book is therefore sure of a warm welcome.

A short introductory chapter on Textual Criticism generally is followed by a demonstration of the need for it—a proceeding unnecessary for most, but perhaps worth doing for the sake of junior students. The means of textual criticism, the matter at one's disposal, direct and indirect tradition and the like, are explained in Chapter III. The fourth chapter comes to closer grips with the subject. Of a number of manuscripts an editor may select one which from age or on other grounds he deems to be the best representative of the direct tradition, and rely chiefly or wholly on it: or he may choose to be guided by an agreement of the majority. The weaknesses of both these methods and the necessity for discrimination are demonstrated, and this leads naturally to the construction of the stemma (Chap. V). This is perhaps the most useful chapter in the book. Methods of stemma-construction are not, of course, mutually exclusive. A manuscript provides two classes of data: (1) the book itself, its size, shape, damage received, stains, handwriting, title, arrangement

and length of lines and folios, and so forth: (2) the readings of the text—their agreements and disagreements with other MSS. On the former sort of data depends the Clark method. Examples are given of how a lacuna in one manuscript may show the number of letters in a line of another, and generally how measurement and calculation may be used to draw inferences about different codices. The exposition is brief, too brief to serve as a guide to its use, for which the reader is referred to Clark and Havet. More familiar are the methods depending on the second set of data, *e.g.* Lachmann's system, grouping MSS. according to their 'common errors.' This method, though at all times indispensable, is open to the objections, that while it shows the kinship between any two manuscripts it is of less use in showing the relations of more than two (Bédier), and, that 'error' quers the pitch for the editor before he has established the stemma on which his text must rest. This latter objection leads to an account of Dom H. Quentin's method, in which every agreement between manuscripts is taken into account. Only a preliminary lesson in this complicated system was possible in this book, but copious references are given.

There remain two further chapters, one on contamination, in the face of which any method of stemma construction is often powerless, and one on Papyri with their apparent 'eclecticism' in relation to mediaeval manuscripts. Eclecticism is, of course, a misnomer, but papyri may agree or disagree with any or all of our MSS. The number of current copies was greater in Ptolemaic than in mediaeval times and contamination was frequent. Altogether a book for which M. Collomp will have earned the gratitude of students on both sides of the Channel.

**Forschungen in Ephesos: IV, Heft 1: Die Marienkirche in Ephesos.** Published by the AUSTRIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE. Pp. 11 + 108; 4 plates, 96 illustrations. Vienna: Filser, 1932.

The latest volume of the Ephesos publication by the Austrian Archaeological Institute deals with the numerous churches of Our Lady at Ephesos. In the introduction Emil Reisch gives a short history of the site, which was first occupied by the Hellenistic Mouseion, and then by churches dating from the fourth to the seventh century.

The ingenuity with which the successive buildings were inserted into the shell of the original structure is equalled only by that of Fritz Knoll in disentangling them from one another, and presenting them in such a clear

and understandable manner—no small feat, when one considers the very fragmentary nature of the remains, and the way in which portions of each building were employed in the later work, when not actually cleared to make room for it.

This site affords a clear example of the complete change of ideas that came about with the growth of Byzantine culture and architecture: the change from the Early Christian basilica form (here represented by the Marienkirche) to the domed churches of the Byzantine style with all its eastern influence (the Kuppelkirche). This new influence was so strong that the former church, instead of being rebuilt, was abandoned in favour of one in the new style, just as, at a later date in England, Sir Christopher Wren's new cathedral in Renaissance style replaced the ruins of Gothic St. Paul's.

The mosaic pavement in the narthex of the earliest church is of peculiar interest at present, since a fragmentary pavement with the same 'pelta' pattern has been excavated this summer at Verulamium. It is roughly contemporary with the Ephesian mosaic, being a little earlier than A.D. 350.

The various plans and drawings in the text are admirably executed and the addition of figured dimensions to most of them adds greatly to their value. It is a pity that the plan of the Domed Church (fig. 36) has been reduced to such a scale that the dimensions are no longer legible, but this is the only exception. The arrangement by which drawings and photographs of some of the architectural details are placed together on the same page (fig. 80) is particularly helpful, and the photographic illustrations are remarkably good.

A selection of the inscriptions, both classical and Christian, found on the site has been admirably arranged by Josef Keil and then supplemented by photographs.

For the purpose of reference a table of dates suggested for the various periods of building, possibly inserted as an appendix, would have been useful, but it is the only omission noticeable in this very thorough publication.

**La Sculpture Copte.** By GEORGES DUTHUIT. Pp. 63, with 72 plates. Paris: Van Oest, 1931. 300 fr.

This is an excellent book, reasonable and perspicacious in outlook, elegantly written, admirably illustrated. M. Duthuit defends Coptic art against the unsympathetic strictures of Prof. Monneret de Villard and Dom Leclercq, but refrains from falling into the opposite excess

of adulating works whose modest and unpretentious character he is always prepared to recognise. It is a mistake, he notes, to impute profound philosophic intentions to the artisans of Bawit or Ahnas: to wonder, with Riegl, whether Coptic art was meant to be regarded from afar. It was not meant to be *regarded* at all, he says: merely *seen* in passing. Its content was of slight importance compared with the total decorative effect. Certainly the ornamental aspects of Coptic art are more congenial than its essays in figure-composition. There are, indeed, some charmingly vivacious groups, like the Nereids and the engaging Cupid at Trieste, and an attractively salacious Leda, whose frank enjoyment of the swan's embrace is rendered with undeniable *brio*. But stylised vegetable ornament was the Coptic forte, and M. Duthuit illustrates a valuable series of friezes, niches, panels, and capitals. He prudently refuses to dogmatise upon the origins of this style, judging that Strzygowski is altogether too confident with his pan-Iranian hypotheses. But he naturally admits its important influence upon the subsequent evolution of Islamic ornament.

R. H.

**Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Daphni and Hosios Lucas.** By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. Pp. 117, with 15 colour-plates and 136 monochrome illustrations. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, for the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 1931.

The most obvious merit of this book lies in the coloured reproductions, which are made from direct autochromes, not from painted photographs, and are beautifully printed in collotype by Jaffé of Vienna. Their fidelity is quite remarkable, especially in the gold backgrounds, which really do glow, instead of returning the usual blank brassy stare of bronze-dust ink. This great achievement gives the book a peculiar importance: and it is to be hoped that the example will be followed, for, as the authors rightly say, colour has been strangely ignored by scientific art-historians.

The text is divided into seven chapters: i. the art of the Middle Byzantine period [Diez]; ii. the origin and evolution of the hieratic style [Diez]; iii. iconography [Demus]; iv. analysis of the figure-composition [Diez]; v. the colour [Diez]; vi. the work of the different masters in the mosaic-cycles of H. Lucas and Daphni [Demus]; vii. development and dissemination of the Middle Byzantine mosaic style [Demus]. There are also an historical appendix and three plans, showing the distribution of the subjects in

the churches of Hosios Lucas, Daphni, and Nea Moni in Chios. The monochrome collotypes at the end cover the same field, with the addition of parallel matter from Kiev, Leningrad, Seres, Torcello, Monreale, Palermo, Rome, and Venice.

The first chapter is devoted to the expansion of Middle Byzantine art. Diez insists on the importance of Byzantium as an export-centre, whereas Strzygowski regards it as a sponge. Both are right in a sense: but while the truth of Strzygowski's contention is theoretical, that of Diez is practical. Byzantium inherited the Roman tradition of absorption, transformation, and diffusion. It was Byzantium that influenced Baghdad and Cordova in the end; and not the other way about. This is attested by literary authority. While it is true that Byzantium absorbed before the Iconoclast episode, afterwards she diffused to the end of her history.

The chapter on the hieratic style is likewise very valuable. Diez emphasises the importance of the Dura frescoes for the understanding of Magian composition, with its frontal ranks, its hovering figures, its linear stylisation, its peculiar symbolic use of colour; and traces its influence on the conventions of icon-painting. But parallel to this Oriental style, which is particularly in evidence at H. Lucas, is the neo-Hellenism of the mosaics of Daphni. Schmit tried to represent Byzantine art as oscillating perpetually between these poles: but Demus remarks [in ch. vii] that the truth is not so simple, for both coexist, discordantly yet inextricably, in the art of the Macedonian period. Schmit based his arguments on the mosaics of the Koimesis church at Nicaea: but Demus shows that the mosaics in the dome of Hagia Sophia at Salonica, which may go back to the ninth century, are more illuminating as precursors of the eleventh-century works at Hosios Lucas. He also makes the interesting point that much of their severe vigour, unsweetened by Hellenic elegance, may be due to Slav influence. This school is the inspiration of the earliest mosaics at Torcello and in St. Mark's. From about 1150, however, the court-style, as we know it at Daphni, began to prevail in Venice. Further south, at Palermo, the Normans adopted a secular style with a strong Islamic flavour which had probably developed in the Iconoclast period. Rome itself, we are to note, played a passive rather than a dominant rôle at this time, content as ever to learn from the East but now unable to impart its lesson. It was Venice that propagated the Byzantine tradition in the West.

R. H.

**Les églises de la Moldavie du nord : architecture et peinture.** By PAUL HENRY. Pp. 313; 68 plates. Paris: Leroux, 1930.

The famous churches of the Bukovina have long awaited scholarly publication. Their unique architectural and pictorial qualities have been long recognised, but hitherto never studied. Now the full information concerning not only the particular group of externally decorated churches, but the whole series, is set forth by M. Henry in a finely illustrated monograph.

The author shows how the art of Moldavia had a strictly Byzantine but not an ancient origin. What makes both the architecture and the painting of this region so important is that there is discernible in both an element first of Gothic and then of French Renaissance, imported into a Byzantine world probably by way of Hungary, where French architects and artists were active from as early as the thirteenth century. The architecture which was born in Moldavia in the time of Stephen the Great was Byzantine in essence, Occidental in detail. Rumanian church-building thus stands out as one of the most distinguished versions of the Byzantine in Europe. The subtlety with which the Gothic elements are incorporated is astonishing, particularly during the period 1487-1497.

But many elements were derived from Serbia. Polychromy in brick, certain colour schemes in fresco-painting, and church plans, were some of the southern contributions. But the superb painting of the Moldavian churches is a true blend, such as one might expect in a region so closely in contact with various influences from the Byzantine world. Macedonian styles of painting come in via Serbia and Bulgaria across the Danube. More ancient elements of Cappadocian and Syrian origin came to Rumania, as they came to Serbia and Greece, by way of monastic foundations and migrations. Russian influences also exist in Moldavian painting, but they are curiously weak. Although Novgorodian artists were working as near as Poland, they affected Rumanian and Bukovinian painting but little. A few Italian elements came in via Venice, to which city Stephen the Great had periodically sent embassies. But the principal genius of the local Byzantine art persists. Its most remarkable feature is the external decoration of churches. The little churches of Voronets, Homor, Succava, Vatra and Sucevitsa are among the most remarkable monuments of Byzantine painting extant. The whole of the body of the church is, in each case, externally decorated with a wealth of scenes, the painted surface being protected by an enlargement of the roof into

fairly adequate protective eaves. The Doom of Voronets and that of Sucevitsa, the Tree of Jesse of Voronets, and the two representations of a siege of Constantinople, depicted on the walls of the churches of Homor and of Vatra, are most remarkable compositions. The historical interest of the two siege-scenes is also great. The inscription certifies the identity of the besieged city. Within the city walls can be seen a procession in which an icon of the Virgin is carried, accompanied by the Emperor and Empress. For the painter the siege is that of 1453. The enemy is garbed as Turkish, but, as the author suggests, the actual siege intended is the attack of the Persians in 626, when a miraculous intervention of the Virgin drove off the enemy. These two representations of the Siege, with others in Bukovinian churches, are not found elsewhere in Byzantine or post-Byzantine art. The painting is of the late sixteenth century, and three of the Sieges are by the same hand. This particular interest in a besieged town may reflect the troubled history of Moldavia at this period.

The fertility of the imagination of the painters is remarkable. Many scenes that are extremely rare in the Mediterranean are common here. The Invasion of Gethsemane, the Clearing of the Temple, and the Dooms are frequent in Moldavia. One can detect the influence of manuscript illuminations in much of the painting. The use of black outlining, the attenuation of figures, and the linear treatment throughout suggest this. But the Anastasis of Popautsi, and the Ascension of the same church, are masterpieces. The appearance of non-Byzantine costumes here and there emphasises the independence of the artists.

It is fortunate that these little-known churches are at last available for study in a wholly satisfactory publication. S. C.

**Domenikos Theotokopoulos, the Cretan.** By ACHILLES A. KYROS. Pp. 190; 18 plates. Athens: Demetrakos, 1932.

The necessity of seeking in eccentricity or insanity an explanation of any picture that is not a photographic reproduction of nature is now happily a thing of the past, and the theory has consequently already been put forward more than once that Greco was just as much a follower in some well-established tradition as were the early primitives of Italy, or, at a later date, the genre painters of the Netherlands. It has been further suggested that Greco worked in the Byzantine tradition and that he owed to it as much, if not more, than did such painters as Giotto or Duccio in Italy. This theory of a Byzantine heritage is

supported by a wealth of material with which we in the West are only just beginning to become familiar, and though Byzantine art of the Palaeologue period has often been accused of a stereotyped monotony, a closer acquaintance with the monuments has shown that this is by no means the case. It has shown too that more than one 'school' is easily to be distinguished in painting. Millet has pointed out the relationship that exists between the Italians and the Macedonian school of Palaeologue painting: we are just beginning to realise that bonds equally strong bind Greco to the Cretan school.

A comparison of actual works of art has proved this in one way, and now M. Kyros furnishes us with even stronger proof, for he has traced out, with considerable pains and acumen, the history of a family of the name of Theotokis, long established in the neighbourhood of the village of Phodele in Crete. There seems to be every reason to suppose that Domenikos Theotokopoulos, or Theotokis, better known as el Greco, was a member of this very family, and that he first learnt the art and craft of painting from the monks at the neighbouring foundation of St. Panteleimon. It may even be that he helped in the execution of wall paintings, now hidden in some forgotten church of the Cretan mountains, below a coat of whitewash.

From this small foundation Greco moved in all probability to a monastery at Candia and thence, in the course of time, to Venice, even at that date a semi-Byzantine town. From that time on his movements are more or less well known and what we have to learn concerns matters of detail only.

It is the facts and events of Greco's earlier life that occupy M. Kyros's first chapter and it is undoubtedly here that the chief interest of the book lies. The information that it contains is of definite importance, not only for an historical study of Greco's life, but also in regard to the history of iconography and of the play of influences in and development of contemporary Christian painting. It is a chapter which concerns the student of the art and history of this period in every country, and which should receive full consideration. It might well be translated.

The remaining chapters of the book, though interesting, add little that is entirely new to our knowledge of Greco's life and work. They tell of his Venetian period, of the apprenticeship under Titian, of the final break with Italy and of Greco's life, his ideals and his art, till the end. They constitute an excellent account for the Greek reader, but can hardly hope to win great popularity in Europe, where books which are equally up to date are accessible in more familiar languages.

The book is well printed and well produced. It contains eighteen quite adequate plates in half-tone, seventeen of them of pictures by Greco: the eighteenth is a view of the monastery of St. Panteleimon in Crete. Fifty-three works are cited in the bibliography, each of them followed by a short criticism or commentary. There is, however, neither a list of plates nor a table of contents, in spite of the fact that the book is divided into twelve distinct chapters, each with its own heading.

D. T. R.

**Leontios Makhairas : Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled Chronicle.**

Edited with a translation and notes by R. M. DAWKINS. Vol. I, pp. xvi + 685; with map. Vol. II, pp. vi + 333, with genealogical table. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932. £2 10s.

Professor Dawkins is to be congratulated on the completion of his long-expected edition of Makhairas, which is now presented in two handsome volumes at a price which we have learned to recognise as an unfortunate by-product of the admirable work of the Oxford University Press. The first volume contains the text, newly divided into six books and 713 numbered paragraphs, with critical notes, and a masterly translation which never misses a word of the Greek or becomes too stylistic. The second includes an all too brief introduction, a bibliographical note, a note on the language of the Chronicle, the commentary on the text, three indices and a glossary. It is a pity we are not given a page of each manuscript in facsimile.

The ten pages on the language of the Chronicle, as used by 'both Makhairas and whoever was responsible for the O recension,' only attempt 'to describe the vocabulary in general terms, and to call attention to the points in which we may trace at least the beginnings of some of the more remarkable features of Cypriot Greek as it is spoken to-day.' Professor Dawkins proceeds to tabulate ten phonetic characteristics of the dialect which he believes he has succeeded in detecting: loss of accent after the negative; assimilation of vowels; development of  $\kappa$  from the semi-vocalic  $\iota$ ; loss of intervocalic  $\beta \gamma \delta$ ; softening of  $\chi$ ,  $\xi$  and  $\sigma$ ; assimilation of final  $\nu$ ; confusion of  $\beta \gamma$  and  $\gamma \beta$ ; duplication of consonants; and the dissimilatory loss of one of two similar and consecutive syllables. The ten pages are completed by a very short note on the vocabulary. This is, of course, supplemented by the admirable Glossary, which is in itself a work of primary



importance summarising much lexicographical information in the commentary and elsewhere; but we cannot help regretting that Professor Dawkins has not reprinted the whole of his paper on the vocabulary of Makhairas to be found in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 1927-1930, which gives a much fuller survey of the proportion and influence of learned Greek, demotic Greek, Byzantine-Latin, French, Italian, and Semitic elements. And in addition to these notes on the phonetic features and vocabulary of the language we should have welcomed some information on the grammar. Except for one note § 680, on the nominative in apposition to other cases preceding, there is hardly any guidance to be found in these volumes; and the reader used to Greek of an earlier or later period would be glad to know, for instance, why Makhairas writes apparently without distinction  $\lambda\omicron\tau\tau\alpha$  τῶν Γενοβίσων οἱ  $\lambda\omicron\tau\tau\alpha$  τοὺς Γενοβίσους, ὁ πεδιστῆς τοὺς Γενοβίσους or τὸ κομμόνιν τῶν Γενοβίσων.

The Cypriot Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas has long been known, with the *Λογιον*, as the most valuable source of information for the mediaeval institutions and language of Cyprus. It was first printed rather inaccurately by Sathas in 1873 from a sixteenth-century manuscript at Venice (V), and reissued by Miller and Sathas nine years later with a French translation and a few readings from another sixteenth-century manuscript (O) written at Paphos and now in the Bodleian. Professor Dawkins has now given us an entirely new collation of V, adding in the critical notes only those readings from O which make some definite amplification or improvement. He prints the text from the Venice manuscript exactly as it is written, correcting hardly anything more than a few 'eccentric accentuations'; so that we have to accustom ourselves to such alternative spellings, often in the same paragraph, as  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$  and  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$ ,  $\rho\iota\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\iota\alpha$  and  $\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$  (Aragon),  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  and  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$  and  $\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\text{'}\text{Αποδεχάτορας}$  and  $\text{'}\text{Αποδοχάτορας}$  (Podocataro),  $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$  and  $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$ ,  $\text{Κοντεφρὲ ντε Πολιου}$  and  $\text{Κουντιφρὲ ντε Πούλιου}$  (Godfrey de Bouillon). Indeed rather than  $\text{ἰνσέρτου}$ , which he rightly says 'has no manuscript authority at all,' in one of the two references made by Makhairas to his father  $\text{τον πατέρα τὸν κύρην Σταυρινὸν τοῦ Μαχαίρα}$  § 608 Professor Dawkins prefers to translate  $\text{πατέρα}$  as equivalent to  $\text{παπᾶ}$  and makes Stavrinus a priest. The literal transcription of the manuscript is, of course, prescribed by the hope of detecting traces of the language actually spoken in Cyprus in the fifteenth century. But judging by the

extraordinary spelling of names which must have been perfectly familiar, by the indifference with which divergent spellings are accepted, and by the impossibility of knowing which spellings existed in the archetype and which have been contributed by subsequent copyists, we may be inclined to think that this confidence in the letter of the manuscript and the phonetic accuracy of the scribe is somewhat excessive.

The insertions and substitutions from O are indicated in the text by an elaborate system of numbered carets, numbered half-brackets, square brackets, and round brackets; and it is at first rather difficult to follow the Greek, partly in the text and partly in the critical notes at the foot of the page, from the translation on the opposite page, which is a skilfully conflated narrative of both recensions. 'The differences between V and O are, in fact, so numerous,' says Professor Dawkins, 'that it would be easier to print O in its entirety than to indicate them all in notes.' He adds that 'much would not be gained by this completeness.' Yet we cannot help still regretting that it was not possible to print both V and O in parallel columns: the two versions would have presented a truly remarkable example of the versatility and receptivity of mediaeval Greek (for the specimens of which now provided we are not ungrateful); and their relation remains a problem to which even Professor Dawkins has not succeeded in suggesting a wholly satisfactory solution. The problem is not affected by the Venetian translation of Surambaldi (first printed by de Mas Latrie in 1891), which is useful for the elucidation of the text but appears to be based on 'a rather better manuscript of the O recension than the one now at Oxford.'

Whatever is in O and not in V proves always to have a natural place in the V text into which it can be inserted: all other differences in the two recensions resolve themselves into nothing more than a different wording of the same statements and a general greater fullness in the V narrative; differences of fact and irreconcilable statements are very rare indeed, and are confined to small details' (p. 17). It would not be fair to Professor Dawkins to summarise his argument in a paragraph: all who are interested in the problem must read his introduction for themselves; but his conclusions may be stated in his own words. He proceeds to argue, from certain passages which 'bear the stamp of personal experience at the court of Peter I and his widow Queen Eleanor' (p. 18), that 'among the sources which lie at the back of Makhairas' Chronicle'—there are some half-dozen references to written sources besides

several records of oral information—‘there was some considerable work from the hand of Dimitrios Daniel,’ a young Greek under Genoese protection who is mentioned as the Queen’s secretary. ‘This and other sources would then have been worked up and enlarged by Makhairas, the result being the V recension. The writer of O, on the other hand, took the same documents, cut them down, and so produced a briefer version’ (p. 19).

It is indeed impossible to read the Chronicle without being convinced that one of the writers concerned was present at many of the scenes he describes. He was, for instance, following from day to day the quarrels which led up to the murder of King Peter I 1369, and watching from day to day the siege of Kerynia by the Genoese in 1374; and yet it is possible to be doubtful about Dimitrios Daniel, in spite of his acquaintance with the Queen’s chambermaid Profetta and all the enchanting detail of his adventures as a despatch rider for the King. As a Greek under Genoese protection, though we may cordially agree that ‘he saw matters from the native point of view,’ he would hardly have displayed such violent hatred of the Genoese, in spite of his loyalty to the Lusignan dynasty. ‘As a servant of Queen Eleanor,’ says Professor Dawkins, ‘it may be noted that he puts her conduct in as favourable a light as possible.’ Yet he not only records the vulgar reviling of the Queen by Sir Thibald Belfrage on his way to execution (§ 575), but in his own person, when she writes a treacherous letter to John Prince of Antioch, qualifies her as ἡ φαρμακοῦσα παρὰ τὸ φαρμάκι (§ 552).

The text itself certainly seems to show the marks of more than one hand. At times we almost see the figure of a Greek monk laboriously translating a short French chronicle—Makhairas himself we know from French sources quoted by Professor Dawkins spoke quite good French for a Cypriot—filling in the interstices with ecclesiastical moralisings (§§ 189, 259, 482, 576, 660, 670, 690), enjoying himself when it comes to the conversations, and introducing it all with the preliminary list of churches, bishops, floods, saints and locusts which would be almost unreadable if it were not adorned by the discursive erudition of Professor Dawkins.

Whether it was Dimitrios Daniel, however, or another figure at the court—why not the tutor of King Peter II, whose name was Sir Philip, a Latin priest and the son of a Greek nun, who was a cousin of my father, Master Stavrinus Makhairas’ (§ 566)?—who was the main source of the Chronicle remains a subsidiary question. The main problem is that of the relation of O to

V. Even under the guidance of such a sensitive detective as Professor Dawkins we may sometimes suspect that two separate compilers using the same materials would tell slightly different stories, rather than the same story in words which are sometimes, but not always, quite different; and sometimes we may feel that the two recensions are more likely to be the result of two different Greek translators working at opposite ends of the island on two copies of the same French chronicle. But at present we are obliged to accept his suggestion as a working hypothesis. He alone with the fullest possible qualifications has deciphered and studied both recensions in full, and his statement of their relations to each other as well as to the Italian translation of Strambaldi and to the parallel Italian chronicles of Amadi and Florio Bustron cannot be displaced by less than his own knowledge.

The main body of the Chronicle, though the connecting and explanatory tissue is seldom as good as the letters and speeches, is a vivid narrative covering the reigns of the Lusignan Kings Peter I, Peter II, James I, and Janus (1359–1432). It rises with remarkable dramatic power to three main peaks: the conspiracy of the Knights and the murder of King Peter, led up to from small beginnings —ἐρχάκος διαβόλος τῆς παρτίης—by the jealousy and spite of Queen Eleanor of Aragon; her appeal to Genoa and the quarrel between the Venetians and the Genoese at the coronation of Peter II leading to the Genoese occupation of Famagusta and the glorious defence of Kerynia by James the Constable, who finally returns from prison and exile as James II; the wanton provocation of the Egyptian sultan leading to the Saracen invasion; after which the tale becomes scrappy and disconnected. Even the battle of Kherokhia seems rather an anti-climax in spite of the fact that the author Leontios himself suddenly appears on the field in charge of the wine—which indeed ran short—and hears an account of the capture of King Janus from the lips of Philip de Lusignan the Constable.

The author of the Chronicle is remarkably broad-minded in his sympathies. He impresses us as neither French nor Italian nor even Greek but as definitely Cypriot διὰτὶ εἶμαι Κυπρίωτης, as the little boy said to the beloved Constable, § 454. Loyal as he is to the Lusignan court, it is only because it has become a Cypriot institution; he only hates the Genoese because they will not leave Cyprus alone. He is fair to the Saracens; the difficulties of negotiating with them are as nothing compared to the difficulty of negotiating with the Genoese; he makes it quite clear that the final invasion was invited

by the thoughtless greed of the Cypriots who liked buying cheap and rich plunder from the corsairs of the Syrian coast: and he introduces a friendly sheikh of Damascus who sends his own son as hostage-messenger to warn the King personally but fails to get past the Council. He is even fair to the Roman Church. It is true that he blames Sir Thibald Belfrage, a Syrian Greek, because he 'became a Latin' (§ 579: but his reflection on the two Churches and the one God terminates in the curiously philosophic distinction ἀποστολικοὶ οἱ Λατίνοι, καὶ καθολικοὶ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι. The 'exact nuance' of this remark, as Professor Dawkins once noted (*Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* III (1922) p. 141), 'is not easy to fix'; he now translates it straightforwardly without comment. It is tempting to think that here ἀποστολικοὶ might mean sent out to us, exported from Rome, 'missionary,' as opposed to καθολικοὶ which is of course general, universal, and so 'indigenous.'

This superficial account pays a wholly inadequate tribute to the magnificent edition which Professor Dawkins has given us. It would need a brigade of scholars fully to appreciate his labours and properly to estimate the value of his results.

It may be useful to note a few trivial misprints. In the list of Errata, Vol. I, p. xvi, line 5, *for* page 327 *read* page 357. Professor Dawkins insists on transliterating Πενταγία as Pendaia; the correction Pendaia *for* Pentayia should therefore be made in line 10 of p. 121; and in Vol. II, p. 26, line 13, *for* Pantelidis *read* Pandelidis (as on p. 29). Vol. II, p. 87, line 23, and p. 93, line 39, *for* Tripolis *read* Tripoli. Vol. II, p. 221, *delete* the comma at the end of line 24. A round bracket has dropped out of Vol. I, p. 119, line 11: a caret out of p. 496, line 25; another out of p. 530, line 32: a circumflex out of p. 644, line 13: an S out of the last line of Vol. I, p. 2; a t out of Vol. I, p. 601, line 11; and in Vol. II, p. 226, line 37, the full-stop after *therefore* should be inserted after *Markas*.

J. M.

**The Massacres of Chios, described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports.** Edited, with an Introduction, by PHILIP P. ARGENTI. Pp. xxxiv + 242; 3 plates. London: John Lane, 1932. 12s. 6d.

Probably most English readers who have any detailed knowledge of the lamentable massacres of Chios in 1822 have derived their impressions chiefly from D. Vikelas' *Loukis Laras*, which gives a very vivid and, as far as it goes, correct account. Mr. Argenti now supplies us with a series of contemporary accounts, derived from

diplomatic reports—English, French, German, Austrian, Italian, Dutch and Spanish, and from contemporary newspaper narratives. The mass of material thus brought together with great expenditure of time and labour is very valuable. Though the main facts are repeated in the different accounts, each contains some details peculiar to itself. The collection of documents is prefaced by a well-written and interesting introduction, which presents the reader with a clear picture of this terrible episode in the Greek Revolution.

Mr. Argenti is certainly successful in freeing the Chioters of any suspicion of failing to give their due share of support to the Greek revolutionaries. Their geographical situation, since Chios is all but joined to the mainland, rendered any rising hopeless from the outset, unless it was adequately supported by naval and military forces. It is clear that the disaster was due to an ill-considered desire to create a diversion which would draw off some of the Turkish attention from the main revolt, and to the criminal vanity of the Samian leaders Logothetis and Bourghna.

The gloom of the disaster is to some extent relieved by the self-sacrifice of the eighty hostages, belonging to the most distinguished Chiote families, who readily offered themselves as predestined victims to the cruelty of Vaid Pasha. The names of these hostages include many known and honoured amongst the different Greek communities abroad at the present day, and serve to remind us that some good has come out of the overwhelming catastrophe of Chios in 1822 through the dispersal of families of marked business genius and energy. The foreign consuls in Chios also distinguished themselves by their humane efforts, though their exertions were largely nullified by the treachery of the Turkish Governor. We also owe to this disaster the very vivid and illuminating account of conditions in Chios before the massacre, drawn up by the French Vice-Consul David.

Mr. Argenti prints an interesting statement in Greek of the expenses incurred in the ransoming of Marietta, wife of Theodore Antonio Ralli, one of the hostages hanged by the Turks in Chios on May 6, 1822. The ransoming of this lady and her children was effected at Smyrna, and the cost was 11,000 piastres, or about £100 at the time, though in terms of present-day values the sum would be considerably higher. Unfortunately ransoming was the exception, and the bulk of the Chiote women and children were sold into slavery.

There is a good detailed map of Chios, a portrait of Vaid Pasha, the destroyer of Chios,

and a picture of the death of the more humane Capitan Pasha, who met his end as the result of the daring, but ill-timed attack on the Turkish fleet by Canaris in the June of 1822. It is to be regretted that the book is not supplied with an index.

F. H. M.

Λαογραφικά Σύμμεκτα Καρπάθου. By M. G. ΜΙΚΗΛΙΔΙΣ ΝΟΥΑΡΟΣ. Vol. I. Pp. 400 with 32 illustrations. Athens, 1932.

Dr. Mikhailidis Nouaros has already published at least two books on his native island Karpathos: the first was on the popular or rather customary law of the island, which deals with marriage and with the inheritance of property;<sup>1</sup> the second was a corpus of popular songs and ballads, and this has already been reviewed in this *Journal*.<sup>2</sup> We have now to welcome this collection of folklore material, of which a second volume is promised. The author, who is now a professor in Athens, has collected the folklore of his island, the customs at carnival, at marriages, at births and at deaths, songs of lamentation, charms, superstitions, traditionary tales and folk-tales—I mention only a few of the leading headings—with great diligence, and it is not too much to say that he has given us the best collection yet made of such material: and that from a purely Greek island singularly rich in such matters. The second volume is to contain studies on personal and place-names, on names of animals and plants, on popular arts and architecture, on the life of sailors and shepherds, on popular medicine, and much more: it is to be hoped that it will soon be published.

From such a collection set down in a laudably objective manner, it is here only possible to extract a very few points of special interest. Many pages are devoted to collections of those semi-improvised couplets, *μαντινάδες*, which on all occasions play a great part in Greek country life. It has not seldom been remarked that with primitive people verse composition precedes prose: on p. 55 our author tells us that letters written in Karpathos to friends abroad often contain, and even consist wholly of, these couplets. The letter, that is, does not contain 'news,' but is to convey the feelings of the writer, and these they have learned to express only in this metrical form. He gives as an example a letter from a mother to her son—the writer's name is given—which ends with the couplet:

Χαρτί, 'σ τὰ χέρια ποῦ θὰ πᾶς, σκύψε χαιρέτησέ τα,  
Τσ' ἂς σέ ρωτήξουν τσαί γιὰ μέ, τὰ ξέρεις μίλησέ τα.

<sup>1</sup> Νομικά ἔθιμα τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, Athens, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> *JHS.* XLVIII, p. 249.

*O letter, bow down and salute the hands into which you are to pass, and if they question you of me, tell them what you know.*

The laments for the dead are sometimes beautiful: they often present a strangely realistic picture of a passing to another world: like the present but a long way off. When George Protopapas died his sister sang: *When it befell that our George showed himself in Hades στον Ἅδη, both great and small together run up to greet him. The first is Malagadis, and with him Nouaros, and George the son of Minas the Priest, whose sorrow is great. Third comes Anagnostopoulos, and with him Georgiadis, who are eager to know the condition of our land. They ran up from afar as soon as they saw him: 'George, have you brought us some newspaper?' And George answered them with tears in his eyes, and with deep groaning and pallid lips: 'News never comes through to this land: never shall you read letters and the newspaper. But I have many things to tell you by word of mouth; flowers from your house, these I will give to you.'* In a poem in which the Virgin tells her Son her dream of the Crucifixion there is real beauty. It ends thus: *To the hall of Pilate they took Thee: Thy golden feet they nailed; Thy golden hands they crucified. Water Thou didst ask of them; water they gave Thee not: Gall and lime-water they gave Thee to drink: the crown of thorns they set on Thee.* *All that I must suffer, my mother, and all that My eyes must see, all is for the sake of the Christian faith.* In Greek it runs: *Εἰς τοῦ Πιλάτου τοῖς αὐλῆς σ' ἐμτσάσα (ἐπίτσαν), Τὰ χρυσὰ σου ποάτσια (ποδάκια) καρφῶσα, Τὰ χρυσὰ σου χεράτσια σταυρῶσα Νερὸ τῶς ἔδρεψες, Νερὸ ἐσ σοῦ ὥκα. 'Οἷ τσ' ἀσβέστη σ' ἔποτισα, Τ' ἀκάθιστο στεφάνι σοῦ ἄλλα. 'Ὅτι θέν νά παῶ, μάνα μου, Τσ' ἐτι θέν νά ὦ, Εἶναι γιὰ τήν πίστι τῷ Χριστιανῶ.* The poem seems to us to bear some relation to the icon known as the Φοβερά Προστασία, in which the Child in the arms of the Virgin shrinks from the sight of the instruments of the passion.

In traditional stories, *παραδέσεις*, the author tells us, Karpathos, like the other islands of the Dodekanese, is not rich: this he acutely explains by the observation that such things, not being intimately bound up with the daily life of the people, tend to be forgotten. Yet here he has a good deal to tell of the mysterious beings seen only by the ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐλαφροστοιχοί, the men whose spirits are of the required fineness.

All through, the author presents his material in the interesting dialect of the island, and it is possible that here he does not always give the general reader sufficient help. Yet we believe that no one who has studied the notes on the subject he has already given in the *Δημοτικά Τραγούδια Καρπάθου* will find very much real

difficulty. All the general part of the book is naturally written in the language of the schools, the *κατὰ σχολήν*, though quite appropriately stories, for which the dialect has not been used, are recorded in a simple form of the ordinary colloquial speech. Our author, in fact, employs no less than three distinct forms of Greek.

The book is well printed and extremely cheap: for which we have to thank the author's patron, a fellow-native of Karpathos, Mr. John Antoniadis, a merchant, and at present Mayor of Gwelo in Southern Rhodesia. It is very much to be hoped that he will continue his generosity, and enable Mr. Mikhailidis to give us his second volume, and also a promised Grammar and Lexikon of the dialect. The book is adorned with thirty-two photographs of places and people, and with a portrait of Mr. Antoniadis in the robes and chain of a British mayor.

R. M. D.

**Albanian-English Reader.** By M. M. HASLUCK. Pp. xl + 145. Cambridge University Press, 1932.

In compiling this little book Mrs. Hasluck has done a valuable piece of work. She has given English students for the first time a simplified Albanian grammar which should greatly facilitate the learning of this language.

It was not till after the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution in 1908 that the printing of the Albanian language was permitted by the Turkish Government. Till then it was printed only abroad and smuggled into the country, or was printed at Scutari by the Jesuit press under the protection of the Austrian Government.

There was no unified alphabet or system of orthography, and each district and publisher had an alphabet of its own. The oldest alphabet, with many fancy letters, was that of the Jesuits, which was in use in the eighteenth century and onward. The Abbot of the Mirdites made a very good alphabet and orthography, which was superseding that of the Jesuits in the beginning of the present century in the north of Albania. Latin letters only were used. In the south, the Tosk dialect was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society

in a special alphabet constructed by George Kyrias, one of Albania's pioneers in education. These publications—the book of Genesis and some of the Gospels—were circulated under the protection of the Society and bought up greedily as a means of learning to read. I once assisted at the sale of seventy copies of the book of Genesis to Moslems—all anxious to read the tale of Potiphar's wife. After 1908 printing presses and newspapers sprang up like mushrooms all over Albania, and it was necessary and possible to unify the alphabet. This was done at a national meeting at Monastir, then a great Albanian centre. The numerous fancy letters were done away with and Latin letters used, but the Mirdite Abbot's system of orthography was not adopted entirely, as it was judged not to be so suitable for the southern dialect.

The Monastir alphabet has been in use ever since, though I believe it was slightly modified at the national meeting at Lushnja after the Great War. The spelling is entirely phonetic. This alphabet will be found in Mrs. Hasluck's book. As a literary language the dialect of Central Albania—that of Elbasan—has been adopted and is taught in the schools. It is the one made use of in this little book.

Mrs. Hasluck has had the brilliant idea of getting the school-children to write down fairy tales, and has used them as the reading exercises in her book. In this she had the help of Mr. Lef Nosi, whose patriotic efforts I was first acquainted with twenty years ago. The tales are told naively, and are sometimes fragments of longer folk-tales. We find, for example, instances of the 'Grateful Beasts.' The 'Cat's Price' is a simplified version of Puss in Boots. And so forth.

The tales are translated very closely into English, and the two versions are on opposite pages, thus making a comparison very easy. In all cases where idiom makes literal translation impossible, it is explained in a footnote. The book thus not only facilitates study, but also gives an insight into the ideas and customs of the people, as the tales are full of local colour.

And as the book can easily be slipped into a pocket, it should be of great value to all travellers in that interesting and beautiful land—Albania.

M. E. D.



FROM A LIP-CUP, SIGNED PHRYNOS, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B. 424).





FROM A LIP-CUP IN THE VATICAN



FROM A LIP-CUP IN PALERMO







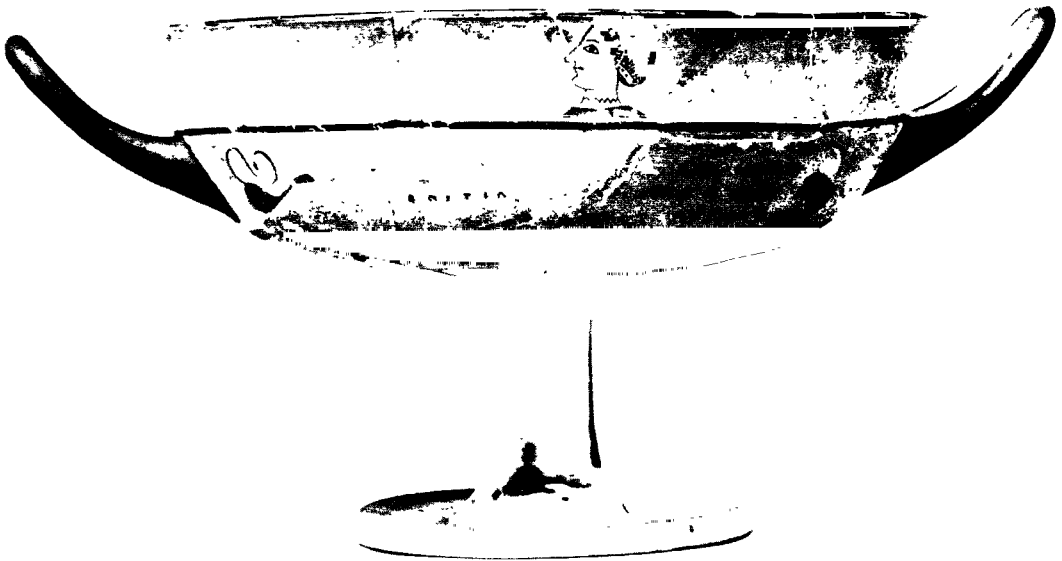
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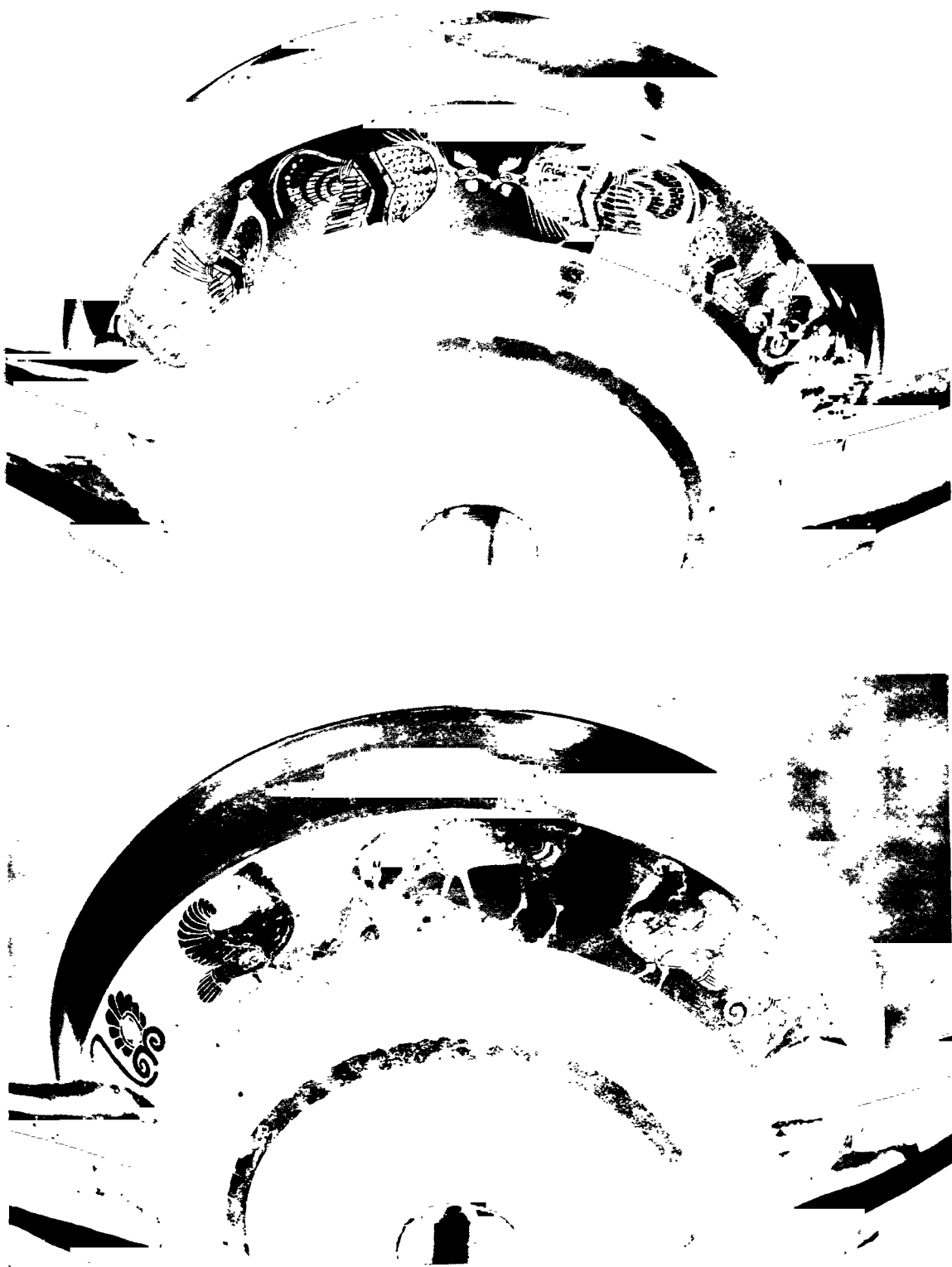
LIP-CUPS SIGNED TALEIDES. IN ROME





LIP-CUP, SIGNED EPITIMOS. IN NEW YORK





FROM A BAND-CUP IN THE COLLECTION OF MR JAMES LOEB





IVORY SPHINX: PROTOCOLINTIAN, EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

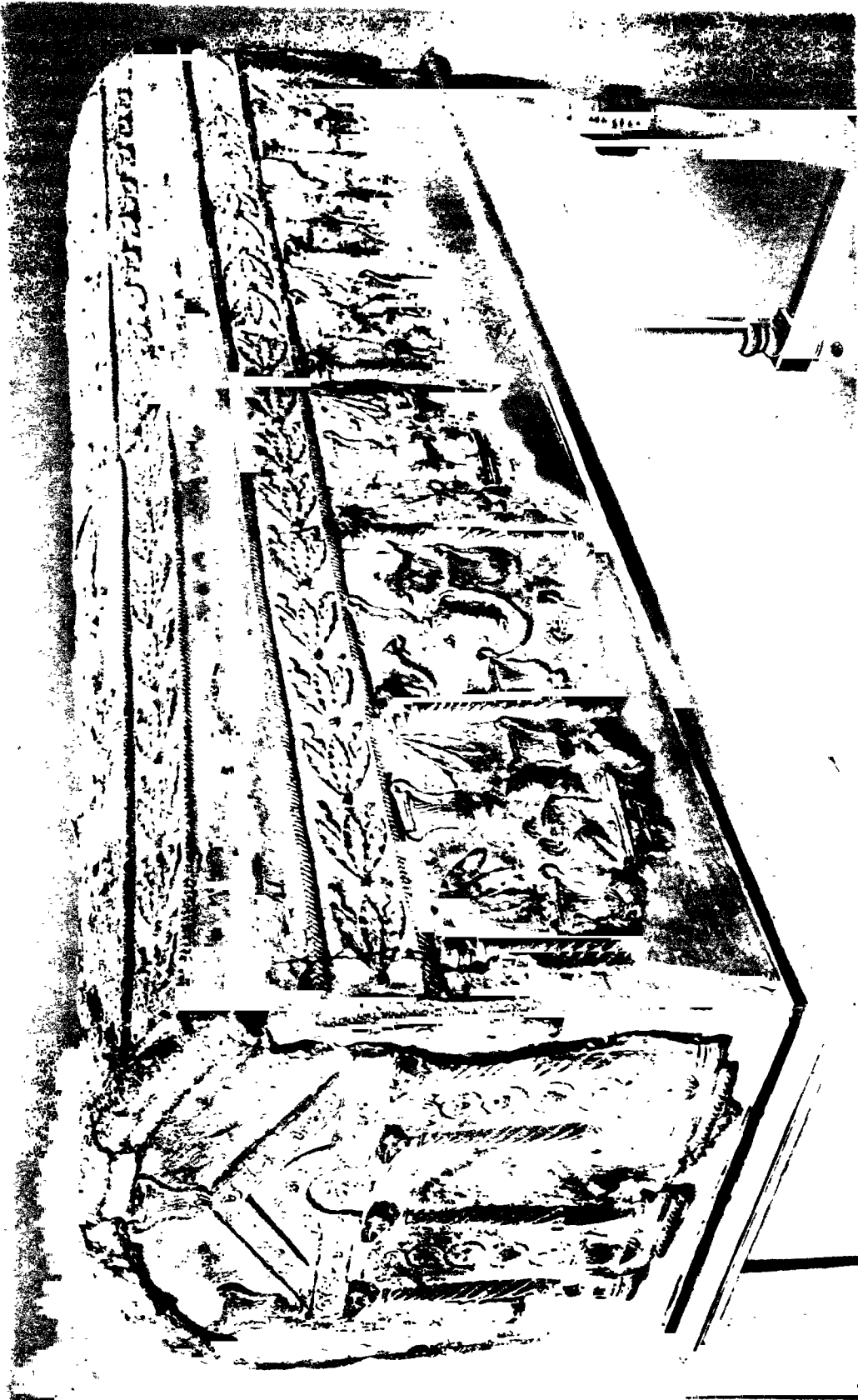


BRONZE DOVE: PROTOCOLINTIAN, ABOUT 650 B.C.

FROM THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT PERACHORA.

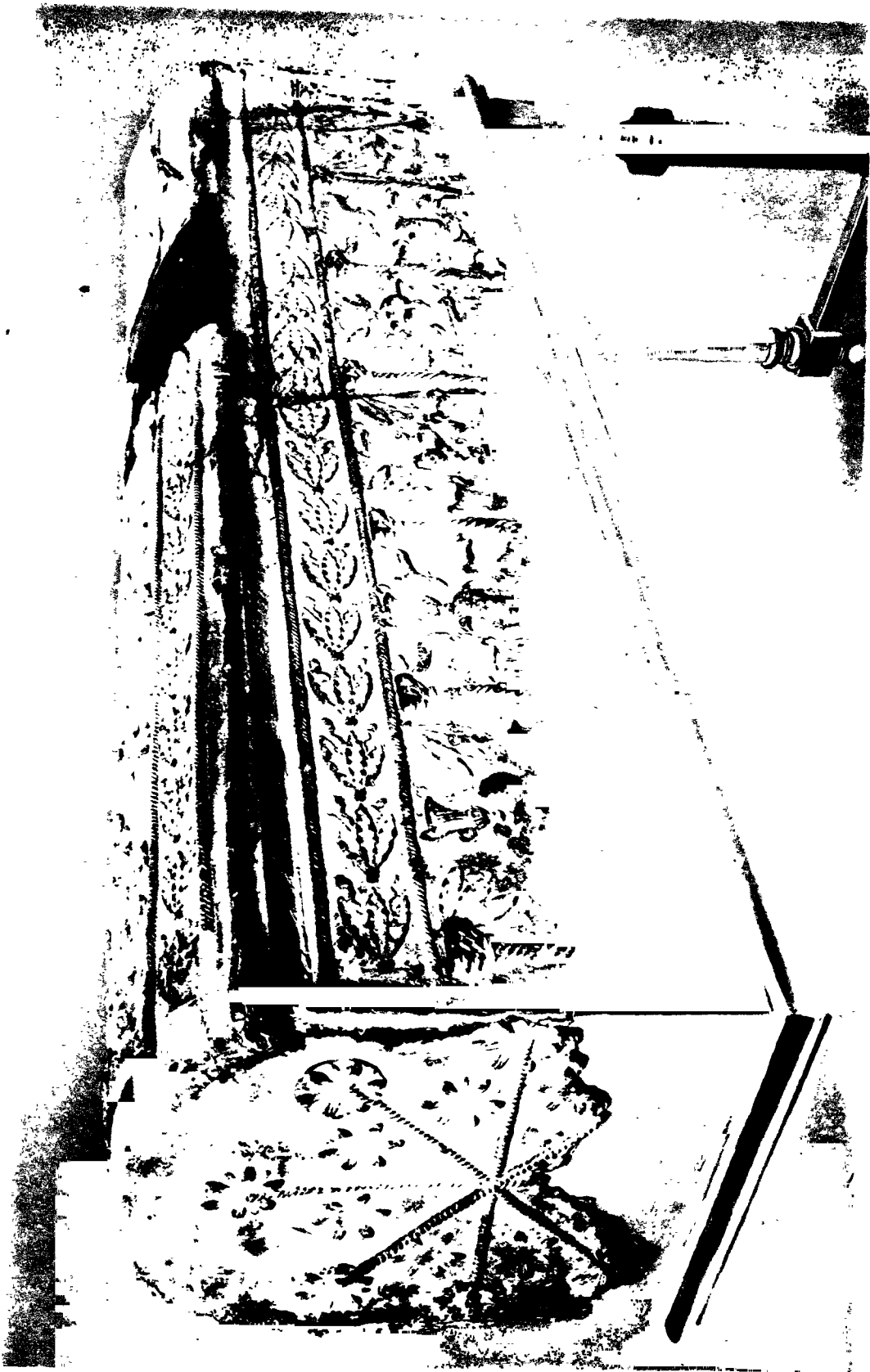






LEAD COFFIN IN LEIDEN.





LEAD COFFIN IN LEIDEN.

(1908)

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